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HISTORY
~ OF THE ~
SCOTTISH
PEOPLE.



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THE BLACK WATCH (42ND REGIMENT) WELCOMED TO EDINBURGH
ON THEIR RETURN FROM WATERLOO. (A.D. 1816.)

RETURN OF THE 42ND ROYAL HIGHLANDERS TO
EDINBURGH, AFTER WATERLOO.

When the gallant Forty-Second returned to Scotland, after Napoleon was finally defeated at Waterloo, the Scottish people actively testified to their pride in a regiment which had won undying renown in America, Egypt, and the Peninsula. The heroes entered Scotland across the border from England, and as they advanced towards the capital they were welcomed enthusiastically by the inhabitants of every town on their route. *As they approached Edinburgh the road was thronged with cheering crowds, so that the march from Piershill to the castle, a distance of less than two miles, occupied nearly two hours.* Thus the march through the metropolis of Scotland became a great triumphal procession, more genuine, perhaps, than had ever escorted a Roman General in the days when Rome was Mistress of the World.

A HISTORY OF THE SCOTTISH PEOPLE

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES.

COLLECTED
BY THE
REV. THOMAS THOMSON,
EDITOR OF "THE COMPREHENSIVE HISTORY OF ENGLAND", ETC.
WITH

A CONTINUATION TO THE JUBILEE YEAR OF HER MAJESTY
QUEEN VICTORIA, AND AN

INTRODUCTION

GIVING AN ACCOUNT OF THE COUNTRY AND ITS INHABITANTS IN THE
PERIOD PRECEDING THE INVASION OF THE ROMANS.

BY

CHARLES ANNANDALE, M.A., LL.D.

EDITOR OF "THE IMPERIAL ENGLISH DICTIONARY", "THE MODERN CYCLOPEDIA", ETC.

DIVISIONAL-VOLUME VI.

FROM THE UNION OF THE KINGDOMS, 1706, TO THE PRESENT TIME.



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FROM THE UNION TO THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

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The last session of the last parliament of England continued from the 3d of December, 1706, to the 24th of April, 1707. As it was henceforth to be summoned under the title and character of the parliament of Great Britain, the coming change was of itself sufficient to inspire the members with no ordinary excitement. It was also an important task which they had met to discharge, being nothing less than the ratification of the Union, which only awaited their final sanction. On the 28th of January the queen announced to both houses that the treaty of Union had been ratified by the parliament of Scotland, the terms of which she had directed to be laid before them in the hope that they would meet with their concurrence and approbation. "As it had been agreed," the royal speech continued, "that Scotland is to have an equivalent for what that kingdom is obliged to contribute towards paying the debts of Eng-

land, I must recommend to you, that in case you agree to the treaty, you would take care to provide for the payment of the equivalent in Scotland." At this mention of an equivalent, the countenances of many of the members were elongated, and the old prejudices against Scotland began to rouse themselves for resistance. "The advantages," her majesty added, "which will accrue to us all from an union are so apparent that I will add no more, but that I shall look upon it as a particular happiness if this great work, which has been so often attempted without success, can be brought to perfection in my reign."

On the following day the articles of the treaty were debated in the committee of the whole House of Commons, and though a number of members spoke against the union, the support that the measure received was too great to make their opposition of any avail. By the 11th of

February, after not more than eight days of deliberation and debate, all the Articles of Union were approved of in the House of Commons, and a bill was ordered to be brought in to ratify it.

There was no such smooth and rapid progress in the House of Lords, where the debates were commenced on the 15th of February, a strong opposition to the measure being at once manifested. Lord Haversham in particular distinguished himself as an opponent of the union, and in arguing against it pointed out that the question was not whether a people inhabiting the same island, speaking the same language, and having the same religion, should be all under the same form of policy and government, but whether two nations independent in their sovereignties, having distinct laws and interests, and their different forms of worship, church government, and order, should be united into one kingdom. This had always been the chief argument against the union of the two kingdoms, but Lord Haversham also proceeded to point out other obstacles to the measure. He represented that the English constitution, from the admirable balance of its powers between the greatness of the monarch and the safety of the people, was the best in the world; and that this equilibrium would be destroyed by the admission of Scottish members into parliament, who would turn the scale at pleasure. He pointed out, moreover, that the union could not be entire, because, although the Scottish parliament had ratified the articles, the bulk of the Scottish nation seemed to be against them. After having stated these objections at some length, his lordship concluded with the following warning to those who prosecuted the design in conformity to the wishes, or to secure the favour of their sovereign: "This is the last time that I believe I shall ever trouble your lordships in an *English* parliament; give me leave, therefore, to say but one word. In King Charles the First's time the Cavaliers were the persons that ventured their lives and lost their estates to save him; and in King Charles the Second's time they were forgot and left starving. At the Restoration the Presbyterians were as zealous for that as any men whatever, and none more persecuted all his reign. Towards the latter end of that reign the bishops threw out the Bill of Exclusion, and King James put them into the Tower. At the Revolution the London-derry men, &c., were the persons that made the first and noblest stop to King James in Ireland; and I myself have fed some of them at my own table, when they were starving, with the highest commendations and promises in their pockets, which I have seen under King William's own

hand. In the last reign, everybody knows who they were that made their most constant court at St. James', and we see in what favour they are at present. Now, there is a great deal of zeal for this union. I wish from my soul that the advantages may attend it of tranquillity and security, power, peace, and plenty, as is intended by it. But yet it is possible men may be mistaken. I will not say they will ever repent of it; but I will take leave to say what I have formerly said in this place, *that what has been may be.*"

After this discordant key-note had been sounded the debates of the Lords followed in a correspondent strain. It was objected that the land-tax laid upon Scotland by the ninth article was small and inadequate, and that Wales, as poor a country and of much less extent, paid twice as much as Scotland, but was allowed only half the number of representatives. To this it was replied that the number of representatives in parliament was no rule to go by, as the county of Cornwall, that did not pay nearly so much towards the land-tax as that of Gloucester, sent five times as many members to parliament as the other. It was also added in excuse for the small quota of tax imposed upon Scotland that the Scots could not and would not be rated any higher. The equivalent to be paid to Scotland was also the subject of keen opposition. It was proclaimed highly unreasonable that the Scots, who were admitted to a full share of the English trade, and paid so little for the support of government and the expenses of a costly war, should also be paid £398,085 for consenting to the treaty. The payment of that part of the equivalent, also, which was to be given to the Darien Company, was so ordered that it might be embezzled by a few individuals, instead of refunding every sufferer in the enterprise. It was stated in reply that this sum was not a gift, but an actual purchase of the Scottish revenues and customs, and that with regard to the disposal of the money the English Commissioners could not interfere more than they had done already. But of all the objections offered by the opponents of the union, none bulked so largely as the dangers to which the English Church would be exposed by Scottish Presbyterianism. The Bishop of Bath and Wells, for instance, asserted that he could no better compare the union than to the mixture of strong and opposite liquors in one and the same vessel, which would explode under their furious fermentation. The bench of bishops, he stated, was always reckoned the *dead-weight of the house*; but the admission of the sixteen Scottish peers would be a still more effectual dead-weight, especially in any future debates

relating to the church, towards which they could not be supposed in any way well affected. He was therefore of opinion that some provision should be made for debarring them of a vote in any church matter when such should occur hereafter. But this alarm of the prelate, which time has shown to be so groundless, was disposed of by the court lords with arguments suited to the day. It was alleged that the chief danger of the Church of England arose not from Presbyterianism but from Popery and France. As Scotland lay on the weakest side of England, a union with it, even though it should be one of conquest, was indispensable, but such a compulsory union could only be achieved and secured by a strong standing army; and this in the hands of the sovereign would be an effectual weapon for the establishment of arbitrary power. Such a necessity, however, was obviated by the present union, which was voluntary. With regard to church matters too much violence had already been used on both sides. But let only more conciliatory measures be used and the government might be conducted as harmoniously as in Switzerland, where the cantons held different creeds, or in the Diet of Germany, which was composed of men of three different religions. Such examples showed that several constitutions of churches might be safely placed under one legislature. Even, also, if danger there was, it threatened not the Church of England, but that of Scotland. It was much more likely that five hundred and thirteen English members, with the crown on their side, should be too hard for the forty-five Scottish members, than that the latter should be able to swamp the former. Besides, were there not twenty-six bishops in the House of Lords to outweigh the votes of the sixteen Scottish peers?

Such were the views of the English dissentients to the Union and such the manner in which they were answered. The general reply was to this effect, that so great a measure as the uniting of the whole island into one monarchy could not be accomplished without some disadvantageous concessions, and that these were but lesser evils as compared with the benefit obtained. At last the treaty was approved by a great majority, but several peers entered their protest, some against several of the articles and others against all. Both houses having assented, a bill for enacting the Union was prepared, and it was passed through the House of Commons so rapidly that many were taken by surprise; but although a majority of 274 were in its favour, 160 votes were against it. At the third reading in the House of Lords an attempt was made by a noble member to arrest its progress by proposing that the following rider should be attached to the bill:—"That nothing, in this ratification

contained, should be construed to extend to an approbation or acknowledgment of the truth of the Presbyterian way of worship, or allowing the religion of the Church of Scotland to be what it was styled, 'the true Protestant religion.'" But this torch for rekindling religious contention was extinguished by fifty-five against twenty-nine votes, and the bill was passed. In this way, and through such difficulties, a daring experiment was made, and a change effected upon the government of the two kingdoms the beneficial effects of which even the most sanguine of its supporters were unable to anticipate.

The ratification of the Union by the English parliament took the discontented in Scotland by surprise. They had hoped that, notwithstanding the acquiescence of their own legislature, the popular feeling of England would be against it, and that this feeling would be so strong as to prevent the bill from passing. In this hope they had avoided all insurrectionary attempts, believing that, as on former occasions, the proposal would fail or be deferred to some better opportunity; and their hope increased into confidence when they found that at the outset it was met in both houses with such determined opposition. But they had not calculated upon the rapid tactics of the English ministry, and they were suddenly startled with the intelligence that their cause was irretrievably lost—that the Union was an accomplished fact. Their only chance of effecting a reaction—and it was a feeble one—lay in the discontent which the first working of the Union would occasion, and, with that provident watchfulness which they ought to have exercised at an earlier period, they resolved to wait the progress of events, and avail themselves of every opportunity by which the national jealousy might be offended and the repeal of the Union desired.

Nor were these causes of public and national discontent late in making their appearance; even the first movements of the Union were grounds of discontent and complaint. It was necessary that representatives should be appointed for Scotland to sit in the British parliament; but by whom was the election to be made? If this should be left to the popular choice the majority of the members returned would be anti-unionists, and the contest be opened up afresh. But the Scottish parliament, still in session, removed this difficulty by taking the appointment into their own hands, and choosing the members from their own body. The Estates accordingly selected sixteen peers and forty-five commoners to represent the peers, barons, and burghs of their country in the first parliament of Great Britain, and of these sixty-one members only eighteen had been opposed to the Union.

A more difficult task was the apportioning of the equivalent to be paid to Scotland, of which one part was to be devoted to the public benefit, and the other to the reimbursement of the Darien Company. But here the commissioners of the Union were the first to step in and claim remuneration for their services; and although their numerous demands amounted in the aggregate to not more than £30,000, this sum had a formidable appearance not only from its proportion to the whole equivalent, but its overwhelming magnitude when reduced to pounds Scots. While the general outcry was loud against such selfishness, many sarcastically asked if this was the best mode of encouraging Scotch commerce, promoting its manufactures and fisheries, and creating employment for the poor? Nor did the allowance to the Darien Company meet with greater favour. In satisfying so many claimants the committee appointed to the task seems to have acted with considerable fairness and impartiality, and the sum allotted to this purpose of £254,292 was distributed among those creditors who could establish their claims. But it was not the less asserted that these payments were chiefly confined to the supporters of the ministry, that many just claims were disregarded, and that a considerable residue of the money, of which no account was rendered, had found its way into the pockets of the ministry and their friends. Much discontent was also felt at the delay in forwarding the money. Although the English parliament had decided upon sending the money to Scotland immediately some unexpected delay occurred in its transmission, and this was eagerly used by the alarmists as an argument against the Union and a ground for rescinding it. The money had not come; it would not come at all, or only as a bribe for additional sacrifices. It was even said that the Duke of Hamilton, with the heads of his party, had gone to the Cross of Edinburgh at midnight, and there made proclamation, that as the purchase money had not been paid, the Union itself was null and void. At last the equivalent arrived, but not till the month of August; and when it was carried to the castle of Edinburgh in twelve waggons under a guard of dragoons the cavalcade was followed by the angry shouts and execrations of the people. The treasure was uncovered, and lo! one hundred thousand pounds had been sent in specie, while the rest was in exchequer bills. Here was a new insult and a fresh injury. These exchequer bills, it is true, were payable upon demand, but then it was in London, which was as distant from many of the holders as Madrid or Vienna, while there was not cash enough in the country to negotiate them at home; and as they bore no interest there was

no motive for hoarding them up, in the hope that they would fructify by inaction. Some of the claimants were fain to receive payment, half in cash half in exchequer bills; others accepted bills of exchange on London, with the loss which the transference occasioned; and, by this needless and dangerous injury to an already infuriated nation, none was benefited but the bank of England by the interest on the original sum.

Another grievance experienced by the Scots from the Union arose from the equalization of duties and customs in England and Scotland. Hitherto the import duties upon foreign productions had been heavy in the former country while they were light in the latter; but, as this distinction was to cease on the 1st of May, the Scots had resolved to profit by the interval. Accordingly the merchants had bestirred themselves with unwonted activity in importing brandies, wines, and other foreign commodities into the country, intending, as soon as the Union had passed, to introduce them into England, where all Scottish merchandise was to be admitted duty free. Another mercantile speculation not quite so honest was in the article of tobacco. This article had already become as much a necessary of life as it is in the present day, while a drawback of sixpence per pound weight was allowed on it when it was exported from Scotland to England. Here, then, was an opportunity by which the English traffickers in the weed were drawn into close sympathy with those of Scotland, and to avail themselves of the allowance, they sent numerous bales of the commodity down to the Scottish ports, intending to resume them as soon as the Union began to operate. But these various devices did not escape the notice of the London merchants, and, in the dread of being undersold and ruined, they brought their complaint before the House of Commons. They represented that the importation into Scotland of the produce of France and other foreign countries, which were to be conveyed into England by the first of May for the purpose of evading the English duties, was ruinous to fair traders and prejudicial to the revenue; and, in consequence of their appeal, it was enacted that all foreign goods from Scotland after the Union should be liable to the same duties as those directly imported from France or Spain, under pain of seizure. The Scottish merchants in London complained of this as a violation of the treaty, and they proposed that the goods imported from Scotland should be admitted free unless it could be proved that they were not the property of Scottish merchants in that country. This was apparently a reasonable request had the difficulty of such proof and the facilities of eluding it not been taken into account. While

this important question was still pending an immense quantity of foreign produce which had been fairly imported into Scotland, and had paid the Scottish duties before the first of May, was poured into England in the middle of June; but no sooner had it arrived in the Thames, than a seizure was made by the custom-house officers both of ships and cargo.

This was not the only shock which the merchandise of Scotland sustained as the first-fruits of the Union. Hitherto the customs and excise had been small and easily collected; but, in consequence of the new laws by which the taxes were to be levied, and the deficient experience of the Scots in this kind of duty, a numerous host of English tax-gatherers was sent down to superintend the revenue and enforce its collection. This novel form of invasion was more than the Scots could endure. It was too much that the food they ate, the liquors they drank, and the clothes they wore, should be subject to the sharp search of inquisitors; but that this office should be intrusted to their old hereditary enemies was an insult that aggravated the injury tenfold. What cared they for English laws or English imposts from which they had hitherto been free? And was this the boasted liberty which the Union had guaranteed? To resist these invaders of their natural rights was regarded as a patriotic duty, and smuggling, far from being accounted a crime, was justified as a right, or ennobled into heroic enterprise. The custom-house laws were therefore despised, its officers assailed, and their seizures recaptured by open force and violence, while the onlookers, instead of aiding the functionaries of the law, either slipped aside or loudly applauded the deed. In this way whole ship-loads of foreign productions, especially of Dutch brandy, were secretly landed upon our shores, and when landed, were conveyed inland by traffickers who were armed to the teeth, and ready to give battle for their property. And when such outrages compelled an increase of force to resist them, so that custom-house cavalry were equipped for the land-service, and custom-house cutters armed for the prevention of smuggling by sea, the mode of the popular warfare was only changed by this adoption, and stratagem and cunning were used when arms could no longer avail. Although the land was parcelled into districts, each of which was provided with a riding-officer and a troop of armed horsemen, they could not be everywhere, or obtain reliable intelligence of the quarter in which smuggling was at that moment going on. Nor could the excise vessels exercise such a watchful vigilance over the wide sea, the friths, and the indented coasts as to intercept the wary contraband small craft, or detect it in

running a cargo. Independently of the profits of such lawless deeds, their daring character and dexterous devices recommended them to the popular sympathy, and to outwit and baffle these odiously intrusive Englishmen was in the eyes of the most austere moralists a very venial offence.¹

While the first-fruits of the Union were of so bitter a character, that all parties in Scotland longed for its repeal, the Jacobites rejoiced in this aversion as the pledge of their success. They therefore ventured in 1707 publicly to celebrate the birth-day of the Pretender; and emboldened by the circumstance that no check had been offered to their proceedings, they renewed their intrigues for the restoration of the fallen dynasty with greater confidence than ever. Their chief agent on this occasion was Colonel Hooke, who negotiated between the party in Scotland and the courts of Versailles and St. Germain. Near the end of the preceding year, and while the treaty of union was still under discussion, he had given flattering accounts to the French minister of the general discontent of the Scots, and represented that now was the time to ensure the safety of France and the restoration of the Stuarts, by promoting these tendencies to a civil war between Scotland and England. After describing the hostility of the Scots to the proposed union, and that they saw no other means of avoiding it, he made the following bold statement: "The greatest part of Scotland has always been well-affected to the rightful king; the Presbyterians, his ancient enemies, even wish for him at present, and as they look upon him as their only resource, they offer to begin the war upon the first orders that they receive. They require only a ship loaded with gunpowder, and a promise that the King of England [the Pretender] will go and put himself at the head of his friends in Scotland. I have seen a great number of principal lords who are all of the same opinion. Being assured that there will be a universal rising in Scotland, they have drawn up a memorial addressed to the king [of France] in which they give an account of the state of their nation. They have taken the instructions which you, sir, had the goodness to give me for their rule, and they have answered them article by article. They oblige themselves to march into England at the head of 30,000 men, whom they will supply with provisions, clothes, carriages, and even in part with arms." Although these and other similar representations of Hooke were so alluring, the French court demurred; his statements

¹ Pamphlets on the Union; Scottish memoirs and histories of the period.

were too sanguine to obtain ready credence. However much, also, France might wish for the weakening of England by kindling a fresh war between it and Scotland, the expense was to be considered, and in the exhausted state of his treasury the French king was in no humour to undertake the expense of such a doubtful enterprise. Although this reluctance was characteristic of the ancient selfish policy of France in its dealings with Scotland, in the present case it was as prudent as it was wary, for although all parties hated the Union as a type of famine, pestilence, and war, the Presbyterians, who were the mass of the nation, utterly abhorred the thought of the restoration of the Stuarts.

Instead of committing himself to any positive engagements, Louis XIV., who was now old and frail, as well as dispirited by his many defeats, sent back Hooke to Scotland, in his double character of emissary and spy, to ascertain more fully the amount of aid which the Jacobites expected from him, and what services they were certain to render in return. Hooke arrived near the end of March, 1707, but found the Union already concluded, and the Jacobites divided among themselves, so that he found it impossible to reconcile them, or make them act in mutual concert. Some were for instant war, others for delay to a more convenient season, and others for supplies of men and arms from France before a rising was attempted. The equivocal character of the agent was also suspected, more especially when it was found that he had no authority from the French court to guarantee his promises of assistance. But the greatest difficulties of Hooke arose from the cautious or selfish conduct of the Duke of Hamilton. That nobleman, whose rank and influence placed him at the head of the Jacobites, had behaved so equivocally while the Union was in progress, that he was distrusted by his own party, and suspected by the government; and when the emissary sought a personal interview, the duke conveniently fell sick, and could not receive him. He, however, expressed his opinion by message that nothing effectual could be done unless the Pretender himself came to Scotland with a French army of 10,000 men to back him. This view was also adopted by other Jacobite leaders. To make themselves masters of Scotland, they asserted, they needed nothing more than the person of James, their king, with a supply of arms, ammunition, and money; but as they meant to make an invasion into England, a powerful auxiliary French force would also be necessary. Hooke reminded them of the successful expedition of the Scots into England in 1639 without such aid; and when they replied that they needed foreign troops, for the

protection of the king, until their friends could be drawn together, he sarcastically reminded them of their declarations, that the whole nation was ready to rise as soon as his majesty should appear. "A body of foreign troops," he added, "unaccustomed to your mode of living, your language, and religion, would be of more detriment than service." He then appealed to their national pride by describing the superior strength, hardihood, and activity of their own soldiers even as raw recruits, and their aptitude for military training, and he endeavoured to rouse them with the example of Dundee, who, he said, with only two thousand Highlanders, had defeated General Mackay at the head of six thousand of the picked soldiers of Holland and England. But he spoke to men among whom there was no second Dundee to attempt so bold an experiment. After much altercation they reduced their demand to five thousand French soldiers; but here also Hooke was ready with a refusal. Five thousand men, he observed, could not be embarked from France without occasioning such observation that the English cabinet would suspect their object, and in such a case they would seize upon the leading men of Scotland as a necessary precaution. This new view of the matter, which came home so closely to themselves, appears to have so disconcerted these Jacobite nobles that the conference was immediately ended.

It might have been expected that all further dealings between the emissary and the Jacobite nobles would have broken off. While he had advised them to brave the whole power of England by a rising in behalf of the Pretender, he had given them to know that the work must be their own independent of any aid from France. But with that infatuated hopefulness in their cause, which so strangely contrasted with the smallness of their means and the feebleness of their efforts, they resolved to make another appeal to the French king. They accordingly drew up a memorial to be presented by Colonel Hooke, stating the ripeness of the opportunity, and the readiness of the whole Scottish nation for the restoration of their lawful king. Let James but appear among them, and Scotland would be his without a blow. They would then immediately march into England, and for such an invasion they were well prepared with men and equipments, a statement of which they made in detail. But their greatest want was money, and therefore they besought of his most Christian majesty the aid of a hundred thousand pistoles to furnish them for the expedition, a regular monthly subsidy during the war, and arms for twenty-five thousand foot and five thousand dragoons. But this was not all, for

they must have aid from France in men as well as money and munitions, as these would be necessary for the defence of the king at his landing, and the number of this auxiliary force they modestly set down at eight thousand men. "We also beseech his majesty," the memorialists added, "to honour this nation with a general to command in chief under our sovereign, of distinguished rank, that the first men of Scotland may be obliged to obey him without difficulty, and to cause him to be accompanied by such general officers as the two kings shall judge proper. The peers and other lords, with their friends, desire to command the troops they shall raise in quality of colonels, captains, and ensigns; but we want majors, lieutenants, and sergeants to discipline them. And if our enemies withdraw their troops from foreign countries to employ them against us, we hope that his most Christian majesty will send some of his own to assist us."¹

The commencement of this memorial with its parade of strength and means for the invasion of England contrasted strongly with the confession of weakness which their importunity for aid implied. They could raise an army of twenty-five thousand foot and five thousand horse at a single call; they had subsistence for these troops for two years, and were well provided in the essential articles of a campaign, and yet needed the assistance of France as completely as if without it they could do nothing. It was a childish attempt to allure the French court into the enterprise, and afterwards bear the whole burden of its management. Hooke, however, having finished his mission, and received their memorial, encouraged them with assurances that their king would land in Scotland, and be among them in August, after which he departed to France. His representations at the French court of the strength of the Jacobite cause in Scotland, and the hatred of the whole nation at the Union, created a feeling of triumph, which soon, however, evaporated, and the victory at Almanza, by which a Bourbon was placed in the Spanish throne, made the restoration of the Stuarts a subject of minor importance. They, therefore, allowed it to go to sleep until some fresh emergency should compel them to waken it, and the Jacobites, left to themselves, were loud in their complaints of the selfishness of the French king, who had only adopted their cause in his need, and abandoned it when their services were no longer required.

In the midst of these murmurs a new occasion arrived for using the services of these malcon-

tents and their unfortunate sovereign. To counteract the advantages gained by the French at Almanza their allied enemies projected the destruction of Toulon; but although the Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene conducted the land operations, while the Dutch and English fleets bombarded the town by sea, they were compelled to raise the siege. Such, however, was the alarm occasioned by this attempt, that the troops designed for reinforcing the French army in Spain were prevented from marching, and the whole country was filled with terror and confusion. It was now resolved to avert the storm by invading Scotland in good earnest, and an armament was drawn together with such secrecy for the purpose that even the Pretender himself and his friends were not made aware of its destination. A fleet of five sail of the line and twenty-one frigates and a land force of 5000 men were soon in readiness to convey the Pretender to Scotland; and the Jacobites were cheered with the intelligence that their master was coming among them at last, and that the expedition would assuredly set sail from Dunkirk on the 4th of March (1708). This muster, however, could not be made without notice, and various surmises were made of its destination, until the arrival of the Pretender at Dunkirk betrayed the real object for which the armament was designed. On the tidings being transmitted to England the parliament bestirred itself with unwonted energy and more than the usual measure of severity. The *habeas corpus* act was suspended, the oath of abjuration was ordered to be administered to all persons without distinction, and the Pretender and his friends were denounced as rebels. A powerful fleet was sent to cruise off Dunkirk, and troops were marched down from England into Scotland, while the Duke of Hamilton and twenty-one other Scottish lords and gentlemen notorious for their Jacobitism were forthwith placed under arrest.

It was under these unfortunate auspices, and after some unnecessary delays, that the Pretender, who had assumed the title of the Chevalier de St. George, embarked on this expedition. As yet only in his twentieth year, and having been immured from infancy in the mimic court of St. Germain, he was altogether unfitted for the difficulties of such an enterprise; and among his adherents there was no Montrose to supply the deficiency. But fortunately for his prestige he was not allowed to land and betray his incapacity. Watching for an opportunity to set sail the French admiral stood out to sea on the 17th of March, a violent wind having previously driven the English fleet off the coast; but the same storm soon compelled the French to return to port, where they were detained two

¹ Colonel Hooke's *Letters and Narrative of the Negotiation presented to the Court of France*, Edin. 1765; Lockhart Papers.

days, and during this interval Sir George Byng, the English admiral, had time to reach the Firth of Forth and await the enemy's arrival. As soon as the weather permitted the French fleet again ventured out and made for the mouth of the Forth, intending to effect a landing at Burnt-island; but scarcely had they entered the firth when the English fleet made its appearance. Fourbin, the French admiral, was one of the bravest and most skilful of the French naval commanders, but his orders were strict not to risk his ships in an encounter, on which account he altered his course, intending to land at Cromarty or Inverness. He was, however, so closely pursued by Byng that the van of the English and the rear of the French fleet kept up a running engagement, in which the *Salisbury*, a heavy vessel that had once belonged to the British navy, was captured by the pursuers. In the meantime the unfortunate Pretender, who had been tantalized with a sight of the native hills of his ancestors only to be abruptly hurried out again to sea, entreated to be put on shore, although it should be with no more than his own attendants; but the pursuit was too close and dangerous to allow his request to be regarded, and the French ships, after a month's absence, returned to their old berth in the harbour of Dunkirk in a shattered condition, and with their holds filled with sick and disabled men.¹ Such was the end of an expedition which the pope had blessed and on which the Jacobites had so confidently relied. Soon after his return to France the Pretender went to Flanders, accompanied the French army that was fighting against the British and their allies, and was present at the battle of Oudenarde, where the French sustained from Marlborough and Prince Eugene a more terrible defeat than they had ever yet sustained. While he was thus taking part against his own countrymen, and lessening his chances of becoming their king, the Prince-elector of Hanover, afterwards George II., was performing the duties of a brave cavalry officer in the opposite ranks, and showing himself more worthy of the crown which he was afterwards to wear. Of the Pretender's conduct in this engagement there are opposite accounts. According to some he showed unsoldierlike timidity, and only witnessed the battle from the steeple of a neighbouring village. According to another account he was personally in the action and showed no want of bravery and coolness.

For some time after this period the history of Scotland was swallowed up in the more important events of the great European conflict which Marl-

borough was conducting, and the intrigues of the English cabinet and parliament which its startling incidents occasioned. The Scottish discontents produced by the Union still continued, and the hopes of the Jacobites, which were founded upon them, had not abated. Nor was the legislature either wise or generous in allaying these feelings; on the contrary, several of the measures of parliament, when it condescended to the affairs of Scotland, were rather calculated to aggravate them. Of these we give a single specimen, which occurred in the parliament of Great Britain that met on November 15th, 1710. The only staple manufacture of Scotland before the Union had been linen, and this the Scottish parliament had cherished with patriotic solicitude. It was now proposed that a duty should be imposed for thirty-two years upon every piece of linen exported from Britain, but this was opposed by Baillie of Jerviswood, and Smith, the representative of Glasgow, on the ground that it was unfair and oppressive. The woollen cloth of England, they alleged, which was the staple of that country, being free of duty, the Scottish linen, the only staple of Scotland, ought in like manner to be exempted, more especially as England manufactured no linen, while the woollen manufactures of Scotland had been ruined by the Union. To this argument Harley replied with the imperious question, "Have we not bought them and a right to tax them? For what end did we give the equivalent?" This reprehensible question startled the Scottish representatives, and Lockhart of Carnwath indignantly asked, "How was Scotland thus bought and sold? What was the price given, and by whom was it received? As for the equivalent, it was a sum paid to Scotland for the charge laid upon the Scottish customs and excise and to defray the English debts contracted before the Union. Before the Union," he added, "bounteous promises had been made about the communication of trade, and in these the Scots had trusted to English honour; but the proposed tax taught them what they were to expect and justified their resentment against those who had sold them." The duty was imposed, not, however, by the piece, but the yard, as the English pieces measured 40 yards but the Scotch only 10. To this grievance another was forthwith added, by which the linen trade of Scotland would have been restricted that the linen trade of Ireland might be promoted. On this being also opposed by Baillie and Lockhart they were petulantly reminded that, whatever had been the laws of Scotland, she was now subject to English dominion and English laws, and that Ireland must not be ruined to humour a few North British members. "Scotland never

¹ Fourbin's *Memoirs*, quoted in Tindal's *History; Life and Reign of Queen Anne*.

was and never will be subject to English sovereignty!" said Lockhart with patriotic heat. "Gentlemen," he added, "still talked of the trade and liberties of England, and he was willing to believe that this arose from inadvertency or custom; but now he really thought they held that the interest of England comprehended that of Great Britain, or at least that the other part was to be little regarded." The bill for regulating the linen trade of Scotland, which was about to be sacrificed to Irish interests, was passed through the Commons but rejected by the Lords, who allowed Irish linen to be exported duty free to the colonies for five years in addition to other five which had been previously granted—a concession to Ireland by which the exportation of Scottish linen was virtually prohibited.

While the political rights of Scotland were thus treated the liberties of its church could scarcely escape. The independent spirit of Presbyterianism and its opposition to arbitrary power were alike hostile to the Tory statesmen and Jacobite schemers of the period; and, unless it could be coerced, there was little chance either for the restoration of passive obedience or the recall of the Stuarts. It is true, indeed, that the liberty of the Church of Scotland had been guaranteed at the Union by the most solemn of all sanctions; but events were already showing how little the terms of the treaty could be regarded, when it was the interest of the ruling powers to set them aside. An event now occurred by which this inevitable struggle was prematurely brought into action. It will be remembered that of all the adjuncts of English Episcopacy, that of the liturgy was the most odious to the Scots, and that after they had tolerated the imposition of bishops, their national resistance was roused by the Book of Common Prayer. The book had accordingly been hastily withdrawn, and even in the hottest times of the subsequent persecution there had been no attempts to reimpose it. A few English regiments, who had been sent down to Scotland, attempted to revive among themselves their own native worship by the use of the liturgy, but even this natural innovation excited the alarm of the presbyteries, and such a use of the prayer-book in Scotland was not only prohibited, but the chaplains themselves hindered from preaching to their own flocks. A controversy in consequence arose among the disputants, which was conducted with all the more heat, that neither party understood the rights of conscience or the duty of Christian toleration. While this controversy was going on a clergyman named Greenshields, who had been admitted to holy orders by a Scottish bishop, opened a chapel in

Edinburgh and introduced the use of the obnoxious liturgy, which had not hitherto been attempted on such occasions. The presbytery of Edinburgh took the alarm and cited the offender to appear before them; but, on his declining their authority, he was interdicted by the magistrates of the city, himself committed to prison, and his meeting-house closed. Greenshields then brought his case before the Court of Session, but there sentence was given against him, and his conduct regarded as an infraction of the articles of the treaty of Union. As a last resource he carried his appeal to the House of Lords in 1710; but the memorable trial of Sacheverell had so completely engrossed the attention of that high court of legislature, that his case for the time was thrown aside. It was, however, taken up when the struggle was ended by the triumph of High-church and Tory principles, and a new cabinet had been formed; and on this occasion the sentence of the Court of Session was reversed, and the magistrates amerced in heavy damages for wrongous imprisonment. This decision was a triumph to the Jacobites and a subject of rage to the Presbyterians. Had the latter taken their ground upon the unrepealed laws of the land and the articles of Union the magistrates might have escaped, and Greenshields been the only sufferer; but, as the case had been conducted, he was represented as a martyr to his religious principles and the victim of Scottish and Presbyterian intolerance.¹

Having been thus far successful the Prelatists and Jacobites ventured upon still more important hostilities against the Church of Scotland, and for this warfare they had strengthened themselves by the addition of twelve new English peers to the House of Lords. Out of twelve commoners as many lords were created, and, to add to the contempt with which the proceeding was characterized, the whole batch was created in one day.² Having thus made sure of a majority a bill was introduced into the House of Commons on the 21st of January, 1712, for granting a legal toleration to those Episcopalian dissenters in Scotland who were desirous of using the liturgy; it also proposed the repeal of those acts of the Scottish parliament that subjected them to the jurisdiction and discipline of Presbyterian church courts, and prohibiting the civil sanction from the enforcement of ecclesiastical sentences. On the introduction of this bill, which was done with such haste that nothing was known of it until the motion was made, the

¹ *A True State of the Case of the Rev. Mr. Greenshields*, Edin. 1710; Lockhart Papers.

² Among the witticisms of the day at this new creation was one of Lord Wharton, who compared them to a jury, and asked if they meant to vote by their *foreman*.

three influential clergymen, Carstairs, Blackwell, and Baillie, deputed by the General Assembly, hurried to London to watch over the liberties of the church and oppose the passing of the bill. But, in spite of all the opposition they could procure, the bill was passed through the Commons and sent to the Lords. Here it was proposed that, to prevent Popish priests and Jacobites from taking advantage of this toleration, all who accepted of it should, within a certain time, subscribe the oath of abjuration. To this the Jacobites could not well object, and knowing that the ministers of the established church hesitated about some expressions in the oath, they consented on condition that they also be compelled to take it. In the act of succession, by which the crown was to devolve upon the house of Hanover, one of the conditions specified was, that the successor should be of the communion of the Church of England; and, in the oath of abjuration, allegiance was to be sworn to the successor as limited by that act. But the little word *as* was a mountain of difficulty, as it required all Presbyterians to swear that the king ought to be an Episcopalian, and that no Presbyterian could be entitled to the crown. On this account they obtained the consent of the Lords that the obnoxious word should be altered into *which was*, by which the crown was limited to a Protestant succession generally without any specification of the form of that Protestantism. But the Scottish Jacobites were not to be thus defeated; and in the House of Commons they had influence to procure the restoration of the word "*as*," by which the abjuration oath was made unpalatable to Papists and Presbyterians alike. The former could not take it because they regarded the Pretender as the rightful heir to the throne, while the latter would not take it because it reprobated their church; and it was hoped by the Jacobites that in this dilemma both of the proscribed might be induced to coalesce for the subversion of the Revolution Settlement and the restoration of the Popish Pretender. And although this likely result was overruled and prevented the manœuvre was attended with mischievous effects to both churches. While the Episcopal clergy of Scotland refused the oath of abjuration they availed themselves of that of toleration by restoring the services of their churches to that formality and splendour which Land had so earnestly desired, but which Scotland had never witnessed till now. And as for the Presbyterian ministers the oath in its present state, like the Indulgence granted by Charles II., became a bone of contention among the brethren and a criterion of ministerial faithfulness, many congregations refusing the ministry of those pastors who, by taking the

oath, had been guilty, as was deemed, of a weak and sinful compliance.¹

The aggressions upon the Church of Scotland were not yet ended. Apprehending no further attempts the commissioners of the General Assembly had returned to their homes, when they were roused from their security by alarming tidings; these were, that patronage was about to be restored. The right of a patron to present to a living irrespective of the choice or wishes of the people was not only opposed to the spirit of Presbyterianism, but odious to the popular feeling, and the protests against it had been incessant until it was abolished in 1649. At the Restoration, indeed, it was reinstated, but again abolished after the Revolution, and the right of the people to elect their own minister was one of those laws of the church which had been secured by the treaty of the Union. This right of popular election also, notwithstanding the bickerings and discussions it occasioned, and which are more or less inherent in such right whether applied to civil or ecclesiastical office-bearers, had been found to work so well, that from 1690 to 1712 not a single instance had occurred of a great body of the congregation deserting the parish church in consequence of the election having gone against their wishes. But patronage was necessary for the politics of the day, and therefore must be restored. The church was formidable so long as it possessed ministers endeared to the people by their own voluntary election, and while this continued the restoration of a Popish pretender would be difficult if not impossible. But let the right of nomination be placed in the hands of a lay patron, and this harmony would be destroyed. The people would be alienated from pastors in whose call they had no voice, and the ministers themselves would be dependent upon the nobility and gentry, among whom, more than the common people, the principles of Jacobitism predominated. Availing themselves of the absence of the Scottish commissioners the bill for the restoration of church patronage in Scotland was introduced into parliament on the 13th of March, 1712, and carried forward with such haste, that it passed the House of Commons on the 7th of April, one hundred and seventy-three members voting in its favour, and seventy-six against it. At the first news of this unexpected proceeding the three commissioners, Carstairs, Blackwell, and Baillie, returned to London, authorized by the church to oppose the progress of this fatal bill; but the slow travelling of the period was overmatched by the indecent

¹ Lockhart Papers; Burnet's *History of his Own Times*; Boston's *Memoirs*; *Memoirs of Hog of Carnock*; Wodrow's *Analecta and Letters*.

haste of their opponents in deliberating, so that when they reached the capital they found that the bill was already in the House of Lords, and its success all but decided. So speedily after was such an important national affair concluded, that the legislators of the eighteenth century seemed to have passed forward the bill by a sort of political railway. The House of Lords heard the appeal of the Scottish commissioners and the reading of the bill once, twice, and a third time, all in one day—the 12th of April, not the 1st—and on the 14th returned it to the House of Commons with a few slight alterations which were allowed, after which on the 22d it received the royal assent.¹ And thus a deed was done by which the Act of Security itself was made of little worth; and an obstacle removed to the march of the Pretender to the throne. It was not, however, at such a corrupt period, and by such unworthy agencies, that the conflict of patronage was to be fought anew, or its final issue decided.

The meeting of the General Assembly was now at hand, and the event was awaited with intense anxiety. In what language would the voice of the church condemn the late violation of its rights? Above all, the Jacobites, by whom the deed had been effected, were hopeful of the result. By their crafty manœuvre they thought that Presbyterian Scotland would be filled with such revengeful ire as to care neither for the Treaty of Union nor the Act of Settlement; that she should be ready to give both to the winds, and return to the Stuarts at St. Germain, as she had done to Charles II. at Breda; and that the Scottish arms, added to the malcontents of England and Ireland, would make the restoration of their master to the throne of the three kingdoms an easy achievement. But the Scots had become wise through past experience; they had smarted too often under the perfidy of the Stuarts, and in choosing between two evils, they would rather at any risk have a Protestant sovereign, Episcopal than he might be, than one who was heart and soul a Papist, and as such opposed to every phase of the Reformation. This wise and forbearing spirit pervaded the assembly which met at Edinburgh on the first of May (1712), and the Jacobites found that by their obnoxious breach of faith the cause of their sovereign, which they hoped so greatly to further, was more hopeless than ever, and this through their own interference.

The General Assembly was opened by John Duke of Athole as its commissioner, and the royal letter which was read teemed with assur-

ances of favour and good-will. "Lest any late occurrences," it said, "may have possessed some of you with fear and jealousies, we take this solemn occasion to assure you it is our firm purpose to maintain the Church of Scotland as established by law; and whatsoever ease is given to those who differ from you in points that are not essential, we will, however, employ our utmost care to protect you from all insults, and redress your just complaints." The assembly's answer to this royal address was equally peaceful and placable. "The late occurrences," they replied, "which your majesty is pleased to take notice of, have, we must acknowledge, possessed us of fears and jealousies. But as we have always embraced, and do at present lay hold upon, the assurance your majesty is pleased to give us of your firm purpose to maintain the Church of Scotland as established by law, so we cannot but with all dutiful submission, and in that truth and ingenuity that becomes the faithful ministers and servants of our Lord Jesus Christ, put your majesty in mind of the representations and petitions laid before you by the commission of the last General Assembly for a remedy in these matters, humbly hoping that these our most just complaints may come in due time and manner to be redressed." The proceedings of the brethren were in conformity with this reply. They gave their sanction to the representations, petitions, and addresses of their commission, which they embodied into specific acts, and instructed the commission to use all dutiful and proper means to obtain the redress of these grievances complained—a practice which was annually continued until 1782. They also attempted to frame such an explanation and modification of the abjuration oath, that ministers of tender conscience might be able to take it without scruple. These harmless acts, with endeavours to propagate Christian knowledge and civilization in the Highlands and Isles of Scotland, and the collection of funds for the salaries of missionaries and schoolmasters employed in such offices, formed the chief of their proceedings, after which the assembly rose as peacefully as it had met, greatly to the chagrin of those cunning contrivers who had hoped for a very different issue.²

There was one class of Presbyterians, however, who were not so easily to be satisfied; these were the men of extreme views, who held the Cameronian principles, and who had refused to re-enter the Church of Scotland when it was established at the Revolution. They still retained their fierce principles of resistance, although the season of persecution had long gone

¹ Lockhart Papers; Wodrow; Burnet's *Own Times*; *Life of Carstairs*.

² Minutes and Acts of the Assembly.

by, and their chief quarrel was now with the established church itself, which they regarded as too passive and time-serving. Since the death of Renwick they had remained without a minister until 1706, when the Rev. John Macmillan, having been deposed for holding Cameronian sentiments, attached himself to their party, and became their minister and leader. Although self-excluded from the church, they still continued to watch over it as their erring parent, and evince a deep interest in its movements. If they had any lingering hopes that it might even yet retrace its steps, and become that fair ideal of a church to which they could conscientiously be reconciled, these expectations were overthrown by the patronage and toleration acts, and by the passiveness with which the church had succumbed to them. They felt it not the less their duty to testify against the prevailing defections, and for this purpose a large and solemn meeting was appointed to be held at Auchensaugh near Douglas on the 23d of July, 1712. Previous to this assembling, a startling question had been proposed by some of the members, "Should they come to the meeting armed?" It was replied that this would be unnecessary unless there was evidence of a design to interrupt their proceedings. As no such design was manifested or intended, the rendezvous was attended, and its proceedings conducted without interruption, except such as arose from the contentions among themselves. After the acknowledgment of sins personal and national, they renewed the Covenants; but at the close of the service the minister was constrained to rebuke the congregation for their listlessness and unconcerned behaviour while the confession of sins was made, and the Covenants subscribed anew.¹ It was unfortunate for their zeal that there was no persecution of any kind to bind them more closely together, and animate their testimony against the defections of the day. Thus low had the once strong and formidable Cameronianism fallen. Planted in danger and nursed amidst the storm, it could only thrive in the war of the elements; and when the atmosphere was tranquillized, its leaves withered, and its vitality decayed. In its adaptation to the character of our own day, this singular sect of hill-men, society-men, Cameronians, Macmillanites, and now the Reformed Presbyterian Church, presents a very different aspect from that which it wore at Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge, and finally at the Union.

The course of public events which succeeded was unfavourable to the hopes of the Pretender

and his partisans. The Duchess of Marlborough, as the queen's favourite, had been supplanted by Mrs. Masham, and the great duke himself, after so many brilliant victories by which the power of France was brought to the lowest ebb, was dismissed from office. The French king made overtures for peace, and as Marlborough was no longer at the head of the allied armies, he availed himself of this circumstance to procrastinate the treaty and rise in his demands. The whole country was also weary of the expense of the war, and disposed to make undue concessions rather than continue it any longer. The very salvos of the ordnance in our arsenals, as they announced each successive victory, seemed only to disturb the desire for tranquillity and pall upon the public ear. An inevitable consequence in the conclusion of such a peace would be the recognition of the Hanoverian succession by the King of France, and his abandonment of the cause of the Pretender; but Louis was too deeply interested in the treaty to hesitate at making such concessions. The Tory party, however, who were now in power, and felt that peace was necessary for their own continuance in office, pushed on the treaty in spite of its exorbitant conditions, and appointed the Duke of Hamilton ambassador to the French court to bring the negotiations to a close. It was an ominous choice for the fate of the Hanoverian succession, as the duke was ostensibly the head of the Jacobite party, and was in secret correspondence with the court of St. Germans. He was also in favour with the queen, who was supposed to be adverse to the House of Hanover, and desirous that the succession should devolve upon her brother, the Pretender, rather than upon George I. It was remembered, however, that the Duke of Hamilton was the most unsteady and uncertain of all politicians, and one who was more likely to damage the cause he supported than that which he opposed. He had led the Pretender's party into difficulties from which they could not be extricated, and while opposed to the Union, had served by his equivocal proceedings to promote its settlement more effectually than the best of its supporters. While the political world, however, was wondering at this court appointment, and speculating on its purpose, and the conduct which the erratic duke was likely to pursue, his career was suddenly cut short in an idle affray, and by the sword of a quarrelsome duellist.

This unfortunate event had its origin in a lawsuit between the duke and his kinsman, Lord Mohun, about the succession to the Earl of Macclesfield's estate, which had hung in suspense for nine years, and might probably have been procrastinated as many years more. During

¹ MS. Record of the Societies, quoted in Aikman's *History of Scotland*.

this irritating delay words of insult passed between the parties, and were followed by a challenge from Lord Mohun, whose temper has been represented as that of a madman, who had already killed two men in duels, and in the spirit of a bully relied on his dexterity in the use of his sword. Although he was to depart in a few days upon his important embassy, the duke accepted this invitation, and appeared on the ground in Hyde Park on the morning of Saturday the 15th of November. The duke and Mohun encountered with such rancour that both fell mortally wounded, and in this condition were found by the keepers of the park. His lordship died on the spot, and his grace before he could be carried to his residence, while no one remained but Colonel Hamilton, a relative of the duke, and his second, to give an account of the event, General Macartney, the second of the other, having fled. A fierce question about the fair play of this tragical event immediately followed between the Whigs and the Tories, the latter insisting that the duke had been foully done to death, a surmise that was countenanced by the rambling account of Colonel Hamilton. But no positive conclusion could be fixed amidst such keen prejudices and conflicting statements; for while the two principals were engaged and closing with each other like madmen, both of them regardless of self-defence, and each only eager to kill his adversary, the two seconds had also engaged according to established fashion, and were wholly intent on their own share of the fray. It was insinuated by the Tories that the duel was a preconceived device of the Whigs to arrest the Duke of Hamilton's mission; that Mohun, the notorious bravo, was only their tool; and that the duke was actually killed, not by his opponent, but by a treacherous and unexpected thrust from Macartney, after Mohun had fallen; and that the general, to escape the consequences of a searching examination, had fled the kingdom.¹ But let it have happened as it might, the Whigs, who indignantly repelled these accusations, did not the less rejoice that the duke's career was ended. The Duke of Shrewsbury was appointed ambassador in his stead, and the treaty of peace was finally signed at Utrecht on the 13th of March, 1713. The first article of the treaty was to the following effect: That the French king recognized the Protestant succession of the house of Hanover, and engaged for himself, his heirs and suc-

cessors, not to suffer the Pretender to return into his dominions, nor in any way to succour or assist him. The peace was grateful both to Whigs and Tories, each party hoping to profit by the opportunity, while the nation at large rejoiced that a war so ruinous and expensive, notwithstanding its glories and victories, was at last brought to a close.

It was soon found, however, by the Scots, that their country was not to derive unalloyed benefit from the peace of Utrecht. Among the conditions of the Union it had been stipulated that Scotland should be exempted from the malt-tax during the war and from the expenses which the war had occasioned, and this had been allowed by the commissioners, at the same time giving the hope that this exemption would be perpetual. But now that peace had returned there was a favourable opportunity for the extension of the tax over the whole island. The opportunity was also favoured by the discontent of the English at this exemption which the Scots enjoyed, and of which they could recognize neither the justice nor expediency. A bill accordingly was brought into parliament for the imposition of the malt-tax over the whole of Great Britain. In vain did the Scottish representatives plead that perpetual exemption had been demanded; that they had trusted in the generosity of the English nation that the temporary exemption granted to their country would never be interrupted; in vain also did they plead that an equalization of taxes had reference to the means and abilities of the two countries, and that the import laid upon English barley would be unequal and oppressive upon the barley of Scotland, which was far less productive both in the quantity and quality of the ale that was brewed from it. It was equally in vain that they represented the imposition of the tax in Scotland as tantamount to an express prohibition, inasmuch as it would so greatly raise the price of ale that few would be able to purchase it. These and other such representations were ineffectual, the bill continued its progress in both houses, and the Scottish members, finding that they were only taunted and overborne by numbers, were now resolved to combine in earnest for the dissolution of the Union. It was no mere party but a national question, in which Scottish Whig, Tory, and Jacobite were at one, and in a conference of the northern peers and commons it was resolved that the final stand should be made in the House of Lords. There, accordingly, the subject was introduced by the Earl of Findlater, who, after recapitulating in an eloquent speech the instances in which the terms of the Union had been violated, the disadvantages it entailed upon Scotland, and the inability of the latter country to

¹ Burnet; Lockhart; Swift in *Examiner*; Political pamphlets of the period. At the accession of George I. Macartney returned to England, demanded a trial, and was found guilty of manslaughter. His accuser, Colonel Hamilton, on being threatened with a prosecution for perjury, saw fit to avoid it by leaving the kingdom.

bear an equal share in the public burdens of the empire, concluded with the motion:—"That since the Union had not produced the good effects that were expected from it when it was entered into, leave might be given to bring in a bill for dissolving the said Union, and securing the Protestant succession in the house of Hanover, ensuring the queen's prerogative in both kingdoms, and preserving an entire amity and good correspondence between the two nations." This startling proposal was earnestly seconded by the Duke of Argyle, who stated that this dissolution was the only way of preserving peace and friendly relationships between the two kingdoms. The pressure of taxes, he asserted, was so unequal and so burdensome that they would never be productive, and as for the malt-tax, it could only be collected by a regiment of dragoons. On the question for leave to bring in the bill it was negatived, indeed, but only by four votes—a majority that showed how unstable the foundation of the Union was at the time and how easily a stronger shock might have subverted it. The Jacobites welcomed the angury as showing the uses such a threat might serve when their own purposes required it. On the following day the Scottish representatives resolved to defer the subject in the House of Commons until the next year, and in the meantime to obtain petitions to the queen and parliament from all the burghs and counties praying for a dissolution of the Union. Fortunately, however, for both kingdoms, their resolution did not take effect, as no petitions were obtained except from the counties of Edinburgh and Lanark. It was indeed significant for the welfare of both kingdoms that the Scottish caution was proof against such tempting agitations, and that, notwithstanding

the popular dislike to the Union, this malt-tax could not dissolve it.¹

After this period there were few events in Scotland worthy of particular notice during the reign of Queen Anne. Her zeal for the safety of the Protestant church on the one hand, which could only be secured by the Hanoverian succession, and her personal inclinations on the other, which were supposed to be in favour of her brother the Pretender as her successor, kept both parties in a state of suspense when they might otherwise have proceeded to mischievous action; and although the Jacobites continued their intrigues, they relied more upon the queen's good wishes for their master, and upon her dying bequest in his favour when she would be able to express it without fear or check, than upon either foreign invasion or a civil war. Thus matters continued until her death, which occurred on the 1st of August, 1714, in the fiftieth year of her age. Her reign, which was comprised in the short space of twelve years, sufficed for the accomplishment of two great objects of the highest importance. One was the utter overthrow of the attempts of Louis XIV. to effect the downfall of Protestantism and the subjugation of Europe. The other was the union of England and Scotland, by which not only the two crowns but the two nations were blended into one, while their names, changed into that of Great Britain, was the type of their common interest and mutual amity, which years have only tended to render more indissoluble. Such an event alone was enough to signalize the longest and most prosperous of our national reigns.

¹ Burnet; Lockhart Papers.

CHAPTER II.

REIGN OF GEORGE I. (1714-1727).

Peaceful succession of George I.—His arrival in Britain—Proceedings of his first parliament—Alarm of the Jacobites at the cordial assent to George's succession—Their machinations to disturb it—Flight of Lord Bolingbroke to the Pretender—Peaceful recognition of George I. in Scotland—Intrigues in the returns of Whig members to parliament—Hanoverian loyalty of Fraser of Lovat—Preparations of the Jacobites for an insurrection in Scotland—Precautions adopted to oppose it—Offers of the Scots for the national defence—The Earl of Mar's unsuccessful appeal to royal favour—His discontentment at the rejection—He organizes the rebellion of 1715—His fallacious encouragements from the Pretender—The earl raises his standard at Braemar—Commencement of the misfortunes of the rebellion at the outset—The chief Scottish Jacobite noblemen arrested—Similar arrests in England—Rising in England to co-operate with the Scottish rebellion—The English insurgents arrive in Kelso—Mar sends a detachment to their aid—Attempts of the detachment to surprise Edinburgh on their march—They join the English insurgents at Kelso—The Earl of Mar advances against the royalists encamped at Stirling—He retires at the approach of the Duke of Argyle—March of the rebels at Kelso into England—Hopeless character of their proceedings—Their advance to Preston—They are followed and inclosed by the royalist troops—Attack on Preston—Inglorious surrender

of the rebels—Progress of the rebellion in Scotland—Battle of Sheriffmuir—Simultaneous retreat of both armies—The advantage rests with the royalists—Argyle reinforced—Desertions from the rebel army—Arrival of the Pretender in Scotland—Helpless nature of his arrival—His exercise of mock sovereignty—His bigotry and religious scruples—His unpopular character with the army—His discontent at the false representations that had brought him to Scotland—The royalist army advances upon Perth—The Pretender's inhuman orders to lay waste the country between Perth and Stirling—The rebels evacuate Perth to fall back upon Aberdeen—The Pretender, Mar, and the principal leaders desert their army and escape to the Continent—The rebel army abandons Aberdeen—Its forlorn condition and dispersion—Conduct of the Pretender after his escape to the Continent—His ungenerous treatment of Lord Bolingbroke—His difficulty in finding a home—He retires to Avignon—Trials of the rebel noblemen who were taken prisoners—Executions and escapes—Effect of the rebellion on the administration of the king—His partiality for the Whig party—Proposal that parliaments should be septennial—Angry debate on the subject in parliament—Passing of the septennial bill—The Pretender's cause adopted by Spain—A Spanish armament prepared for the invasion of Scotland—The Spanish fleet dispersed by a storm—Arrival of two frigates with Spanish troops at Kintail—Battle of Glenshiel and defeat of the Spaniards and Highlanders—Dissensions in the court and family of the Pretender—Attempts to impose a malt-tax upon Scotland—Its unpopularity—Riot in Glasgow and conflict with the military—The riot suppressed, and the tax established—Successful attempts for the pacification of the Highlands—The Pretender's cause injured by his unwise proceedings—Peace between Britain and the continental powers—Visit of the king to Hanover—He dies on the journey—Character of George I.

The demise of Queen Anne did not advance the Pretender a step nigher to the throne of Britain. So generally was the Act of Succession recognized, that George I., although a foreigner and stranger, was proclaimed as peacefully as any sovereign of unquestioned hereditary right; and, until his arrival from Hanover, the affairs of the kingdom were administered by a regency, consisting of seven great officers of state and eighteen peers, most of whom were Whigs, and therefore devoted to the succession of the house of Hanover. It was well for the interests of Protestantism and the peace of the nation that such unanimity prevailed, as the new sovereign was so phlegmatic, and apparently so unconscious of the grandeur of his new elevation, that nearly seven weeks elapsed before he set out for his new dominions. On the 18th of September he landed at Greenwich, and his first proceeding was to form a ministry in which his friends the Whigs should predominate. So much had they now the upper hand, that while in the preceding parliamentary election, only two years before, five-sixths of the successful members were Tories, the case was now so completely reversed, that in the new parliament which met on the 19th of March, 1715, the Whig members constituted a large majority. It was opened by George in person; but, as he was unable to pronounce the language of his subjects, he transferred his written speech to be read by the lord-chancellor. Among other affairs the royal address referred to the Pretender, and the hopes he had expressed of deriving aid from his adherents in Britain, a subject to which the Commons made a correspondent reply. "It is with just resentment," they said, "we observe that the Pretender still lives in Lorraine, and that he has the presumption, by declarations from thence, to stir up your majesty's subjects to rebellion. But that which raises the utmost

indignation of your Commons is, that it appears therein that his hopes were built upon the measures that had been taken for some time past in Great Britain. It shall be our business to trace out those measures wherein he places his hopes, and to bring the authors of them to condign punishment." This denunciation was too significant to be disregarded, and accordingly Lord Bolingbroke, the leader of the Jacobites, fled in disguise to France, whither he was soon after followed by the Duke of Ormond, the Earl of Oxford was impeached of high treason and sent to the Tower, and Matthew Prior, the poet, who had been involved in the negotiations and intrigues of Lord Bolingbroke, was committed to close custody, from which, however, he was released on the following year.

No political event of the day had taken the world so completely by surprise as the easy and peaceful succession of the Elector of Hanover to the British throne. It had never been thus that dynasties had been changed; and men felt as if a new epoch had commenced, in which the interests of kings were to be of inferior account compared with the welfare of their subjects. Where now were the plans of the Jacobites, their professions of undying attachment to him who was their sovereign by right divine, and their preparations by which his accession was all but secured? All their intrigues had either been infected with the irresolution or crossed by the perversity of the Pretender himself and the court of malcontents at St. Germain; and while they boasted high of what they would do when Queen Anne had gone to her rest, George I. had quietly stepped into the throne, and their enemies had won the ascendancy both in court and parliament. Something they felt they must do although the reaction was so tardy, and the first attempt was made by the High-church party, who endeavoured to renew the Sacheverell cry,

"The church is in danger!" Sermons were preached, and pamphlets printed to show that the king was not orthodox according to the English standard, and that the old Presbyterian or Puritan rule was in danger of being restored. These representations were not without effect; the streets began to ring with outcries of "Down with the Puritans! Down with the Dissenters!" and in some places the dissenting chapels were actually destroyed by the mob. But the riot act, which was hastily passed through parliament and brought into active use, quickly put an end to these violent demonstrations. But the popular discontent at the new sovereign could not be so easily overcome. Unseen he had been a venerated idea, which his personal appearance was too well fitted to dispel. George I. was now fifty-four years old, was clumsy in person and blunt if not boorish in manners; and, besides his ignorance of the English language, character, and habits, his attachment to Hanover was more like the regretful affection of a banished king than the feeling of one who had exchanged a principality for the throne of a great and prosperous empire. Of this unpopularity of the king the Jacobites gladly availed themselves, and in their descriptions of the Pretender, whom they adorned with every grace in which George was wanting, they endeavoured to draw back the hearts of the people to the forsaken prince whom they had exiled. Encouraged by the popular aversion which daily grew and strengthened, the Jacobites renewed their intrigues with fresh courage, and as the able Lord Bolingbroke had joined the Pretender's court, which was then at Commercy, and obtained the management of its affairs, they hoped that, under so dexterous a politician, France would be effectually secured to their cause, by which its success would be rendered certain. Nor did Bolingbroke altogether disappoint their hopes. As Louis XIV. was now dead, and the regency of the kingdom under the profligate Duke of Orleans, he endeavoured to promote such a union between the Jacobites of England and Scotland, that their simultaneous rising, combined with an invasion from France, should drive George I. back to Hanover and place the Pretender in his room.

While these events were in progress in England the affairs of Scotland had proceeded with a correspondent pace. George I. was proclaimed in Edinburgh as soon as tidings of the death of Anne arrived, and this unexpected demise, combined with the prompt proclamation of her successor, so confounded the calculations of the Jacobites that they were unprepared for offering any resistance. In Glasgow, where the same solemnity was performed, the mob showed their

joy by destroying an Episcopalian meeting-house. In the rapid distribution of offices by which the new king strengthened himself on his arrival the Duke of Argyle was appointed commander-in-chief, the Duke of Montrose secretary of state, the Duke of Roxburgh keeper of the great seal, and the Marquis of Annandale privy-seal. Although the Jacobites endeavoured to accommodate themselves to the present state of things by expressing as sincere a loyalty and as ardent a satisfaction as the rest, they were regarded with coldness and suspicion. While they were thus discountenanced, and manifestly excluded from court favour, their enemies, the Presbyterians, were treated as the surest supports of the crown. George I. of his own choice demanded that the oath ensuring the security of the Church of Scotland should be tendered to him; and four of its chief ministers, with Carstairs at their head, who were sent to court as a deputation from the General Assembly's commission, were received by the king with marked and unwonted respect. This favourable change sufficed to extinguish the cry for the dissolution of the Union, and in the elections for the new parliament those lords and commons were selected who were known to be in favour of the Protestant succession. Only one instance of disaffection occurred in the north, where Forbes of Culloden, the candidate who was in favour of the present government, was opposed by Mackenzie of Preston Hall, a Jacobite. The latter, who possessed the estate of Lovat, and claimed to be chief of the Frasers, endeavoured to make his claim good by the aid of Glengarry, and with a band of Highlanders might have carried his election by storm had it not been for the sudden and opportune appearance of Fraser of Lovat in his own proper person. This dexterous, shifty, and most unprincipled villain, who recognized no party but his own interests, having succeeded in escaping from the Bastille in which he had been imprisoned, had returned home to negotiate for his pardon with the new government; and as his clan still recognized him for their lawful and only chief, his following of Frasers turned the day, and the election of Forbes was secured.¹

In the meantime the Jacobites of Scotland were not idle, and while their brethren of the south were contenting themselves with declamations against Hanoverian rats and drinking treasonable toasts, they were silently collecting arms and preparing for an insurrection in earnest. Such was especially the case in Dumfriesshire and the Highlands, where the adherents of the Pretender held suspicious meetings and were elated with the prospect of a general rising. But while they

¹ *Memoirs of Fraser of Lovat.*

were corresponding with the exiled prince, and receiving from him assurances of aid in men and money on the part of France and Spain, these intrigues were closely watched by the Earl of Stair, the ambassador of Britain at the French court, who became cognizant of the whole design, and transmitted intelligence of all its movements. In consequence of this information the king was enabled on the 20th of July, before the insurrection broke out, to warn the parliament of the coming danger and the necessity of preparations to meet it. The measures adopted in consequence were severe and vigorous, but not more than the occasion required. The *habeas corpus* act was suspended, and a reward of £100,000 offered for seizing the Pretender, dead or alive, should he attempt to land upon our shores. An act was passed for the encouragement of loyalty in Scotland, by which loyal vassals who held lands of a superior guilty of high treason were to be invested with the fee and heritage of their holding; and, on the contrary, if the vassal should be guilty of high treason, his land was to revert to his superior if he continued loyal, and be consolidated with the superiority. All entails and settlements of estates made to elude the penalties of high treason were, on the conviction of the testator, to be declared null and void, and all suspected persons were made liable to be summoned to Edinburgh or elsewhere, and bail to be exacted of them for their good behaviour. The fleet was ordered to take its station in the Downs, a camp was established in Hyde Park; and as by the late treaty Holland had engaged to furnish a reinforcement of 6000 soldiers for the defence of Britain in the event of an invasion, these troops were put in readiness for embarkation. But while such a military force was concentrated in England for its defence Scotland was still almost bare of soldiers, although it was there that the danger was to be most apprehended. This neglect was keenly felt by the Scots, who organized military associations for the defence of their country, and so hearty was the volunteer zeal that Edinburgh and Glasgow were soon able to make large offers to government of their services both in recruits and money. But at these tenders the government demurred. It was through Presbyterian zeal and by the active exertions of the clergy that this spirit had been awakened. But was it safe to encourage such associations, by which the people would learn their own strength and might be encouraged to exert it for other purposes than resistance to the Jacobites and the Pretender? These surmises, which were probably suggested to his majesty by some well-wisher to the hostile cause, prevailed, and the king, after praising their zeal, and thanking them for their offers,

informed them that the measures already adopted for the national defence were sufficient without any further tax upon his loving subjects of Scotland.

Among the leaders of the conspiracy at this period for the restoration of the Stuarts few were so distinguished as the Earl of Mar. This nobleman was well known to be devoted to the interests of the Pretender, and on this account had been discountenanced by the government of the late queen. He had then turned, like many others of his party, to the worship of the rising sun, and offered his services to the heir-expectant while still Elector of Hanover. In a letter which he wrote before the arrival of the new sovereign in England he disclaimed the charge of Jacobitism, and endeavoured to refute the calumnies which had been raised against him. "I hope," he said, "your majesty will be so just as not to give credit to such misrepresentations. The part I acted in bringing about and making of the Union, when the succession to the crown was settled for Scotland on your majesty's family, when I had the honour to serve as secretary of state for the kingdom, doth, I hope, put my sincerity and faithfulness to your majesty out of dispute. My family had the honour, for a great tract of years, to be faithful servants to the crown, and have had the care of the king's children—when kings of Scotland—intrusted to them. A predecessor of mine was honoured with the care of your majesty's grandmother [Elizabeth, queen of Bohemia, and daughter of James I.] when young; and she was pleased to express some concern for our family in letters which I still have under her own hand." He ended with assurances that should his majesty be pleased to accept his services he should find him as faithful and devoted a servant as any of his family had been to the crown. And not confining himself to professions, he procured an address from about a hundred Highland chiefs and chieftains, congratulating George I. on his accession to the crown of the three kingdoms, assuring him of their fidelity, and offering him their homage and services. But the professions of the earl and chiefs were equally disregarded, and Mar, irritated at this rejection, returned to his old allegiance, renewed his correspondence with Bolingbroke and the court of the Pretender, and only waited the opportunity when the standard of rebellion could be raised with the best prospect of success.

It was the opinion of Bolingbroke that a rising in Scotland would be useless without a simultaneous movement in England, and that until the Jacobites of the latter country were prepared for action Mar and his Scottish adherents should remain inactive. But it was the

curse of the Stuarts to disregard their best counsellors unless they coincided with their own wishes, and to precipitate matters by that arbitrary decision which they regarded as the best part of their sovereign right. And such on the present critical occasion was the conduct of the Pretender. Disregarding the fact that the French fleet destined for the conveyance of arms and troops to Britain was blocked up by Admiral Byng in the port of Havre, and without announcing his intention to Bolingbroke, he despatched orders to Mar to commence the insurrection in Scotland without delay. The earl unfortunately complied, and setting off from London in disguise, accompanied by lieutenant-general Hamilton, the Duke of Hamilton's second in his duel with Lord Mohun, and by Colonel Hay, both officers of considerable military reputation, he landed at Elie in Fifeshire on the 14th of August (1715). His further proceedings showed that his inability corresponded to the infatuation and ignorance of his master. In his progress from Elie to Invercauld, and from Invercauld to Aboyne, he advised the discontented gentlemen of the districts to rise in arms, but without suggesting any settled plan of action. At Aboyne he met with the Jacobite nobles, the marquises of Huntly and Tullibardine, the earls Marischal and Southesk, Glengarry, and others, whom he assembled under the pretext of a Highland hunting-match, and to whom, in a set speech, he revealed the true purpose of the meeting. After bewailing the Union and the share he had taken in it, and denouncing its ruinous effects upon the rights and liberties of Scotland both in church and state, he invited them to take arms for their sovereign James VIII., whose lieutenant-general he had been appointed, and in whose cause he meant to rise, and hazard life upon the issue. He assured them also that he had money for the present necessities; that regular pay would be supplied to keep their troops in the field; that troops would be sent from France to their assistance; and that, finally, King James himself would speedily come over to head the expedition. These rash assurances were gladly received and implicitly credited; the grand effort was at last to be made which should assuredly place their beloved master on the throne; and they agreed to repair to him with their followers as soon as the old royal standard should be raised, and the trumpet summon them to the rendezvous.

Animated by these assurances the infatuated earl, although his force scarcely amounted to five hundred men, ventured to raise the standard of insurrection at Braemar on the 6th of September. On the 9th he proclaimed the Pre-

tender at Kirkmichael, summoning all true lieges to join him and assuming the title of lieutenant-general of King James. But the misfortunes of the expedition had even already commenced. For its success it was necessary that they should be masters of the castle of Edinburgh, and for this purpose an attempt was made on the 9th to surprise it by Lord Drummond, with a party of ninety men, half of whom were Highlanders. The design was well planned, and might have succeeded, but for the rashness of one of the conspirators, who revealed it to his brother, also a Jacobite. The wife of the latter gentleman, perceiving that her husband was thoughtful and melancholy, gave him no rest until she had learned the secret, which she forthwith communicated to the lord justice-clerk, who, in consequence, sent up a warning to the castle. Such precautions accordingly were adopted, that when the midnight escalade was attempted the first ladder fastened to the walls was thrown down, and the assailants who were upon it hurled to the bottom of the rock. In this manner the castle was preserved, and the Jacobites of Edinburgh prevented from rising. Unchecked, however, by this disappointment Mar continued to advance until he had reached Dunkeld, his forces gathering as he advanced; and there he was joined by the Marquis of Tullibardine and above four thousand men, who in the course of a few days increased into twelve thousand. But, although the rebellion had thus mustered a more numerous army than the Marquis of Montrose had ever commanded, it was a useless weapon in such feeble inexperienced hands as those of the Earl of Mar, whom it seemed only to puzzle and encumber. Besides this his treasonable designs had been watched by the government, so that as soon as the rebellion broke out in the Highlands preparations were made to extinguish it. Orders were sent down to Edinburgh, in consequence of which the Earls of Wigton, Hume, and Kinnoul, Lord Deskford, Lockhart of Carnwath, and Hume of Whitfield were apprehended and committed to durance in the castle, and Major-general Whetham was appointed to guard the bridge of Stirling and the passages of the Forth. For this important service, however, not more than 1500 regular soldiers could be spared on account of the scanty force that had been appointed for Scotland before the insurrection broke out. In this difficulty the Duke of Argyle, who had been appointed commander-in-chief in Scotland, applied to Glasgow for a reinforcement, and nobly the city responded to the call. Three battalions, consisting in all of between six and seven hundred soldier-citizens under the command of their provost, marched to the camp at Stirling, other reinforcements

from the west and south soon followed, and by these precautions both town and river were speedily placed in an efficient state of defence. These preparations, with the combined influence of the duke and the Earl of Sutherland in the Highlands, were thought sufficient to hold the Earl of Mar in check, while government was occupied in suppressing the rebellion which had now broken out in England.

It was unfortunate for this outbreak in both kingdoms that it had so prematurely exploded in the one country, necessitating a similar movement in the other. It was still more unfortunate for it that its chief leaders were watched, and their designs betrayed to government by spies and informers. In this way it was discovered, that a formidable insurrection was to break out in Devonshire headed by the Duke of Ormond, who was to arrive from France for the purpose of heading it. Alarmed at the tidings the titular Duke of Powis, Lord Landsdowne, and Lord Duplin were arrested, and warrants issued for the apprehension of several gentlemen who were suspected of being ready to join in the expected rising. But of these persons Mr. Forster, who had escaped seizure, fled to Northumberland, his native county, and, rendered desperate by his danger, he raised at once the standard of rebellion and proclaimed the Pretender. He was soon after joined by the gallant young Earl of Derwentwater, against whom a similar order had been issued; and the desperate nature of their attempt was shown by the fact, that they commenced their rebellion with only sixty horse. They were soon after joined by others, but even with these additions, when they had proceeded from Alnwick to Morpeth they only mustered ninety men, all of them on horseback, but mounted and armed at their own expense, for neither Forster nor Derwentwater had arms or horses for their recruits. Of this little army Forster was appointed general, as, being a Protestant, it was thought that the people would be more ready to join them; but such an enterprise was seen to be so desperate, that gentlemen and yeomen stood aloof and looked on in idle wonderment. After an attempt to surprise the town of Newcastle, which signally failed, Forster drew off his small squadron to Hexham, expecting the arrival of some regiments of Scottish infantry which Mar had promised to send him. While this miniature army was thus waiting upon the Border a similar episode had been characterizing the campaign in Scotland. Lord Kenmure, having received a commission from the Earl of Mar to act as his lieutenant in the south, proclaimed the Pretender at Moffat on the 12th of October, and being joined by the Earls of Nithsdale, Winton, and Carnwath, this part of the re-

bellion threatened to grow into very formidable dimensions. But Nithsdale and Galloway at their rising seemed to produce whole harvests of rustic volunteers to oppose them, and having failed in an attempt to surprise Dumfries, in like manner as their friends in England had failed in their attempt in Newcastle, Kenmure, whose army did not exceed two hundred horsemen, crossed the Borders, and joined Forster near Rothbury. With their united forces, scarcely eight hundred mounted yeomen and gentlemen in all, they forthwith turned, crossed the Tweed, and took up their station at Kelso, waiting the arrival of 2000 foot under brigadier Mackintosh, which Mar had engaged to send them.

From these ill-concerted, hasty, and futile proceedings, which resembled attempts to create a riot rather than a rebellion, we must now turn our attention to the nominal hero of the war. At the head of a Highland army with which Montrose would have achieved wonders, Mar, instead of rushing down at once upon Argyle and Whetham, whose whole force did not amount to 2000 men, remained in a state of helpless indecision on the opposite side of the Forth. At last he resolved to send a strong detachment across the river that should effect the promised junction with Forster and Kenmure at Kelso. The person selected for this important enterprise was brigadier Mackintosh of Borlam, a soldier whose bravery and talent had procured him high military distinction, while the force of 2000 placed under his command were the best of the rebel army. On learning their design Argyle ordered all the boats to be brought to Leith and directed three English frigates that were in the Firth to destroy every boat that might be serviceable in transporting the rebels; but several of the Fifeshire small craft had already been hauled on shore, and with these Mackintosh resolved to effect a crossing. The enterprise was as daringly executed as it was skilfully planned, and almost under the guns of three frigates about 1600 hundred of the detachment were safely landed in the Lothians, and within a short distance of Edinburgh. On the following morning they marched to the capital, hoping to take it by surprise, instead of continuing their route to Kelso; but their expectation was balked; the Jacobites of Edinburgh, who might have aided them, had not been made aware of their coming; and the magistrates had hastily secured the gates, thrown up temporary defences, and sent to Argyle for assistance, who speedily marched a body of dragoons to Edinburgh, and afterwards arrived in person. Thus disappointed of seizing it by surprise, and being not strong enough to attempt its capture by open attack, Mackintosh, who had

reached Jock's Lodge, turned his march to Leith, which he entered without resistance and occupied the old citadel built by Oliver Cromwell, where he resolved to make a final stand. For this purpose he put the half-dismantled bastions in a state of defence, planted upon them eight pieces of cannon which he had taken out of the ships in the harbour, and raised barricades wherever the town was most accessible. Scarcely were these hasty preparations completed, when, on the morning of the 15th, the Duke of Argyle marched out of Edinburgh with twelve hundred men, consisting of regular troops, militia, and the town-guard, for the recovery of Leith, and summoned the rebels to surrender, threatening also that he would give no quarter if they compelled him to take the town by assault. A fiery answer was returned to this demand by the Laird of Kinnachin, one of the Highland commanders. "Surrender," he said, "was a word which they did not understand, quarter they would neither give nor take, and as for assault, if his grace thought to carry them, he was welcome to make the attempt." The duke, who had no cannon, and whose force was inferior to that within, was too prudent to think of carrying the place by storm, and he marched back to Edinburgh for the purpose of bringing up artillery for a regular siege. Mackintosh, however, who knew the unfitness of his Highlanders for such a trial, stole out of the citadel on the same night, intending to resume his original plan of joining Kenmure and Forster at Kelso. Marching along the sands the rebels reached Musselburgh before midnight, and at two o'clock on the following morning they arrived at Seton House, the residence of the Earl of Winton, which they resolved to hold out against the expected attack of Argyle. Nor was the duke in the meanwhile idle. As Seton House was only seven miles from Edinburgh he thought this proximity too dangerous for the safety of the capital, and was making preparations to dislodge the rebels from their stronghold when he was suddenly recalled to Stirling by an alarm from General Whetham. The Earl of Mar, who had learned of the movements of Mackintosh, and was anxious to further them, suddenly advanced towards Stirling, as if he intended to give battle to the royalists, and Whetham, whose forces were too few for such an encounter, sent a hasty post to the duke, just as the latter was preparing for an attack on Seton House. He hurried instantly to the place where danger was most imminent, judging it of more importance to check the progress of Mar than to overwhelm the detachment of Mackintosh. Had Mar boldly attacked Whetham when he made a demonstration to that effect, his numbers were so greatly superior that the slender

force of the latter must have been annihilated; but the earl was gifted with no such military decision, and finding that Argyle had discontinued the pursuit of Mackintosh, he contented himself with the advantage he had won and relapsed into his wonted inactivity. In the meantime Mackintosh, being left unmolested, resumed his march from Seton House, after occupying it two days, and proceeded without interruption to Kelso. If his daring and well-conceived design of seizing Edinburgh by a *coup de main* had proved successful the war might have assumed a different character and been attended with other results. But its failure only added to the unfortunate prestige with which the whole of this Jacobite rebellion was attended, and the delay it occasioned only increased the facility with which the insurrection was trodden down and extinguished.

On the return of Argyle to the royalist camp, Mar, who was only six miles distant from it at Dunblane, called back his divisions which he had thrown forward to menace an attack; and, instead of remaining at Dunblane for a second opportunity, he retreated to Perth in great confusion, where he remained nearly a month doing nothing, while Argyle, who was too weak to become the assailant, lay at Stirling waiting for reinforcements. But leaving them in this threatening but harmless attitude, we now turn to the southern portion of the rebellion under its leaders Forster, Kenmure, and Derwentwater. At Kelso, when they were joined by Mackintosh, their little army was increased by more than 2000 men, and elated by this addition they resolved to proceed in earnest with active operations. But in which of the countries should they begin the campaign, and upon what plan of proceeding? Here the curse of dissension, so fatal to enterprises the success of which depends on unanimity and promptness, began to operate; and while the Scots insisted upon taking Dumfries, the English were in favour of a march into Lancashire, where their cause was strong and the Popish gentry numerous. In an evil hour for their cause the latter plan was adopted, upon which 500 of the followers of Mackintosh, who were averse to a campaign in England, left the expedition and retired, some to the camp of Mar and others to their own homes in the Highlands. The rest of the combined Scotch and English forces crossed the Border, and arrived at the little market town of Brampton, where Forster opened his commission from the Earl of Mar appointing him general for James VIII. in England; and, after soothing the discontented Highlanders who still followed his banner with regular pay of 6*d.* *per diem*, he proceeded on the 2*d* of

November to Penrith. Here the first symptoms of resistance appeared. The Bishop of Carlisle and Lord Lonsdale had assembled the *posse comitatus* to the amount of at least 10,000 men, and drawn them up in battle array upon a common; but no sooner did this numerous host learn that the enemy was at hand than it vanished like a mist, leaving a substantial amount of horses and weapons behind them, which became the prize of the invaders. From Penrith the rebels marched by Appleby to Kirby-Lonsdale, proclaiming the Pretender as they advanced, and taking possession of the public money in his name; but the principal adherents whom they expected to join them had already been arrested by government and imprisoned in the castle of Carlisle. Their course was then directed to Lancaster, where their prospects were more flattering, as the town abounded with Papists; and here the infamous Colonel Charteris, who commanded for King George, proposed to arrest their march upon the town by blowing up the bridge over the Loyne. In this, however, he was prevented by the inhabitants, who forced him to retire, and then received the rebels with open welcome. Here, as on other occasions, they seized the public money, and got six pieces of cannon, besides being joined by a considerable number of recruits. Their next stage was Preston, their route being still unmolested and prosperous; and before they entered that town a body of militia and a regiment of dragoons retired at their approach. Here, also, they were received with welcome, as most of the gentry of the district, with their tenants and servants, were Roman Catholics; and, flattered by the success that had hitherto attended them, they looked upon themselves as invincible, and indulged in the most extravagant dreams of conquest. Nor was Forster himself behind in these vain-glorious conceits, although the experienced eye of Mackintosh detected the weakness of the means at their disposal, and the probability that the expedition would end in utter failure. The rebels had already reached the end of their career, and Preston was the *cul-de-sac* where their ruin was ensured.

General Carpenter, who had been detached with 900 horse to watch the progress of this expedition, had witnessed its ridiculous commencement when the insurgents were marching and countermarching among the Cheviot Hills; and returning to Northumberland by rapid marches he reached the city of Durham, where he concerted with General Wills for the suppression of this English part of the rebellion. Their plan was both simple and effectual. They were to block up the roads by which the rebels could escape, and while Wills was to march

direct upon Preston, Carpenter, advancing in another direction, was to take them in flank. In this manner the net was drawn around the infatuated insurgents while they and their leader Forster were playing the conquerors at Preston. All this was effected so silently that when Forster, on the 11th of November, gave orders for the army to march to Manchester he was paralysed to find that every road was already occupied by royalist troops, and that General Wills, whom he imagined to be still in Cheshire, was advancing on Preston to attack him. He was so overwhelmed that he straightway betook himself to bed, from which he was only roused by the necessity of extemporizing defences for the town. The chief access to Preston was by a bridge over the Ribble, which a handful of men might have defended, and this important post Colonel Farquharson occupied with 100 stout soldiers of Mackintosh's brigade; but they were recalled by Forster from the only place where their services could have been available to assist in the defence of the town. This strange infatuation astonished General Wills when he advanced with his dragoons, and finding that the bridge, the banks of the river, and the hedges were left undefended, as if to invite his entrance, he suspected that some stratagem was in the case, or that the rebels had given him the slip and were on their way to Scotland. But on crossing the bridge and advancing to the outskirts of the town he found that they were within his grasp, and defended by nothing better than a few barricades, behind which they were posted. The first resistance of the rebels was successful. General Wills ordered his dragoons to dismount and attack two of the barricades; but in attempting to storm them they were encountered by such a destructive fire both from the barricades and the neighbouring houses that Wills was obliged to call them off. Had the besieged sallied out after this success they might have cut their way through the royalist troops, which were greatly inferior in number to their own; but they were too faint-hearted to avail themselves of such an opportunity, and the arrival on the following morning of General Carpenter with three regiments of cavalry to the assistance of Wills lessened their chances of escape. Even as it was, they still outnumbered their enemies by more than two to one, and the Highlanders who were among them proposed to rush out and make one of those desperate assaults which was so suited to their mode of warfare, and might have confounded their opponents; but their proposal was too bold to be appreciated, and they were compelled to remain cooped up with the rest.

All was now in readiness for renewing the

attack upon the barricades, and Wills and Carpenter had made arrangements for the purpose, when Forster, although he had as yet lost only seventeen men, utterly lost heart, and proposed to surrender. This was done privately through Colonel Oxburgh, who acted as his lieutenant, and by whose advice Forster had hitherto been guided in his military operations. When the colonel delivered his message, and demanded favourable terms, General Wills, who was irritated at his failure and loss on the previous evening, required an unconditional surrender, but after some expostulations from Oxburgh he limited his demands to the following terms:—"If the rebels laid down their arms, and surrendered at discretion, he would prevent them from being cut to pieces by his soldiers until further orders from the government; and that he would give them an hour to consider it." These conditions, when brought back by Oxburgh, excited much confusion among the chief officers in Preston: the English were for acceding to the surrender, while the Scots, who had less mercy to expect, were for holding out; and such was the dissension that Carpenter agreed to a cessation of arms until the next morning, when a definite answer might be returned. But the rage of the common soldiers when they heard of this capitulation, which had been conducted without their knowledge, exceeded all bounds; the streets were filled with their indignant clamours; and had the cowardly Forster ventured into their presence he would have been torn to pieces on the instant. As it was, his brains were well-nigh blown out in his own apartment by Lord Charles Murray, who, levelling a pistol at his head, would in this abrupt form have prevented the capitulation from being carried out, had not the weapon been struck up by Patten, the reverend historian of the insurrection. When the night had passed and the storm of wrath subsided the unconditional surrender was made, and 4000 rebels threw down their arms to less than 2000 royalists. Thus ingloriously ended the English part of the rebellion, in which neither an ardent though mistaken loyalty, nor disinterested devotedness, nor chivalrous courage could avail against the unwise measures and cowardly leadership with which it was conducted. Among the English prisoners were Forster, the incompetent commander, the Earl of Derwentwater, Lord Widdrington, Lord Edward Howard, brother to the Duke of Norfolk, and sixty-two gentlemen of distinguished families in the northern counties. The list of Scottish prisoners was still more important, as it comprised 143 persons of rank, among whom were the Earls of Winton, Carnwath, and Nithsdale. The principal captives

were paraded through the streets of London on their way to the prison of Newgate, handcuffed like common malefactors, with a mob marching before them beating on warming-pans, and shouting, "No warming-pan bastards!" while the common soldiers were transported to the plantations and sold as slaves.¹

On the same day that this fatal disaster befell the Jacobite cause at Preston, it suffered a ruinous defeat in Scotland. After remaining nearly a month at Perth doing nothing Mar at length aroused himself for action; and being joined by General Gordon, who had been detached upon an expedition into Argyleshire, his army was now ten thousand strong. But the Duke of Argyle had also been reinforced, and that, too, more effectually by veteran troops, so that he was better prepared to abide the encounter of Mar, who, on the 12th of November, reached Ardoch, within twelve miles of the duke's encampment at Stirling. Instead of waiting his coming and acting on the defensive, Argyle quitted his encampment and the protection of the passes of the Forth, and took his station for battle on an open ground called Sheriffmuir, which was favourable for his cavalry, in which arm he was strongest, and which the Highlanders dreaded the most. His little army, which still did not consist of more than 3500 men, was drawn up in admirable order, the right being commanded by his grace, the left by General Whetham, and the centre by General Wightman. On Mar advancing within sight of the opposite columns he was either afraid or perplexed how to act, and called a council of war, at which he proposed a retreat; but the Highlanders, who had wearied of their long inaction, and been inspired by the sight of the enemy, were impatient for instant battle. Animated by their readiness Mar assented, and his orders to form for battle were received with loud cheers and obeyed with alacrity. The Highlanders were now in their proper element, and their ranks were formed with a rapidity and exactness that astonished the English officers of the opposite party, who were unaccustomed to such military promptitude. But it did not fare so well with their few troopers, who were mostly composed of Lowland lairds and Highland duniwassals, and who performed their evolutions so awkwardly that they mistook their left wing for the right, and left that portion of the field unguarded which they had been designed to occupy. In the rebel army the right wing was led by the Earl of Mar and Lord Drummond, the left by Gordon and Huntly,

¹ Patten's *History of the Rebellion*; Rae's *History of the Rebellion*; Lockhart Papers.

while General Hamilton, whose military skill was of a deservedly high character, acted as chief of the staff and superintended the movements of the army for the impending encounter.

All being thus in readiness for action the battle of Sheriffmuir, which was fought on the 13th of November, was opened with an attempt of the rebels to outflank the royal army, and at the same time with a heavy fire on their right wing where Argyle commanded. His soldiers suffered severely under this first onset, but firmly kept their ground; the duke extended them to the right in two long lines to prevent their being outflanked, until they rested on a morass, which was usually impassable; but a heavy frost of the previous night having rendered this swamp capable of being crossed, Argyle availed himself of the change by sending a party of horse across it to take the Highlanders in flank, while he charged them with the rest of his cavalry in front. The effects of this combined attack were decisive; the Highlanders, who still retained their old dread of war-horses, gave way, but not until they had made a stubborn resistance; and even when they were broken, instead of running off in disorder, they slowly retired with their faces to the enemy, and in a retreat of two miles made ten attempts to rally and renew the battle. But they had veterans to encounter who knew how to use their advantage, so that after three hours of struggle the Highlanders were driven off the field, and across the river Allan, in whose waters many of them were drowned. But while Argyle believed that the victory was won by this total defeat of the enemy's left, his own right wing was exposed to a similar disaster. The Highlanders rushed down upon it before its ranks could be formed, and the death of the chief of Clan Ronald, a leader famed for his military services as well as popular among his people for his hospitality, and who fell by a random musket bullet during this headlong advance, instead of cooling their ardour, only made them frantic for revenge. They charged the English ranks through a heavy fire of musketry, drove the serried bayonets aside with their targets, and handled their claymores so effectually that in a few minutes the whole royalist left wing was routed and in full flight. Such was the panic occasioned by this disaster, that General Whetham, the commander of the left wing, fled at full gallop into Stirling, and announced that all was lost. The royalist centre, with the exception of some who had joined the flight of Whetham, however, still kept its ground, and Wightman expected every moment a charge from the united rebels which he was in no condition to resist. Urgent messages were sent to

Argyle, who speedily retraced his steps to Sheriffmuir; but, on his arrival and junction with Wightman, he was astonished to find a victorious enemy in his rear, who outnumbered his own army threefold. There was no help for it but a retreat to Dunblane, and this by winding round a hill on which the rebels had taken up their position. And now was the moment for Mar to act and change a doubtful battle into a signal victory! A resolute charge, or even a shower of stones from the hill-top, might have thrown Argyle's troops into disorder. But the earl with his wonted irresolution stood still, and when the royalists expecting an attack moved cautiously round the hill with two pieces of cannon in their front, the earl left his place of advantage and fell back upon Ardoch. This cowardly or infatuated movement astonished friends and enemies alike. The Highlanders remembered the dashing intrepidity of Claverhouse that made him a leader to their hearts' liking, and Gordon of Glenbucket uttered the well-known exclamation, "Oh, for one hour of Dundee!" Argyle, scarcely believing his own eyes, when he saw the hill abandoned by the enemy, continued his march, and arrived in Dunblane without interruption. Such was this strange battle of Sheriffmuir, which was lost and won by both parties alike, and where each retreated from the other at the same moment. But the moral prestige as well as the substantial advantages of victory remained with Argyle, who had attacked an army so greatly superior to his own, whose superior conduct had reduced the battle to a drawn game, and who on the following morning returned and kept possession of the field. The number of killed and wounded on both sides was nearly equal, but as far as rank and political importance were concerned the loss on the side of the rebels preponderated. Argyle could also show as trophies of his success fourteen captured standards, among which was the royal one called the "Restoration," six pieces of cannon, and four baggage waggons. From Ardoch Mar retreated to his former quarters in Perth, and, claiming the victory, he caused the town bells to be rung, and thanksgiving preached in the churches, to signalize his success.¹

The suppression of the rebellion of the south at Preston having relieved the hands of the government, they were now able to direct their attention to Scotland, and reinforce the Duke of Argyle. Accordingly three thousand Dutch auxiliaries who had newly arrived, and a body of English troops were sent to him, with an excellent train of artillery and a well-appointed staff of

¹ Campbell's *Life of the Duke of Argyle*; Rae's *History of the Rebellion*; Despatches of Argyle in *Gazette*.

engineer officers. While he was thus strengthened to assume the offensive the Jacobite cause under the Earl of Mar was daily becoming more feeble and hopeless. Ignorant of the fact that rapidity of action was necessary both for rebellion and Highlanders, and that every hour of delay could only weaken the former and dispirit the latter, he remained in tranquillity at Perth, while the king's troops were augmenting in the north, and his own adherents deserting a cause in which nothing was achieved and nothing gained. He was indeed joined by Macdonald of Keppoch; but this was more than counterbalanced by the loss of those numerous impatient Celts who preferred the free range of their own mountains to the dull restrictions of a town encampment, or the surrounding district, which they had almost eaten up. Those who remained with him already began to talk of capitulation, and alarmed at this symptom of insubordination he resolved to take the initiative; but when he sent overtures to that effect to the Duke of Argyle the latter transmitted them to court, and the answer sent was, that no negotiation was to be held with rebels in arms, and that they must yield unconditionally or be reduced by force. To add to the perplexities of Mar, the garrisons held by the Jacobites in Fifeshire had been compelled to surrender, and the way was laid open for Argyle's advance upon Perth. He was quite unable to contend with these dilemmas, so he resolved to escape them by abandoning Perth even though it should be by flight. But at this crisis of despondency an event occurred that raised his spirits anew, and promised fresh life to the campaign. The Pretender himself had suddenly landed in Scotland; and his arrival was the promise of courage, troops, arms, money, of everything which his party needed for a happy revival of the campaign and its prosperous termination.

This *avatar* was the result of the extravagant hopes of the Jacobites in Britain and the intrigues of their party at the court of France. When the simultaneous rising for the Pretender had occurred in England and Scotland unbounded assurances were given of its success, and the Regent Orleans was besought to throw himself into the cause which might now be done with little expense or risk. The regent promised largely until the reverses at Preston and Sheriffmuir were too well known to be contradicted or palliated, when he changed his demeanour, and the French court, following his example, treated the Pretender with coldness and disrespect. They also expressed their wonder that he should rely so much upon foreign aid when his affairs in Britain were already in such a hopeful state, and hinted, that if he was ambitious to win the crown of Great Britain, it

would be better for him to repair thither in person and achieve the enterprise by his own exertions rather than throw the labour and the risk upon others. This taunting exhortation, by which his personal courage was called in question, along with the urgent solicitations of the Earl of Mar, who represented that he had since the affair of Sheriffmuir become stronger than ever, and was now at the head of 16,000 men, decided the wavering and timid prince, so that he resolved to embark in the adventure in earnest. He repaired from Lorraine to St. Malo for the purpose; but, finding that port too closely watched by the British fleet, he set sail from Dunkirk in a small vessel carrying eight guns ostensibly bound to Norway, and arrived safely at Peterhead after a passage of seven days. He was accompanied in this rash expedition by nothing more than six gentlemen, who, like himself, were disguised as French naval officers. The King of Spain had sent him a hundred thousand crowns in ingots of gold as a contribution to the adventure; but the vessel containing this treasure was shipwrecked on the Scottish coast, and the crew managed only to save their own lives. Three thousand muskets, which were also concealed in a vessel near the mouth of the Seine for the Pretender's service, were of no use to it, as they were never sent to Scotland. Never was an expedition for the recovery of a crown more hopeless, and from the outset everything predicted its failure.

The landing at Peterhead was on the 22d of December (1715), and as soon as the Chevalier de St. George touched the shore he sent back the vessel with letters to his adherents in France, and to his secretary and chief counsellor, Lord Bolingbroke. To the latter he thus wrote: "I find things in a prosperous way: I hope all will go well, if friends on your side do their part as I shall have done mine." After forwarding a notice of his arrival to the Earl of Mar, he proceeded from Peterhead through Aberdeen to the family seat of his adherent, the Earl Marischal, at Fetteresso, where he threw off his disguise, and proceeded at once to hold his court, and was soon joined by Mar and his chief officers, who left the army to shift for itself, while they tendered their useless homage to their new sovereign. Mar was created a duke, and several days were spent in a parade of royalty instead of first winning the power to exercise it with effect. This inactivity was attributed to an ague under which the Pretender was suffering, but by some it was rather attributed to fear of the Duke of Argyle and his unwillingness to commit himself to the dangers of active warfare. After receiving congratulatory addresses from the episcopal clergy and magis-

trates of Aberdeen, which breathed the spirit of ardent loyalty and confident hopes of his restoration to the throne, he left Fetteresso on the 2d of January (1716), and after a promenade through Brechin, Kinnaird, and Glammis, at each of these places stopping a night, he made his public entry into Dundee on the 6th, with the Earl of Mar on his right hand, the Earl Marischal on his left, and accompanied by three hundred gentlemen and guards on horseback. On the 8th he reached Scone, and took possession of its ancient palace; but though the day was Sabbath, and though the episcopal clergy of Scotland were devoted to his cause unanimously, no Protestant minister, however Jacobite might be his tendencies, was required to perform religious services in these ancient halls of his fathers. Notwithstanding the warning of his parent's example, who lost three kingdoms for a mass, he adhered with bigoted pertinacity to his own priesthood, and the echoes of the walls of the palace of Scone were awakened with the long-forgotten prayers of the Romish ritual. On the 9th he went to Perth, where he made a public entry and reviewed the troops, after which he returned to Scone in the evening, appointed his council, and issued in rapid succession six proclamations, which, in the present condition of his affairs, were nothing but a burlesque upon sovereign rule. By one, a general thanksgiving was ordered for the miraculous providence shown in his safe arrival. By another, prayers were to be offered for him in all the churches. All foreign coins were proclaimed current throughout the kingdom. Another summoned a meeting of the Scottish parliament, and by another all fencible men, from the ages of sixteen to sixty years, were ordered to repair to his standard. Finally, a day was fixed for his coronation, which was announced to be the 23d of January.

Even already, however, the Pretender's chances of success were considered so desperate that his proclamations became the subject of general ridicule. The Popery in which he gloried, and his rooted and open aversion to heresy and heretics, were enough to alarm those Protestant adherents who from mistaken loyalty had thus far adhered to his standard. His scruples at the coronation oath, which bound him to maintain the religion established in the kingdom, made him postpone a solemnity which, at best, could only have been a useless pageant. Even the Episcopal ladies, who from chivalrous enthusiasm had incited their admirers and kinsmen to adopt his cause under the persuasion that he was at least half a Protestant, would no longer act as recruiting sergeants in his favour. Nor was his personal appearance such as might ani-

mate a desperate rebellion and attach the unthinking multitude to his cause. Mar had sent out a circular letter to interest the people in his cause, and described him as the finest gentleman and most amiable man he ever knew; but these flattering representations only deepened the general disappointment when the Pretender himself appeared and became the observed of all observers. Among other particulars of his sad discontented demeanour and taciturn habits, one of the rebels who saw him at Scone and Perth thus continues his description: "We found ourselves not at all animated by his presence; and, if he was disappointed in us, we were tenfold more so in him. We saw nothing in him that looked like spirit. He never appeared with cheerfulness and vigour to animate us; our men began to despise him; some asked if he could speak. His countenance looked extremely heavy. He cared not to come abroad amongst us soldiers, or to see us handle our arms or do our exercise. Some said the circumstances he found us in dejected him. I am sure the figure he made dejected us."¹ But indeed there was serious cause for the princely stranger's despondent looks. He had been thrust by the French court upon the enterprise without troops, arms, or money; and on reviewing the forces at Perth he found the army which Mar had so highly boasted of as being 16,000 strong scarcely a third of that number, and these so dispirited by desertions and defeat that they were ready at any moment to disband. Nothing but courage amounting to rashness, nothing but a daring stroke that would animate his followers and confound his enemies could retrieve his affairs from impending ruin. And such indeed would have been the resource of some bold adventurer, resolute to win a crown or die sword in hand in the attempt. But nursed up in the doctrines of absolutism, and the belief of his divine rights, the Pretender considered himself no mere adventurer, but a rightful king, and that his life was too sacred to be exposed to the rude contact of what he regarded as an insane and rebellious opposition on the part of subjects, who ought to have submitted as soon as he appeared among them.²

In the meantime the Duke of Argyle, whose reinforcements of Dutch and English troops had raised his army to more than an equality with that of Mar, resolved, instead of waiting till spring should dissolve the snow, to suppress the rebels by a winter campaign, and open it with the siege of Perth, where the heart and strength of the rebellion lay. This was an unwelcome

¹ *True Account of the Proceedings at Perth.*

² *Mar's Journal; Rae's History; Patten.*

prospect to the Pretender, who had hoped to remain undisturbed during the winter, and he resolved to secure his safety by a hasty retreat. His preparations for this purpose showed his selfish character, and how little he valued the lives of his subjects when his own welfare was at stake. Under the pretext that he meant to defend Perth to the last, he issued orders to lay waste the country in the line of the enemy's march against the town; to burn or destroy corn and forage, houses and villages, that might support or shelter the army of Argyle; and in consequence of this inhuman commission, which was delivered to James Graham, younger of Braco, Auchterarder, Crieff, Blackford, and other villages, were committed to the flames, and their inhabitants driven out into the snows of winter, where the women and children died of hunger, or perished among the snow-wreaths. In spite of these obstacles, Argyle commenced his march from Stirling, although every road was blocked up with snow, and the labour of clearing the paths or opening up new ones was alternated with skirmishes against flying parties of the enemy, who had advanced from Perth to interrupt his march. This kind of campaigning was new to his regular troops, who even in the campaigns of Marlborough had been accustomed at the approach of winter to retire into winter quarters and remain inactive until the approach of spring. So faithfully had the Pretender's order been obeyed that there was neither house nor tree to shelter them, and on arriving at Auchterarder on the 30th of January the troops lay all night in the open air, and upon the snow, except an advanced detachment of 400 foot and 200 dragoons, who had driven the Highlanders out of Tullibardine. To Tullibardine the whole army advanced on the following day, after a harassing march of seven days through the snow; but as they were now within eight miles of Perth, they were cheered with the prospect of exchanging a conflict with the elements for one to which they were better accustomed.

In the meantime the rebels in Perth were in a state of confusion and misrule, and had been so since the 24th, when tidings arrived that the Duke of Argyle had commenced his march. The Highlanders, whose modes of fighting were little qualified for standing a siege, expressed their impatience to march out to battle; but such a bold proceeding was not suited to the Pretender or Mar, who had made up their minds to secure themselves by flight, and only waited for a convenient opportunity. On the 25th they held a council of war, which was now little more than an empty form, and although they spent the whole night in deliberation, nothing conclusive was resolved. Mar advised a retreat,

but the Highland chiefs were for battle; and on the following day the streets were filled with angry hubbub and confusion, many of the rebels indignantly asking for what purpose they had been called from their mountains. "Was it," they cried, "to run away? And what did the king come for? Was it to see his people butchered by hangmen, and not strike one blow in their defence?" On the 29th the council again sat, but with members more select, and the onward advance of Argyle urged a final resolution. Here Mar again brought forward his favourite proposal of a retreat, which he represented as merely a falling back upon Aberdeen, where the army could be better supplied with provisions, and to this the council reluctantly assented. Many of the Highland chiefs, indeed, seemed of opinion that they would be better without James than with him, and that after having secured his safety by sending him back to France, they might bring their affairs to a better issue either by fight or treaty. Accordingly, on the 30th of January, the ominous anniversary of the martyrdom of his grandfather, Charles I., the Pretender held himself in readiness to leave Perth preparatory to his departure from the country, after a troubled and inglorious kingship of five short weeks, during which he had few subjects and little reverence or obedience.

In this manner Perth was evacuated on the morning of the following day, the rebels crossing the Tay upon the ice, which was strong enough to support them, and on the 1st of February, about one o'clock in the morning, the royalists entered the town. The first march of the rebels was along the Carse of Gowrie to Dundee, and being Highlanders, and not encumbered with baggage, their movement was so rapid as to defy the pursuit of regular troops, even had Argyle attempted to follow them on the instant. He followed, however, as soon and as speedily as he could, considering the state of the roads, which required to be cleared for the march, and on the 3d of February reached Dundee; but his nimble enemy had got the start of him, and struck off to Montrose by a road that was impassable except by hardy, light-footed mountaineers. A speedy pursuit, however, was the less necessary, as on the following day the Pretender left the kingdom never to return. On the evening of the 4th he had ordered the clans to march to Aberdeen, as if he intended to accompany them, and where, he assured them, a considerable force had just landed from France, and was awaiting their arrival. No sooner, however, had their march commenced, and while his own horses were brought out, and the usual guard of honour were standing in front of his lodging ready to attend him to Aberdeen, than he gave them the

slip by a back door, stole privately and on foot with a single attendant to the lodgings of the Earl of Mar, and being conducted by him to a boat lying at the waterside, they were carried by it to a small French ship called the *Marie Therese*, of St. Malo, that lay in the offing, and which had been bespoke under the pretext of carrying an envoy to the Continent. About a quarter of an hour after another boat put out to the *Marie Therese*, bringing the Earl of Melfort, Lord Drummond, Lieutenant-general Sheldon, and ten other gentlemen, and these being received on board the vessel hoisted sail and proceeded on her voyage. Never was the struggle for a crown so shamefully abandoned or the faithful followers of such an enterprise so heartlessly left to their fate. Only one little trait of feeling escaped to redeem the deed from its utter baseness. The Pretender left behind him a letter addressed to the Duke of Argyle, and a sum of money for the relief of the poor people dwelling between Perth and Stirling whose houses and villages had been burned by his orders. Such a boon was no great matter for one who could so freely command the purses of his adherents, and it bore but a small proportion to the sufferings which his merciless orders had occasioned.

In the meantime the army thus strangely abandoned by its general, and the nobles who were so shamefully forsaken by their king, were equally at a loss how to act and what to do. Their hopeful leaders had vanished in the darkness of night without giving them a single note of warning. Their march was continued to Aberdeen, which they entered on the 6th of February, and here General Gordon read to them a commission from the Pretender appointing him commander-in-chief of the army. In the same letter James also announced that the disappointments he had met with, especially from abroad, had compelled him to leave the country; and after thanking them for their faithful services, he desired them to advise with General Gordon, and consult their own safety either by keeping together or dispersing. There was nothing now to fight for, and the only subject for deliberation was the best means of escaping. About 200 of the rebel horse, chiefly composed of gentlemen, repaired to Peterhead, the same place where the Pretender landed, and finding some vessels ready to carry them off, about 140 embarked and reached France in safety, but a chase from certain British men-of-war occasioned the relanding of the rest, who finally dispersed themselves among the hills of Lochaber. About 160 gentlemen escaped from Dunbeath to Gothenburg, where most of them entered the service of the King of Sweden. The Marquis

of Tullibardine, the Earls Marischal, Southesk, Seaforth, and Linlithgow fled to the north, and Lord Teignmouth and Sir Donald Macdonald escaped to the Hebrides, and afterwards to France. It would take us too long, however, to particularize the dangers they underwent and the hardships they endured in the hot pursuit conducted against them both by land and sea. As for the forsaken and collapsed army, a brief account of its further movements is all that is necessary. At the first intimation of the contents of the Pretender's letter to General Gordon, and that they would receive no more pay, the poor Highlanders exclaimed against their king and general who had so basely deserted and betrayed them, and forthwith proceeded to look to their own safety by a retreat to their homes. After staying only a night at Aberdeen the main body of the rebels under Gordon proceeded to Badenoch, by Castle Gordon, Strathspey, and Strathdon, becoming less at every stage by desertion, and when they reached Badenoch they did not number more than 1000 broadswords. In their retreat, however, they were still so formidable, from the peculiar nature of their mountain warfare, that Argyle and General Cadogan, who followed them at a wary distance, did not think it safe to encounter them with troops accustomed only to regular service; and at Badenoch the insurgents dispersed and disappeared, some retiring to the wilds of Lochaber and others to regions equally inaccessible, but in the hope that the return of summer would produce the revival of their cause and a better occasion for their services.

As for the Pretender, he was not long in showing that his campaign had as little improved him in political wisdom as in military courage and experience. On arriving at the port of Gravelines, and travelling incognito towards Paris, Lord Bolingbroke waited upon him in the neighbourhood of the city, and after consoling him on his disasters proceeded to advise the necessary course for the future. As there was no hope of further countenance or aid from the Duke of Orleans, who to please the English court was ready to drive him out of France, he suggested that James should retire to his former residence of Bar-le-Duc, where he could still keep up a correspondence with his adherents of England and Scotland. The Pretender assented, and pressed his lordship affectionately in his arms at parting; but instead of setting out by post for Lorraine, as he declared he would do, he retired to an obscure house in the neighbourhood of Paris, held counsel with a few intriguing women and secretaries of foreign ambassadors, and after three days sent an order dismissing Bolingbroke from his office of

secretary of state and demanding his portfolio. The indignant nobleman, thus deceived and insulted, at once threw down an office that was attended with neither honour nor advantage, wished that his arm might rot off before he either used pen or sword in the service of such a master, and following up his resentment he made overtures through the Earl of Stair of reconciliation with the British government, which was too well aware of his talents to reject the offer. Having thus got rid of his ablest, and indeed of his only, efficient counsellor, by mean trickery and deception, the Pretender repaired to Chalons, in Champagne, waiting the Duke of Lorraine's permission to resume his former residence at Bar-le-Duc, but the answer was a polite refusal. At this James, instead of seeking some shelter less obnoxious to his Protestant adherents in Britain, and where the communication might be open between them, repaired to Avignon, which was under the dominion of the pope, and, in a court composed of silly flatterers and broken-down refugees, found consolation for the loss of the only minister who could have repaired his ruined affairs.

The rebellion being utterly suppressed in Scotland, as it had previously been in England, such of its agents as had fallen into the hands of government had now to abide a fearful reckoning. The Marquis of Tullibardine, the Earls of Mar and Linlithgow, and Lord Drummond being beyond the reach of government, were attainted. But the Earls of Derwentwater, Nithsdale, Carnwath, and Winton, the Lords Widdrington, Kenmure, and Nairne, with several Highland chiefs and Lowland gentlemen who had been taken prisoners at Preston, were brought to trial. Short work was made of the common file, who were tried by martial law, and shot in heaps or transported to the plantations. A more formal but not more merciful doom awaited the chiefs of the rebellion, and after a trial in Westminster Hall, Nithsdale, Carnwath, Kenmure, Widdrington, and Nairne were sentenced to die as traitors. The life of Lord Nairne was spared at the intercession of Secretary Stanhope, but although the Countess of Derwentwater implored the king upon her knees in behalf of her husband, in which she was joined by the Duchess of Bolton and Cleveland, George I. remained unmoved. On the night before the execution the Earl of Nithsdale escaped from the Tower by the heroic devotedness of his wife, who dressed her husband in her own clothes, so that he passed out undetected, but Derwentwater and Kenmure were beheaded on Tower Hill. The Earl of Winton upon his trial defended himself with great dexterity, and when Cowper attempted to overrule

his statements the earl hoped that he was not going to be subjected to Cupar law—execution first and trial afterwards. Although he was found guilty there appears to have been no intention to bring him to the block, and he finally effected his escape from the Tower, and fled to the Continent, where he died at the age of seventy. Forster and Mackintosh, after being tried and sentenced, broke out of Newgate, and escaped to France, in which example they were followed by seven of their associates; but four gentlemen were executed in London and twenty-two in Lancashire. The Scottish prisoners, who were brought for trial to Carlisle, were afterwards set free by an act of indemnity.

The suppression of the rebellion produced worse political fruits than the punishment of its actors and the discomfiture of the Jacobites. In the mind of George I., whose perceptions of the British government were both limited and obscure, the Tories were reckoned his enemies as well as the Jacobites. From both the opposition to the Hanoverian succession had first proceeded; and when the struggle commenced, the Tories had sympathized not only in sentiment, but sometimes in action with the insurgents, and betrayed their wish that the rebellion might be successful. On the other hand, it was by the Whigs that he had been brought into England; and when the struggle came, it was by them that he had been maintained on his throne. These views of the state of things induced him to discountenance the one party while he encouraged and supported the other, instead of endeavouring to conciliate both alike; and thus, like many other weak sovereigns, he was rather the king of a political faction than of his subjects at large.

This mistaken view of expediency led to a violation of one of the principles of the British constitution. Hitherto the duration of a parliament had been for three years, and in the last general election a very large majority of Whigs had been returned. But another general election would soon be necessary, and from the activity of Jacobites, Tories, and High-churchmen it was feared that the obnoxious party would regain the ascendancy. Under this apprehension the king consulted with his Whig cabinet, at the head of which was Sir Robert Walpole, and their advice was, that the Tories should be kept out by making parliaments septennial instead of triennial, and to extend the act in favour of the parliament then sitting. By this last proviso, which continued the members in office four years longer, the government in power would have time to consolidate, and the king, who was still as a stranger in the country, become better acquainted with his subjects. It

was a selfish proposal for the continuation of their own power; and to avoid the odium which it might occasion, the proposal was originated, not in the Commons, but the House of Lords. There accordingly it was introduced on the 10th of April (1716), by the Duke of Devonshire, and was carried by a majority of ninety-six votes to sixty-one. The septennial bill was then brought down to the House of Commons, and at the third reading on the 26th of April the Tory minority did not muster more than 121 votes. On this occasion the Scottish members gave their hearty support to a bill which freed their country from the dread of a second rebellion, and for this conduct they were severely taunted by the minority. "It is no wonder," cried Mr. Snell, an English member, "that they who had betrayed the liberties of their own country should be so ready to give up the liberties of ours!" This bitter remark upon their conduct in the treaty of the union so incensed the northern representatives that one of them exclaimed, "The member who made that speech would not be so bold as to utter these words anywhere else." A hot quarrel of words ensued, and Mr. Snell, on being called on to explain, asserted that he meant no personal reflection, that he only spoke of the Scottish nation in general. "This explanation," cried Sir David Dalrymple, "only aggravates the offence." The uproar became louder, and was only stilled in consequence of the submission of Snell, who asked pardon for his unguarded remark. The Septennial Act being passed, the parliament was prorogued on the 26th of June, and George I., being relieved of his anxieties for the tranquillity of his three kingdoms, departed on a visit to his principality of Hanover, where his best affections lay, and where a complication of political troubles required his instant interference.

The affairs of Scotland for some time after this period were so completely absorbed in the general politics of the day as to deserve little or no distinctive notice; and although the country was threatened with an invasion in behalf of the Pretender by that heroic madman, Charles XII. of Sweden, the design, if contemplated in earnest, was suddenly cut short by the death of Charles himself at the siege of Frederickshall in Norway. The name of the Pretender was only used as a bugbear by those foreign powers who were on the eve of quarrelling with Great Britain, or had cause to dread her growing ascendancy. One of these feints that threatened to be more serious occurred from a war into which Britain had entered with Spain for the purpose of securing Sicily to the Emperor of Germany. Beset by the difficulties which origi-

nated in this attempt, desirous to humble the British sovereign as the head of the Triple Alliance, and animated with the glory of placing a true son of the church upon the throne of his ancestors, Cardinal Alberoni, the minister and absolute dictator of Spain, resolved to adopt the cause of the Pretender in good earnest. He accordingly invited him to the Spanish court, and James on repairing to Madrid in disguise was received with welcome by the king and queen, acknowledged to be the rightful sovereign of Britain, and sumptuously lodged in the palace of Bueno Retiro. Nor was this welcome confined to mere empty compliment, for preparations were forthwith set afoot for the invasion of Scotland under the direction of the Duke of Ormond; and for which purpose a fleet was collected in the port of Cadiz carrying six thousand troops, and arms for ten or twelve thousand recruits. But although this threatened to be the most formidable of all the attempts that had been made for the restoration of the fallen dynasty, the British government had already adopted precautions that effectually ensured its defeat. A British fleet was sent to secure the Channel, troops were stationed in those northern and western districts where Jacobitism was most prevalent, and parliament proclaimed a reward of £10,000 for the apprehension of the Duke of Ormond. No sooner, however, had the expedition set out to sea than its fate was sealed without the need of these precautions. The Spanish ships encountered such a violent storm off Cape Finisterre that they were obliged to return into port, and out of the whole expedition only two frigates reached the Scottish coast, and put into Kintail in Ross-shire, where they landed Tullibardine and the Earls Marischal and Seaforth, three hundred Spaniards, and arms for two thousand men. But the Scottish Jacobites had got no previous notice of their intentions, and none were at hand to welcome them, so that the Spanish commander demurred about landing; but being soon joined by a few Highlanders he disembarked, and the vessels immediately put out to sea. Government at first could not believe in the reality of such an invasion, and thought that the Spaniards must have returned with their ships; but finding that they were landed, and had taken possession of the Pass of Glenshiel, in the hope of raising the clans, General Wightman, with a body of a thousand men, set out from Inverness to disperse them. The Spaniards with their allies now mustered nearly two thousand men, and were advantageously posted at Glenshiel; but, on the evening of the 10th of June, the Pretender's birthday, Wightman came up and attacked them without delay. The battle was soon over, as

the Highlanders, unable to stand the royalist artillery, fled to the hills, while the Spaniards, who had remained in a body, and taken little share in the action, surrendered at discretion. Such was the insignificant close of the Spanish invasion, which had been so warily commenced, and from which such results were expected. Alberoni was now sick of the Pretender and his affairs, and impatient for the departure of that luckless prince out of Spain; but this departure, which he could not decently urge, was brought about by a fortunate incident. Before this time the Pretender had been married by proxy to the Princess Clementina, granddaughter of the heroic John Sobieski, King of Poland; but, displeased with the match, the Emperor of Germany endeavoured to prevent it by arresting the princess on her way to Italy, and confining her in the castle of Innspruck. Clementina, however, who was eager to be a queen, even though it should only be a titular one, managed to escape from her confinement disguised in man's clothes, and reached Bologna in safety, where she was under the protection of the pope. As soon as he heard of this fortunate event, the Pretender left Madrid and hastened to Rome, where his marriage with the Polish heroine was completed.

During the excitement of the South Sea Bubble, which produced such sanguine expectations and prodigal expense in England, and the bursting of which was followed with such ruinous effects, Scotland, happily removed from these wild speculations, was employed in those agricultural and manufacturing improvements which in process of time were to form her principal sources of wealth and distinction. The country, however, was not entirely to escape from those troubles to which national as well as individual life is subject. Hitherto the malt-tax, although extended to Scotland, had never been levied, and the Scots had resisted every attempt to impose it as contrary to the terms of the Union. Thus matters had gone on until near the close of 1724, when parliament resolved to lay an additional duty of sixpence per barrel upon ale brewed in Scotland in lieu of the malt-tax, and to take away the bounty allowed upon the exportation of grain. This resolution occasioned a general outcry, and the public voice was so ably seconded by the Scottish representatives in parliament that it was agreed to remove the tax from the ale and lay it upon malt in its stead; but, in consideration of the inferiority of Scottish grain, to rate it at three-pence per bushel, which was only half the price paid by England. This touched the Scottish brewers, who also in general were maltsters, and to appease them the Court of Session allowed

them to raise the price of ale to a proportionate amount. This, however, was merely transferring the evil from the brewers to the public at large, and the discontent, instead of being confined to a single class, became general over the country. On the 23d of June, 1725, when the act was to come into operation, a mob assembled in the streets of Glasgow, and after shouting "Down with Walpole!" they made a furious attack upon the house of Campbell of Shawfield, member of the city, who had voted for the passing of the bill, and demolished his furniture. No precaution had been adopted by the magistrates against such an outbreak, and it was only after the town was in possession of the rioters that two companies of foot, under the command of Captain Bushel, arrived to quell the disturbance. As soon as they were drawn up in the streets the soldiers were pelted by the mob, upon which Bushel caused a volley of blank cartridges to be discharged; but this being ineffectual, he ordered his men to load with bullets—a command which they were quite ready to obey; and, at the second volley, which was fired point-blank among the crowd, nine men were killed and a greater number wounded. This only infuriated the mob, who broke open the town-house, seized all the arms they could find, rung the alarm-bell, and pressed upon the soldiers so desperately that the latter were compelled to draw off and retreat to Dumbarton, facing round at intervals, and firing at the crowd, who pursued them six miles on the way. On learning of this wild commotion in Glasgow, General Wade, who commanded the military in Scotland, sent two regiments of dragoons from Edinburgh, with a body of foot and several cannon, at whose approach all symptoms of riot in Glasgow disappeared. Several arrests of the principal offenders were made, and even the magistrates of the city were sent under a strong guard to Edinburgh and lodged in the Tolbooth, on the charge of not having taken due precautions to prevent the outbreak. Government, however, proceeded no further than to inflict a public whipping on some who had been foremost in the affray; and as for the magistrates, they were set at liberty after a short imprisonment. Campbell of Shawfield was indemnified for the spoliation of his house by a gratuity of six thousand pounds, which was raised from a tax imposed on the ale that was brewed within the city of Glasgow, and the conduct of Bushel was rewarded with military promotion.¹

This riot which was so easily suppressed disappointed the hopes of the Jacobites, who had encouraged it for their own purposes, and the

¹ Culloden Papers; Lockhart Papers.

resentment at the malt-tax, which was expected to produce a national insurrection, died out in a few angry protests and inarticulate murmurings. The bulk of the Scottish people were disposed to endure much rather than risk the re-establishment of Popery; and the additional cost of their ale, could not induce them to drink success to the Pretender and the restoration of the Stuarts to the throne. While such was the case with the Lowlands the possibility of a rising in the Highlands was every day becoming more hopeless from the prudent conduct of General Wade and Forbes of Culloden. The disarming act was accomplished in the manner least calculated to irritate the pride of the mountaineers; six independent Highland companies were raised and paid by government, but officered by their own chieftains; and those great military roads were commenced which led to the gradual civilization of the Highlands. And as for the Pretender himself, against whose return all these precautions were adopted, his character and his follies were such as to discourage even the most sanguine of his partisans and persuade them of the hopelessness of his cause. His mimic court had become more than ever a chaos of quarrel and political intrigue, and after having had Bolingbroke, the Duke of Ormond, and the Earl of Mar successively for his chief advisers, the latter was now supplanted by Colonel Hay, Mar's brother-in-law, who was created titular Earl of Inverness. Nothing, indeed, but family dissension was needed to complete the confusion, and this the Pretender created as soon as he became a husband and a father. He quarrelled with his wife, who forsook him and took refuge in a convent; and he dismissed the governess of his son and heir, Charles-Edward, now four years of age, and transferred his education into incompetent hands, declaring that he was the master of his own family and children. The odium occasioned by these public deeds, and his own arrogance and manifest incompetence, produced such an alienation of the European powers, that no court save that of Spain, which was now under the sway of Ripperda, a rash political ad-

venturer, thought of adopting his cause, or even using him as a tool for the advancement of its own views and interests.

In this state were public affairs, when, in consequence of the establishment of peace with Spain which had made demands for the restitution of Gibraltar, George I. resolved to enjoy the recreation of a visit to his Hanoverian dominions. He set out for this purpose on the 3d of June (1727), and after crossing to Vaert in Holland, continued his journey by land. But on the 10th he was struck with apoplexy in his coach, when he had reached Ippenburen, and on his attendants proposing to stop at that place, the king so far recovered as to say, "Osnabruck, Osnabruck." To Osnabruck his obedient servants accordingly conveyed him, while he was in a heavy stupor, but before they reached the town he expired. Thus died George I. in the sixty-eighth year of his age and thirteenth of his reign. He had some solid but few popular qualities, and the circumstance of his being a foreigner, and unable to speak the English tongue, were not calculated to endear him to his subjects, who as yet were strong in their insular hatred of everything strange and foreign. As it was an age when mistresses formed a part of every royal establishment George had more than one; but the offence in the eyes of the people arose not so much from the immoral example of the practice, as from the ugliness of the women who were the objects of his choice—a source of unpopularity which he shared in common with James VII., of whom it was said that his mistresses were enjoined him by his confessor by way of penance. It was only by a comparison with the Pretender that he was considered a tolerable king, and his occupation of the British throne was owing to the principle of a Protestant succession rather than the personal qualities of him who held it. His best merit as a sovereign arose from his not meddling with the British constitution, to which he felt himself a stranger; and this non-interference promoted its free healthy development and the best interests of his subjects.

CHAPTER III.

REIGN OF GEORGE II. (1727-1745).

Prospects of peace at the accession of George II.—Tranquillity of the Highlands—Its increased intercourse with the Lowlands—Wade's military roads in the Highlands—The Highland companies—The Disarming Act—Intrigues of the Jacobites in the Highlands—Unhealthy state of commerce in the Lowlands—Prevalence of smuggling—Case of Wilson and Robertson—Their apprehension—Their trial and sentence—The escape of Robertson—Porteous captain of the town-guard—His behaviour at Wilson's execution—He orders the town-guard to fire upon the crowd—He is tried and sentenced but reprieved—Rage of the citizens at the reprieve—The Porteous riot—Bold and systematic proceedings of the rioters—They storm the prison and secure Porteous—His execution by the rioters—Their disappearance after the deed—Fruitless attempts of the magistrates to discover them—Rage of the government at this defeat of justice—Discussion in parliament upon the riot—Edinburgh punished by a trivial fine—Unwise proceedings of government for the discovery of the rioters—Odious office imposed upon the clergy—Impenetrable obscurity in which the Porteous riot is still enveloped—Attempts of the Jacobites to profit by the public discontent—Plan of Forbes to retain the Highlands in tranquillity—It is rejected—Rash resolution of government to send the Highland regiment on foreign service—Remonstrance of the Duke of Argyle against the measure—The regiment cajoled to London under false pretences—Attempt of a part of them to return to Scotland—They are pursued and compelled to surrender—Increase of Highland discontent at the government—The Jacobites renew their intrigues—French invasion planned for the restoration of the Stewarts—Its formidable preparations—Charles-Edward the Pretender's son arrives in France to accompany the invasion—His correspondence with his father—The French squadron of invasion sets sail—It is chased back by a British fleet and dispersed by a storm—The attempt abandoned—Disappointment of Charles-Edward—He resolves to resume the enterprise upon his own resources—He begins to collect arms and money for the purpose—Consternation of the Scottish Jacobites in consequence of his intention—He persists and sets sail with only two vessels—One of them is driven back by a British cruiser—The Young Pretender lands in the Highlands—Enthusiasm at his arrival—He prevails on Lochiel to join in the rash enterprise—Effect of Lochiel's example on other Highland chiefs—Alarm of government—A reinforcement of soldiers despatched to Fort-William—They are surprised and captured on the way—Charles-Edward raises his standard and proclaims his father at Glenfinnan—He is reinforced—He commences his march for the Lowlands—Sir John Cope advances against him—Preparations of Charles to encounter him—Cope retreats without an encounter—Charles resumes his march—Importance of Lord Lovat's accession to his party—Treacherous double-dealing of Lovat with both parties—He refuses to join the prince with his clan—Charles enters Perth—His proclamation retaliatory to that of government—He advances towards Edinburgh—Weak condition of the city to stand a siege—Preparations made for its defence—Disappearance of its volunteers in their march against the rebels—Flight of the dragoons when the rebels came in sight—The "Canter of Colt-brigg"—Dismay of the citizens of Edinburgh at these desertions—They open negotiations with the rebels—Their deliberations to resist or surrender—Sudden capture of the city by the Highlanders—James VIII. proclaimed at the Cross—Description of the Young Pretender—Enthusiastic admiration of the Jacobites of Edinburgh—Misgivings of the Whigs of his capacity for such an enterprise—Wretched appearance of his army—His entrance into the palace of Holyrood—A ball—Preparations to give battle to Sir John Cope.

At the succession of George II. to the throne of Great Britain, the peaceful state of affairs in Scotland was favourable to the event. Such especially was the case in the Highlands, hitherto the stronghold of Jacobitism, and from which a rising in behalf of the Pretender was most to be dreaded. The judicious conduct of Field-marshal Wade, to whom in the previous reign the settlement of the Highland districts was committed, had been crowned apparently with complete success. The clans had peacefully surrendered their arms, and consented to submit to the present government. New barracks were erected, and old ones repaired over those parts of the country which were still unsettled, and supplied with regular garrisons. Six independent companies of Highlanders had been raised, who, while they wore their native dress

and arms, and were commanded by their own chiefs and gentlemen, received what they regarded as bountiful pay from the state, and had thus an interest in the suppression of insurrections and maintenance of the public peace. Trade between the Highlands and Lowlands was encouraged, and the Highland drovers who travelled to the markets with their cattle were allowed, in their journeys, to wear arms for self-defence. But the greatest of all Wade's undertakings was the establishment of military roads, by which mere cattle tracks over rocks, swamps, and torrents were converted into broad comfortable highways, and the country laid open to mercantile or military communication; and by a judicious arrangement, these roads were constructed in the old Roman fashion by the regular soldiers, who were reconciled to their

new task by an addition to their pay. Of these highways, one commencing at Crieff, and the other near Stirling, girdled the opposite sides of the mountains until they met and united at Dalnacardoch, and after continuing in a single line to Dalwhinny, again branched off, and continued in two roads, the one extending to Fort-Augustus and the other to Fort-William. So greatly was the peace of the country promoted by these undertakings, that Wade in the joy of his heart could not refrain from boasting of the change. Highlanders, he said, instead of going armed with guns, pistols, dirks, and swords, now went to churches, markets, and fairs with only a staff in their hands. But this tranquil surface was only a thin covering over the old elements that still fermented, and might at any time break out into action. Among the independent companies termed the black soldiers, in opposition to the king's troops who wore the red uniform, Highland clanship was stronger than even their loyalty to King George, whose pay they received; and in acting against marauders or rebels, they were careful to wink at the trespasses of those who belonged to their own clan and genealogy. The chiefs who were hostile to the present government, in several cases used their commission for levying a black company to the purposes of treason and rebellion. As these companies were limited to a certain number of soldiers, the chief made the men of his clan serve in it by rotation, until the whole were disciplined into ready instruments of rebellion. Although the Highlands were supposed to be disarmed, with the exception of these companies, the disarmament was only partial; the old and useless weapons had in most cases been surrendered, and the best stored away for future use; and many thousand stands of arms, which had been brought by the Spanish frigates in 1719, lay concealed in caverns, and might be resumed at a moment's notice. Even the roads also, which would have been an invaluable boon to a people seeking an alliance with civilized communities, and to enjoy the benefits of traffic, were the greatest evil of all in the eyes of the Highlanders. They would no longer be secure from the interruptions of the Lowlands; they would no longer enjoy their own simple mode of living apart from the interference of strangers. Every part of their country was now made accessible to the advance of an army, so that their safety and independence were alike destroyed by these new facilities for aggression. Of these various sources of complaint and discontent the Jacobites availed themselves; and while they traversed the Highlands in every direction as missionaries in the cause of the Pretender, their representations and arguments

found willing hearers and ready converts. These innovations were the commencement of a new era of civilization, which the Highlanders of the day were too ignorant to understand and too proud to tolerate.¹

While such was the precarious condition of the mountain districts, where discontent and the spirit of rebellion were masked by a tranquil aspect, the state of the Lowlands was more hopeful and promising, and that spirit of mercantile enterprise had already commenced under which the country was to assume a new character. Several towns had already attempted those woollen manufactures by which they were afterwards to be distinguished; an opening for Scottish produce conveyed in Scottish ships was found at the ports of Spain, Portugal, and the Mediterranean; and the connection between the kingdom and the metropolis was opened by the post that went regularly to and from London twice a week. But as a drawback to these advantages, which were of slow growth, a spirit of disappointment predominated. Impatient to be rich, but not yet having found out the right way, rash speculations took the place of slow industrial enterprise; and the sudden gains and exciting occupations of smuggling were preferred to the more peaceful and laborious processes of traffic. The chief commodity in this course of fraudulent dealing was foreign brandy; and the principal argument in favour of the contraband trade was, the imposition of the English excise, and especially of the late malt-tax, which were all reckoned inimical to the national liberty, and the payment of which might therefore be justly eluded or resisted. The consequence of this perverted view had at length a terrible outbreak in the Porteous riot, one of the most portentous popular conspiracies which our history has recorded.

A glance at the outline of the map of Scotland will show how favourable its many indentations are for the purposes of smuggling. For this, especially, the coast of Fifeshire, from its numerous seaports and its proximity to the capital, was especially distinguished. In that part of Kirkcaldy called Pathhead a man in humble life, whose name was Wilson, and who had distinguished himself in the contraband trade, but had been a loser by many seizures, conceived himself justified in robbing the collector of the district of what he considered to be his own. In this he was joined by George Robertson, an innkeeper of Bristo, in Edinburgh, also a smuggler; and having watched the collector while he was travelling on his circuit they broke into the room in Pittenweem,

¹ Sir Walter Scott's *Tales of a Grandfather*; Culloden Papers.

where he slept, on the 9th of January, 1736, and robbed him of a sum equal in value to the goods he had seized from them, but not more. So little precaution, however, had they used, that on the same evening they were apprehended, and being brought to trial were convicted and sentenced to execution for the robbery. While they lay in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh waiting for execution two horse-stealers in the room immediately above that in which they lay, having obtained spring-saws, cut the stanchions of their windows, and also a hole through the floor of their prison, through which they hauled up their fellow-captives, and the whole four attempted an escape through the window. The first who succeeded was one of the horse-stealers, who was let down by a rope; but Wilson, on following, being a bulky man, stuck fast between the bars, and could neither get through nor return back. Discovery followed, and the prisoners were made more secure than ever. And bitterly did Wilson regret this failure, which he justly attributed to his own obstinacy, for Robertson, who had insisted on making the first trial, might have got off but for the other, who insisted on preceding him in the attempt.

It was the custom in Edinburgh on the Sabbath previous to execution to convey the prisoners under a guard to the church hard by, that they might be consoled in their last hours by the public services of religion; and thither, accordingly, Wilson and Robertson were conveyed, under the charge of four soldiers of the town-guard. But as soon as the service was over, Wilson, who was a very strong man, seized a soldier with each hand, and hastily crying, "Geordie, rin for your life!" seized the third guard by the collar with his teeth. Robertson instantly tripped up the heels of the fourth soldier, and leaping over the pews was soon clear of the church, while the congregation, who had opened the way for his escape, closed again as readily, to hinder further pursuit. No search could afterwards trace the fugitive, and Wilson was carried back to prison. From the sympathy that had favoured the escape of his companion, and was now expressed towards Wilson, apprehensions were entertained by the magistrates that attempts might be made for his rescue, and they adopted every precaution to carry out the sentence. Accordingly, the sentinels upon his prison were doubled, the town-guard, who were to attend the execution, were furnished with rounds of ammunition; and, lest they should not be strong enough in the event of a riot, Moyle's regiment was drawn up in the suburbs, near the place of execution, and ready to assist them at a moment's notice.

The commander of the town-guard on this

occasion was John Porteous, the unfortunate victim of the tragedy that followed. Originally bred a soldier, this circumstance had recommended him to the magistrates of the city, who appointed him a captain of the guard, and this office he had exercised with such strictness and severity as to make him the dread and hatred of the mob. He was also indignant at the fancied insult of calling out the regular soldiers, as if his own band were insufficient or himself incompetent for the maintenance of due order. These causes were enough to account for the riotous conduct of the crowd and his readiness to take offence at the disturbance. On the 14th of April (1736) Wilson was led out to execution at the Grassmarket, and underwent his fate with resignation, the crowd pitying him, but making not the slightest offer of resistance, and it was not until the whole was ended that symptoms of unruliness began to appear. These at first were nothing more than the throwing of a few stones at the executioner when he was about to cut down the body—an ebullition among the boys and lowest of the mob which was usual on every such occasion. Some of the missiles, however, struck some of the town-guard, and although they were accustomed to such popular salutes, they on the present occasion seemed to participate in the resentment of their commander at the calling out of Moyle's regiment. Too well, therefore, they seconded the rage of Porteous, who, without reading the Riot Act or waiting for orders from the magistrates, ordered his men, with an angry oath, to fire among the crowd: they fired a volley without hesitation, and several spectators were killed and wounded. This, instead of terrifying, enraged the crowd, who pressed upon the town-guard and compelled them to retire to the guard-house; but in their retreat some of them in the rear again faced about and fired, only aggravating the unnecessary slaughter. It was unfortunate, also, that some persons of respectable condition, who took no part in the disturbance, were among the killed and wounded. From a mistaken humanity some of the guard had fired over the heads of the mob, and thereby had shot unintentionally several spectators who were stationed at their windows in the Lawnmarket.

The rage of the whole community at this lawless proceeding was such that the magistrates were inclined to take the trial of Porteous into their own hands, as their provost was high-sheriff within the city; but being informed that such a proceeding might be subject to challenge the offender was brought to trial before the High Court of Justiciary. On his trial, which did not take place until the 19th of July, three months after the execution of Wilson, Porteous declared

that he had given his soldiers no orders to fire; and he proved that his fusée, when he returned to the guard-house, had never been discharged. But it was proved, on the other hand, that he had not only issued the order, but fired with his men among the crowd with a musket which he received from one of his soldiers. The jury took the popular view of the case, and found him guilty of murder, upon which he was condemned to be hanged on the 8th day of September. Here, however, the crown interposed. George II. was at this time on the Continent, and the government was conducted in his absence by Queen Caroline, who had no objections, in the case of Porteous, to exercise the royal prerogative. A reprieve was therefore issued in favour of the condemned man, and this, it was justly feared, was but a prelude to a complete pardon. The astonishment and rage of Edinburgh at this proceeding exceeded all bounds. Were the lives of its citizens of so little value that they might be sacrificed at the caprice of such a petty functionary as Porteous? They called to mind his severity in the suppression of former riots, his arbitrary conduct in visiting common offenders, while the rich and powerful were connived at and allowed to escape. They also dwelt upon his cruelty at the execution, not the least instance of which was his forcing manacles that were too small upon the wrists of the unhappy Wilson, and answering his complaint of the pain they occasioned him with a heartless and derisive gibe. They vowed that neither royal reprieve nor royal pardon should set aside the sentence that had justly doomed him to death, and events soon showed how well they adhered to their purpose.¹

The 8th of September had been the day appointed for the execution of Porteous, and the magistrates apprehended nothing worse than the growlings of a disappointed mob or a slight *émeute* which a few soldiers would be sufficient to disperse. But mysterious preparations had already been made that defied their calculations. On the evening of the 7th, about the hour of the closing of the town gates and placing the guard, a crowd of strange faces began to assemble at the suburb called Portsburgh, in which artisans and persons of the lower orders chiefly resided. This suspicious assemblage, that grew every moment, soon began to move in concert and to gather recruits; they marched to the sound of the town drum, which was used by the drummer's son, whom they had pressed into their service. They were now so strong that they could proceed to action, and this they did in the most skilful and deliberate manner; they nailed up the

West Port, and secured it with barricades, after which they marched up the Cowgate into the High Street, securing the Cowgate Port and that of the Netherbow as they had done the West Port. In this way they isolated the city from all military aid except such as might be given from the castle, as the soldiers were quartered, not in the city, but the suburbs. Having thus secured themselves from interruption, they surprised the guard-house, and easily overpowered its trembling inmates; but, instead of harming them as the instruments of the late carnage, they allowed them to depart in peace, after securing their muskets and Lochaber axes, with which the principal rioters armed themselves. The prison was now the great mark of their enterprise, and while one party advanced against it, another, with something like military order, drew up across the front of the Luckenbooths, to cover those who were appointed to storm the jail. In the meantime the magistrates were confounded: at the worst they had apprehended nothing but a paltry riot, but here was a well-organized, formidable conspiracy. With such a civic force as they could muster on the spur of the moment they advanced against the insurgents, but were repelled with a shower of stones; and when they applied for military aid neither Colonel Moyle nor the governor of the castle would venture to interfere without a written order, while every street, lane, and thoroughfare was so carefully occupied by the insurgents that no such writing could be transmitted.

While these events were going on in the High Street others of a more tragic interest were being transacted at the jail. On that evening Porteous had given an entertainment to his friends in the Tolbooth, to celebrate his reprieve and hopes of speedy liberation, when the first sounds of the coming storm reached their ears, upon which the guests hastily stole away, leaving the master of the feast to his solitude. The crowd that advanced against the jail demanded that Porteous should be given up to them; but when they were only answered with closed gates they endeavoured to burst them open. But, although sledge-hammers, axes, and iron crows were used for the purpose, the outer gate was of such strength as to defy their efforts; upon which some called for fire, and a bonfire of a tar barrel and pile of whins was soon raised that burned a hole in the door. The most forward dashed in their eagerness through the flames; and having secured the keys they opened every ward and let loose its inmates in their search for the principal captive. His apartment was quickly found, as well as Porteous himself, who was concealed in the chimney, coiled up at the iron bar of the vent,

¹ *Porteous Trial; Trials of Wilson and Robertson; Caledonian Mercury.*

which went across it to prevent the escape of prisoners. The unfortunate wretch was dragged from his concealment, and to every entreaty for mercy was commanded to prepare for death. A stern but solemn determination, the reverse of haste or fear, characterized all the movements of that terrible midnight conspiracy; and as if his execution was the just fulfilment of a judicial sentence, it was resolved that he should be hanged at no other place than the Grassmarket, the usual place of execution, and where his crime had been committed. He was allowed to give some papers and what money he had to a friend, to be delivered to his family; and a grave, respectable-looking personage from among the crowd came forward to administer such admonitions as were fitted to his circumstances and prepare him for his sudden end. As he sullenly refused to walk he was carried by two of the rioters on what is called in Scotland a king's cushion, that is, a seat formed by two persons grasping the wrists of each other, the backs of their hands forming the seat; and when one of the slippers of their victim dropped off in this process of conveyance they halted until it was found and replaced on his foot. In this style the procession walked down the West Bow, while the windows on the way were filled with wondering spectators; and, on arriving at the place of execution, a cry was raised for the gallows, that Porteous might be executed with due legal formality. The gallows, however, had been removed to its usual place at a distant part of the town, and too much time would have been occupied in bringing it back to the Grassmarket. In this extremity a dyer's pole was selected near the place where the gibbet was wont to be raised; and, to furnish themselves with a halter, the door of a booth in which hempen articles were sold was broken open, and a coil of ropes taken from it; but so careful were they to avoid the appearance of theft, that a guinea as payment of the abstracted article was left on the counter. While the apparatus of death was preparing Porteous was desired to kneel, repent of his sins, and crave pardon of heaven; and, in spite of his struggles and entreaties for mercy, the rope was put about his neck, and himself hoisted into the air. His dying agonies were protracted by his spasmodic attempts to save himself, and one of his hands having got loose he clung to the pole, until its grasp was relaxed by blows from Lochaber axes and bludgeons. After waiting until the deed was completed the actors retired, the streets resumed their wonted silence, and all might have seemed a dream but for the weapons which the conspirators had thrown down, along with the expiring torches that lighted the place of execution, and the body of the wretched man

that hung motionless upon the dyer's pole. The windows of the tall houses in the Grassmarket were filled with terrified onlookers, who had been roused from their sleep to witness this strange midnight execution, but who were afraid to interfere, or look too closely at those by whom it was perpetrated.

When the morning dawned after this night of terror the magistrates of Edinburgh bestirred themselves to fathom this alarming conspiracy, and to apprehend the chief agents of the daring deed. They knew that they would be charged with remissness in their duty, and that without some scapegoat the odium of the affair would recoil upon themselves. But their inquiries were in vain, for, although two hundred persons were apprehended on suspicion and examined, nothing could be found to criminate any one, or give a clue to the mystery in which the plot was enveloped. But while the town-council was thus perplexed, the government was infuriated. It was an insult which a single city had dared to throw in their teeth. And if Edinburgh alone could thus brave the resentment of the ruling powers what might not be feared from a rising of the nation at large? A reward of two hundred pounds was offered for the detection of any of the culprits, but still no participator in the Porteous riot could be found. Reasoning how effectual such a reward would prove with any mob in England, the officers of state in London concluded that no Edinburgh rabble had participated in the deed—that it was entirely the work of the higher classes disguised in mean clothing for the occasion—and that it was the commencement of a profound conspiracy in which government was first to be defied and then openly assailed.

In the session of parliament which opened in February, 1737, the royal address that was read by the chancellor, after congratulations on the prospect of peace on the Continent, adverted to the tumults at home, and to the attempts made to resist and obstruct the execution of the laws and violate the peace of the kingdom. In the discussion that followed the Porteous riot was characterized as the most extraordinary that had ever happened in any country. It was all the more dangerous from the secrecy with which it had been planned, and the order, decency, and concert with which it had been carried into effect. The names of the murderers must be known in Edinburgh; but since none were given up it was evident that the whole city had made themselves accomplices in the crime, and were worthy of a general punishment. A bill was accordingly brought in for the punishment of Edinburgh that breathed the spirit of national and personal vindictiveness. It proposed that Alexander

Wilson, the provost, should be imprisoned and declared incapable of holding any office of public trust; that the city charter should be abolished, the city walls thrown down, and the town-guard dismissed. Against these unrighteous proposals the Scottish peers and Scottish commons resolutely protested, headed chiefly by the Duke of Argyle and the Lord-president Forbes; and, after a keen and lengthened opposition, the bill was gradually deprived of its sting and reduced to little more than a nominal penalty. Edinburgh was only amerced in a fine of £2000 for the benefit of the widow of Captain Porteous, and even the bill, thus mitigated, was only carried by the casting vote of the chairman.¹

This would have been satisfactory enough if the matter had ended here; but an obnoxious clause was added that made the subject, already extinguished, blaze out afresh in a different form. It was an act for the discovery of the murderers of Porteous, and making the mere concealment of the guilty a capital offence. This, also, the ministers of the Church of Scotland were to read from their pulpits once a month for a whole year, exhorting their congregation to do all in their power for the detection of the culprits, and announcing the reward that was to be paid upon their conviction. The clergyman refusing thus to act was declared to be "incapable of sitting or voting in any church judicatory, and the penalty was to be enforced by the civil power." This unworthy decree, by which ministers were to be converted into beagles of the law, and their pulpits into a market-cross for the hue and cry—the Erastianism of the decree by which the civil power enjoined the duty and visited its neglect with punishment, and the words of the proclamation they were to read, in which the bishops were styled "the Lords Spiritual in parliament assembled," formed a combination of offences which no sincere Calvinist could regard with indifference. The great schism, also, called the Secession had but newly occurred, in consequence of the laxity of the church and its obedience to the civil powers; and if submission in this instance should also be accorded the cause of dissent would be strengthened, and the dangers of the establishment increased. It was a distressing alternative presented to the ministers at such a crisis. Some refused to read the proclamation and resigned their livings, but the greater number complied, and thus added to the charge of Erastianism against them which had already assumed so formidable a character. "Much ill blood was excited, and great dissensions took place betwixt those clergymen who did and those who did not read the proclama-

tion. This controversy, like others, had its hour, during which little else was spoken of, until in due time the subject was worn threadbare and forgotten." Thus far Sir Walter Scott in his account of the effects of the Porteous proclamation. But that the subject was not worn threadbare, was evinced in the strength which it imparted from year to year to the Secession; and that it was not forgotten, the Disruption of 1843 most signally attested.²

In the meantime it will naturally be asked what immediate effects were produced by these proclamations from the pulpits over the whole kingdom? Alas! not a single culprit concerned in the Porteous riot could be found. It was the mystery of the Man in the Iron Mask multiplied a thousand fold. In consequence of this impenetrable obscurity it became a fruitful field of fiction and romance, and many stories were told of persons who had been actors in the daring deed. During the riot, of which so many thousands were spectators, many persons, it was alleged, had been seen among the insurgents whose polite, courteous manners in turning back those spectators who pressed too near was strangely at variance with their dress as common mechanics. Many persons, also, who were attired as women, betrayed by their deeds that they belonged to the other sex. There were numerous stories also of persons who, immediately after the event, went abroad without any ostensible cause, and of death-bed confessions many years later of persons who had been parties in the Porteous conspiracy. But still it remains a mystery that baffles all inquiry. A plot there was, and it succeeded, but how or by whom contrived, it seems impossible ever to discover.

While the public mind was still rankling with the recollection of those national injuries with which the country at large had been visited in consequence of the Porteous riot, and considering their disproportion to the offence, the reflective were alarmed at this state of the public mind, and the facilities it offered for stirring up a fresh rebellion. Nor was this a causeless alarm. A new war with Spain was apprehended, and in the event of its breaking out, the cause of the Pretender was certain to be adopted by the enemy for the purpose of perplexing our councils and dividing our strength. This danger occurred to the anxious mind of President Forbes; and as the attempt to create a civil war would likely be made in the Highlands, it was expedient that the fidelity of the clans should be secured before the occasion ar-

¹ Parliament. Debates; Arnot's *History of Edinburgh*.

² Brown's *Hist. of the Secession*; Willison's *Fair and Impartial Testimony*; Sir W. Scott's *Tales of a Grandfather*.

rived. Impressed with this necessity he laid his plan before Milton, the lord justice-clerk, before the close of 1738, in the following words: "A war with Spain seems near at hand, which it is probable will be soon followed by a war with France, and there will be occasion for more troops than the present standing army. In that event I propose that government should raise four or five regiments of Highlanders, appointing an English or Scottish officer of undoubted loyalty to be colonel of each regiment, and naming the lieutenant-colonels, majors, captains, and subalterns from this list in my hand, which comprehends all the chiefs and chieftains of the disaffected clans, who are the very persons whom France and Spain will call upon in case of a war to take arms for the Pretender. If government fore-engages the Highlanders in the manner I propose, they will not only serve well against the enemy abroad, but will be hostages for the good behaviour of their relations at home, and I am persuaded it will be absolutely impossible to raise a rebellion in the Highlands." This device, by which peace was to be ensured at home, and the army strengthened for foreign service, appeared so simple and effectual that it was forthwith transmitted to Sir Robert Walpole, who still retained office as minister, which he had held in the preceding reign. Sir Robert brought the plan before the cabinet, and strongly recommended its adoption, but the council unanimously rejected it: they were afraid that the patriotic party would denounce it as the addition of a Highland Host to the standing army for the suppression of liberty and free discussion, as had been done in Scotland during the reign of the Stuarts, and in consequence of this nervous apprehension it was laid aside. When war ensued in the following year another plan formed upon it, but less liable to popular reprehension, was proposed, by which four independent Highland companies were added to the six already raised, and the whole formed into a regiment, which was placed under the command of the Earl of Crawford.¹

Events soon showed the impolicy of such half measures, and the necessity of either adopting the whole plan of Lord-president Forbes, or entirely rejecting it. Flanders was now the seat of war, and in 1742 it was resolved by the ministry in an evil hour to remove the Highland regiment to the army on the Continent—a step that could not be adopted without a notorious breach of faith, as it had been recruited for service in the Highlands alone; and as the design was a fraudulent one, the plan adopted for the deportation of the regiment was equally ini-

quitous. They were to be marched from their mountains to London under the pretext of being reviewed by the king, and thus, precluded from escape or resistance, were to be shipped for foreign service. In vain did the Duke of Argyle, who knew them best, but had not been consulted, protest against the measure. After expressing his indignation and astonishment at the design of this pretended review, and describing the confusion and rage which would be occasioned in the Highlands, he proceeded with prophetic foresight to describe the consequences: "The case of Scotland," he said, "so far as I understand it, is, that Jacobitism is at a very low pass compared with what it was thirty years ago. Yet I will not be so sanguine as to say that the fire is totally extinguished, or even that what lurks may not be blown up into a flame if France, besides words, which she has always ready, will give some money, and the countenance of force. . . . Should she fling but half a dozen battalions into the Highlands, and these be joined by three or four thousand banditti, what sort of confusion must that make on the island; what diversion to his majesty's troops; what interruption to his designs! The enterprise, I verily believe, would at last be baffled, and the invaders would be lost to France; but still an infinite deal of mischief would be wrought at a small expense to that crown. And this is what distinguishes an attempt in the Highlands of Scotland from one in any place to the southward. A small number would suffice to raise, with those that might be brought to join them, a lasting and a very dangerous confusion."² All this was realized only three years afterwards when France, instead of supplying money and a few battalions, only promised to give such assistance. But his remonstrances and predictions were in vain, and in March, 1743, the regiment was ordered up to London to be reviewed before the king.

In their march to the capital the Highlanders were admired in every district through which they passed for their fine soldierly appearance, as well as wondered at on account of their singular costume. But on the 30th of April, when the last division had arrived in London, the king and the Duke of Cumberland set sail from Greenwich to the Continent, and this circumstance, which showed that no review was really intended, opened their eyes for further observation. The affair began to look suspicious, and the alarm was brought to the height by the arts of designing men, who whispered to the Highlanders that they were betrayed—that they had been cajoled to London only to be

¹ Culloden Papers.

² Parliamentary Records.

shipped off to the plantations as so many of their countrymen had been who were taken prisoners at Preston. Alarmed at these reports, a large body of the regiment assembled near Highgate, and resolved to find their way home, hoping by their superior activity to elude the pursuit of the regular troops who might be sent to apprehend them. Their departure occasioned instant alarm; they were proclaimed deserters, and a squadron of horse, which was sent after them, found them on the second day of their march encamped in Lady Wood, near Oundle, in Northamptonshire. Every pass of the wood being blocked up, they were compelled to surrender, and on being brought to London three of them were tried by a court-martial and shot, while the others, nearly two hundred in number, were sent to foreign service, some to stations in the Mediterranean, and others to the West Indies.¹ But sorely was this regiment missed in the Highlands after their departure. The depredations which their watchfulness had checked were resumed afresh, and it was suspected that political emissaries had renewed their intrigues among the clans in behalf of the Pretender.

Encouraged by the unpopularity into which the government had fallen in the Highlands as well as the Lowlands, the Jacobites had begun to bestir themselves more actively than ever, and an association was formed in the interests of the Pretender, called "The concert of gentlemen for managing the king's affairs in Scotland." They entered into negotiations with Cardinal Tencin, now at the head of French affairs, for the restoration of the Stuarts, and that minister, thinking the present a favourable opportunity for inflicting a heavy blow upon Britain, lent a willing ear to their solicitations. An invasion was therefore resolved in earnest, and upon a larger scale than had hitherto been attempted. It was resolved that 15,000 veterans should be drawn together at Dunkirk, under the command of the renowned Marshal Saxe; that transports should be collected in the Channel for their transportation, and a fleet of eighteen sail of the line be ready to set off from Rochefort and Brest for their protection. As it was necessary that this expedition should avow its exclusive purpose, it was judged fit that the Pretender should accompany it in person as its head; but his inefficiency and evil luck were too well known to be intrusted with such an important enterprise. But Charles, his eldest son, and nominal Prince of Wales, might act as his representative, and accordingly James gave him

a commission as Regent, with full powers in his absence. And as that political weathercock, Lovat, had for the nonce veered once more to the cause of the Stuarts, in consequence of the distrust of the government which had deprived him of his independent company, Charles carried for him a patent naming him Duke of Fraser, and appointing him the king's lieutenant in all the counties north of the Spey. It was hoped that by such ample promises the insatiable chief, who was only alive to his own interests and had so often deceived every party, would be fixed and secured at last.²

The preparations in France for the expedition being completed, the young adventurer set off from Rome to Paris disguised as a Spanish courier, travelling night and day; and embarking in a small vessel at Savona, he passed through the British fleet in the Gulf of Lyons at no small risk, arrived safely at Antibes, and afterwards rode post to Paris, which he reached on the 20th of January, 1744. As his reception or recognition in any way would have betrayed his hostile designs against Britain, the King of France refused to receive him, and Charles was therefore obliged to take up his residence at Gravelines, and maintain a strict incognito under the name of the Chevalier Douglas. His letters to his father at this time give a curious picture of the shifts which he adopted to preserve his concealment. He thus writes in one of them: "The situation I am in is very particular, for nobody knows where I am, or what is become of me; so that I am entirely buried as to the public, and cannot but say that it is a very great constraint upon me, for I am obliged very often not to stir out of my room for fear of somebody's noticing my face. I very often think that you would laugh very heartily if you saw me going about with a single servant buying fish and other things, and squabbling for a penny more or less." In another he writes: "Everybody is wondering where the prince is: some put him in one place, and some in another; but nobody knows where he is really; and sometimes he is told news of himself to his face, which is very diverting." . . . "I have every day large packets to answer without anybody to help me but Maloch [Drummond of Bochaldu]. Yesterday I had one that cost me seven hours and a half." This last kind of penance to which he alludes must have been more severe to the young impatient Charles than the constrained privacy which shut him out from all amusement. Sheridan, an Irish Roman Catholic, to whom his education had been intrusted, had discharged his task so unfaithfully, that his pupil was sadly

¹ *London and Scots Magazines*, an. 1742; Stewart's *Sketches of the Highlanders of Scotland*, &c.; *Caledonian Mercury*.

² *Life of Lord Lovat*.

defective even in the ordinary acquirements of orthography and penmanship. His writing was in a large, laborious, indistinct hand, like that of a schoolboy, while his spelling would have puzzled an antiquary. Instead of "humour," he used the form of *UMER*; his "sword," on which his reliance was to be placed, was a *SORD*, and the name of his royal father "James" he converted into *GEMS*.¹ As for the Laird of Bochaldu, who aided him in his epistolary labours, his literary acquirements were perhaps scarcely superior to those of the prince whose tasks he attempted to lighten.

All being in readiness the squadrons at Brest and Rochefort, which combined amounted to a fleet of twenty-three ships of war under the command of Admiral Roquefeuille, set sail and proceeded up the English Channel to protect the embarkation of the land troops. But their movement had been discovered and signalized by a swift-sailing frigate, and a British fleet of superior force under Sir John Norris was sent to intercept them. While Roquefeuille was confounded at this interruption a bold attack might have ensured his entire defeat; but Norris was too anxious about the state of the tide and the approach of night to venture an engagement, which he deferred until the following morning, and the Frenchman, favoured by the interval, sailed back towards the French harbours, comforting himself that at least he had protected the embarkation of the land troops and their passage to the British coast. But a storm, which on the following day wrought serious damage to his ships, was still more fatal to the transports; some were sunk, others were wrecked upon the French coast, and the rest with much difficulty and greatly shattered were fain to return into port. In this manner the most hopeful enterprise which France had ever yet attempted for the restoration of the Stuarts, and which, considering the troops and commander set apart for it and the unprepared condition of Britain, had every prospect of success, was baffled chiefly by the winds and waves, which so often have proved defenders of our island in the hour of need.² It was not wonderful that after such a disaster the French government refused to renew the attempt. The disappointment had the effect not only of souring the temper of Charles, but instigating him to plans which were impracticable or inexpedient. At one time he proposed to Earl Marischal that they should set sail for Scotland in a small fishing-vessel, and there depend upon the friends who should rally round them; and it was only after much remonstrance

on the part of the prudent earl that he set aside this scheme, which, however, he resumed under little better auspices on the following year. His next plan, as war had now broken out between France and Britain after the failure of the invasion, was to join the French army in its first campaign. Had he done this he might have met his young rival, the Duke of Cumberland, at Fontenoy instead of Culloden.³

Neglected by the French court, that smarted under their late unfortunate attempt, Charles in the end of the summer of 1744 left Gravelines for Paris, where he was little regarded by the French nobility, so that he had no society save that of the Irish and Scots who resided in that gay capital. This neglect, combined with the dissensions among his friends, who never could agree in their plans for the service of their cause, made him melancholy and impatient, although he endeavoured to conceal his feelings; and, writing to his father of his secluded life, he expressed himself willing to take up his residence in a tub, like Diogenes, if such a proceeding could promote their great object. In August he was visited by John Murray of Broughton, who was the bearer of the joint sentiments of the Scottish Jacobites; and these were that his landing in their country would be hopeless, unless he brought with him 6000 auxiliary troops, 10,000 stand of arms, and 30,000 louis-d'or. It was only on such conditions that they would consent to join him, while Charles too well knew that no such aid from France could be expected. But he did not the less persist in his resolution of throwing himself into Scotland, and committing himself and his father's cause to the fidelity of their adherents, believing that this alone would be sufficient for their success.⁴ He had been educated in the hereditary infatuation of the Stuarts, so that he believed in the right divine of kings and the sacredness of absolutism as devoutly as in any article of his creed. Subjects were created to obey their sovereign in all things, and when they had toiled and suffered to the death in their cause they had only done their duty and no more. Such was the doctrine of his infatuated race in which he had been carefully educated, and to put it to the proof, he was resolved to attempt the adventure, regardless of the sacrifices it would cost his adherents, and the sufferings it would entail upon the kingdom at large. And not stopping short at this he wrote to them by Murray announcing his resolution. He was weary, he said, of the vacillation, timidity, and selfishness of the French court, in whom he could no longer rely, and he was resolved, therefore, either with or without

¹ Stuart Papers quoted in Lord Mahon's *History*.

² *London Gazette*, an. 1744.

³ Stuart Papers.

⁴ *Idem*.

their aid or concurrence, to come to Scotland and try his fortune in person. Having thus decided with the characteristic obstinacy of his family he proceeded in his purpose by gathering money for fitting up an expedition on however small a scale. For the purchase of arms he borrowed 180,000 livres from two merchants, the sons of Irish refugees; he sent orders to Rome that his jewels should be pawned; and in writing to his father he declared that he would even pawn his shirt rather than stop short in the undertaking.

When Murray returned with the prince's answer the seven Scottish Jacobites who had formed the association for the Stuart cause were confounded at his rash and selfish resolution. It was so utterly unreasonable, and fraught with such certain danger, that the warm-hearted, devoted Lochiel, and the cold, selfish Lovat equally joined in condemning it, and they hastily wrote letters to Charles deprecating his coming, and showing the uselessness of such an attempt. Fearing, also, that the prince might have departed before their missives arrived, they employed Murray to watch on the Highland coast and prevent him from landing if he came. During the whole of June Murray remained on this station, and finding no arrival, he hoped that Charles had abandoned his project, and under this idea he went back to his home in the south of Scotland. But Charles in the meantime had been exerting himself with a pertinacity that scorned both advice and warning. "Let what will happen," he wrote to his father, "the stroke is struck; and I have taken a firm resolution to conquer or to die, and to stand my ground as long as I shall have a man remaining with me." The Cardinal Tencin, who alone was aware of the design, rather winked at it than approved of it, and the battle of Fontenoy, in which the British were defeated, had so greatly weakened their army that it was thought no troops could be recalled for service at home. Through the influence of his moneyed friends, Rutledge and Walsh, who were merchants of Nantes, the *Elizabeth*, a ship of war of 64 guns and 500 men, was appointed by the French court to cruise on the coast of Scotland, and under its convoy Charles was to embark by stealth in the *Doutelle*, a fast-sailing brig of 18 guns, fitted out by Walsh as a privateer against the British trade. An expedition conducted with such secrecy not only outwitted the French court but fairly took the British government by surprise. As for the sinews of such an important war when he should land Charles had nothing more than 1500 muskets, 1800 broadswords, and twenty small field-pieces embarked in the *Elizabeth*, and 4000 louis-d'ors

in money, which he carried with him in the *Doutelle*. He privately embarked in the *Doutelle* with a few attendants on the 2d of July, and after being detained at Belleisle till the 8th, when they were joined by the *Elizabeth*, under the protection of which they set sail on their perilous adventure. The sea had generally proved unfortunate in the attempts for the restoration of the Stuarts, and the present was to be no exception, for on the day after leaving port they fell in with a British ship of war called the *Lion* of 58 guns. As a fight was inevitable the *Elizabeth* advanced to the encounter, and after a hot engagement of five or six hours, during which both ships were considerably damaged, they separated and bore away, the *Elizabeth* for Brest, and the *Lion* for England. In the meantime the *Doutelle*, in which Charles and his suite were on board, had kept at a wary distance during the engagement, and on witnessing its termination she bore away for the north-west of Scotland on her course to the Hebrides. Nearly all his arms and stores had been carried away in the *Elizabeth*; but even yet the misfortunes of Charles in this luckless voyage did not seem to have ended, as only two days after the *Doutelle* was chased by another large British vessel, and only escaped capture by superior sailing. At last it reached the Western Isles in safety, and on approaching the island of South Uist an eagle that came hovering round the ship was hailed by the adventurers as a favourable omen. "Behold!" cried Lord Tullibardine to Charles, "here is the king of birds come to welcome your royal highness upon your arrival in Scotland!"¹

On entering the bay of Lochnanna in Inverness-shire, between Moidart and Arisaig, Charles sent notice of his arrival to the chief of Clanranald, who came on board with his kinsman Macdonald of Kinloch-Moidart. They were astonished at the madness of such an expedition, and tried, but in vain, to persuade Charles to return to France. While the altercation was at the height a younger brother of Kinloch-Moidart, armed at all points, who had come on board without knowing whom the vessel contained, was standing near; and his enthusiasm was so great when he discovered that the stranger was his lawful prince that his eyes sparkled, his colour went and came, and repeatedly he grasped the hilt of his sword. Charles, who had used every argument in vain and had marked the young man's agitation, at length abruptly turned and said to him, "Will you at least not assist me?" "I will, I will!" cried the youth; "though no other man in the

¹ "The Prince's Voyage to Scotland," from the Narratives of *Æneas Macdonald* and *Duncan Cameron*; *Chambers' Jacobite Memoirs*.

Highlands should draw a sword I am ready to die for you!" At this outburst of Highland enthusiasm the caution both of Clanranald and Kinloch-Moidart gave way, and they agreed to join the expedition with all their followers.¹ An awning or tent had been erected on the deck, in which the attendant Macdonalds had remained during the conference, and the appearance of the young prince is thus described by one of them in his journal: "There entered the tent a tall youth of a most agreeable aspect, in a plain black coat, with a plain shirt not very clean, and a cambric stock fixed with a plain silver buckle, a fair round wig out of the buckle, a plain hat with a canvas string, having one end fixed to one of his coat-buttons; he had black stockings and brass buckles in his shoes. At his first appearance I found my heart swell to my very throat. But we were immediately told that this youth was an English clergyman, who had long been possessed with a desire to see and converse with Highlanders."² One of the Macdonalds, who either now or soon after joined the cause of the Pretender, was the father of Marshal Macdonald, the renowned soldier who afterwards visited the land of his ancestors as Prince of Tarentum.

Having engaged the co-operation of such powerful chiefs, the prince stepped on shore with his seven attendants, and took up his residence in a farm-house, where he could remain concealed and negotiate with the other chiefs whom he wished to attract to his standard. We have already seen the advantages he possessed by his personal appearance, the daring, romantic character of his enterprise, and his unbefriended condition, for working upon the imaginative enthusiasm of the mountaineers. The chief person upon whom his solicitations were to be tried was the gallant Lochiel, the noblest type of the Highland character, whose adhesion would be of the utmost importance to the enterprise, but which he condemned as both rash and ruinous. At the invitation of the prince he repaired to Borrodale, where the former resided, but solely for the purpose of persuading the prince to return to France and wait for a better opportunity. On the way he called upon his brother, Cameron of Fessifern, who coincided with him in opinion, but advised him to state it to Charles by letter, adding, "I know you better than you know yourself. If this prince once sets his eyes upon you he will make you do whatever he pleases." Confident, however, in his own firmness, Lochiel went to the interview, and used every argument to dis-

suade Charles from his purpose, but in vain. The young adventurer was deaf to every appeal, and in turn used every form of solicitation to win over the chief to embark in the enterprise. At last Charles, finding his representations useless, thus addressed the feelings of his high-souled auditor:—"I am resolved to put all to the hazard. In a few days I will erect the royal standard, and proclaim to the people of Britain that Charles Stuart is come over to claim the crown of his ancestors or perish in the attempt. Lochiel, whom my father esteemed the best friend of our family, may remain at home, and learn from the newspapers the fate of his prince." "Not so!" cried the chief, overcome by this appeal; "if you are resolved to go forward I will go with you, and so shall every one with whom I have influence." In this manner Lochiel was moved against his better judgment by feelings of sympathy and loyal devotedness; and hopeless though he was of the undertaking, he returned home to muster his Camerons and plunge into the enterprise. This interview was the turning-point of the rebellion. Notwithstanding all that Charles had yet accomplished since his landing, there would have been no rising but for the example of Lochiel.³ In complete contrast, however, to this generous but ill-advised alacrity was the conduct of Sir Alexander Macdonald of Sleat and Macleod of Macleod. These powerful Hebridean chiefs could have mustered between them 3000 armed vassals; they had declared themselves favourable to the cause of Charles; and Clanranald had repaired to the island of Skye, where both were residing together at the time, to urge them into open action. But both of them hung back, and gave reasons for their unwillingness. Their vassals were too remote, being scattered over several islands, to be collected in sufficient time; and, above all, the prince had not come accompanied by those foreign aids in money, arms, and soldiers, without which his expedition would be fruitless. Balancing the chances between the Pretender and George II., they resolved to stand aloof, but keep on friendly terms with both parties, until events had decided as to which of them should preponderate. In this selfish, trimming spirit they sent notice to government of the arrival of Charles in Scotland, but not until nine days after his landing, and when the notice would be too late to be of any value.⁴

These movements, however, had not altogether escaped the vigilant eye of government, and suspecting that some insurrectionary design was on foot, the governor of Fort-Augustus sent a rein-

¹ Home's *History of the Rebellion*.

² *Journal and Memoirs of P. C. Expedition* (Lockhart Papers); Chambers' *Jacobite Memoirs*.

³ Home's *History of the Rebellion*.

⁴ Culloden Papers.

PRINCE CHARLES APPEALS TO CAMERON OF LOCHIEL.

When in 1745 the son of the Pretender landed in the Western Islands of Scotland, in order to enlist the clansmen in the Stuart cause, his enterprise was regarded as hopeless even by his own friends. Cameron of Lochiel, one of the most gallant and loyal of the Chiefs, used every argument to dissuade the Prince from his purpose, but in vain. *When he had finished, Charles turned and appealed to him for his support, saying finally: "I am resolved to put all to the hazard. Let Lochiel, whom my father esteemed the best friend of our family, remain at home and learn from the newspapers the fate of his Prince."* "Not so!" cried the chief, overcome by these words, "If you are resolved to go forward I will go with you, and so shall every one with whom I have influence". And this was the Prince's first success in that daring but disastrous enterprise.



H. J. DRAPER.

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PRINCE CHARLES APPEALS TO CAMERON OF LOCHIEL
TO JOIN HIS CAUSE. (A.D. 1745.)

forcement to the advanced post of Fort-William, which lay nearest to the clans that were known to be disaffected. This detachment, which consisted of two companies of soldiers, commenced its march on the morning of the 16th of August, expecting to reach Fort-William before night-fall, but was brought suddenly to a pause at the narrow ravine of Spean-Bridge by the hostile sound of a bagpipe, and afterwards by the apparition of a band of armed Highlanders. They were so posted among the heights as to be almost inaccessible, and although they were only twelve or fifteen men belonging to the clan of Macdonald of Keppoch, they showed themselves at so many points that it was impossible to ascertain their number. Captain Scott, the commander of the royalist soldiers, sent forward a sergeant and private to learn the cause of this suspicious muster, but they were instantly made prisoners. The captain being ignorant of the number of his opponents, and as his men were chiefly raw recruits, faced about and commenced a retreat. But even for this it was too late: their nimble enemies, who shifted to every place of advantage, picked them off with their long fusils, and the soldiers, unable to answer the fire of an invisible enemy, took to flight, when they were suddenly confronted by fifty fresh Macdonalds, who had been roused by the sound of the firing, and came up to take part in the skirmish. Five or six of the soldiers had been killed and as many wounded, and Scott, who was among the latter, finding himself beset in front and rear, consented to surrender. The conquerors treated their prisoners with humanity, carrying the wounded to the house of Lochiel, and sending Scott himself to Fort-Augustus on parole, that he might have medical attendance.¹ It was the first blood drawn in the rebellion, and as it was accompanied with victory this twofold omen encouraged the superstitious Highlanders with the promise that their enterprise would be crowned with success.

Animated by this event, and judging himself strong enough to take the field, Charles now resolved to leave his obscurity and spread his standard to the winds. The place appointed for the rendezvous and the ceremony was Glenfinnan; the day the 19th of August. Charles arrived at an early hour in the morning, but not a man had come forward; and, filled with anxiety, he went to a neighbouring hovel, where he spent two hours of dreary solitude. At last his ear was cheered by an advancing pibroch, and in a few minutes he was in the midst of more than 600 Camerons, accompanied with their gallant chief, and the prisoners whom

they had taken and disarmed in the late skirmish. The standard was erected on a little knoll by the Marquis of Tullibardine, who had been exiled for his share in the rebellion of 1715, and the red silken folds of the banner as they were spread out exhibited the motto, TANDEM TRIUMPHANS, while the Highlanders shouted and threw their bonnets aloft to welcome the spectacle. The manifesto of the old chevalier and the commission of regency granted to his son Charles were then read, after which the young adventurer made a short speech asserting his right to the crown, and declaring that he came for the happiness of his people, also that he had selected this part of his kingdom because he knew that he should find in it a population of brave gentlemen willing to live and die with him, as he on his part was resolved to conquer or die at their head. A spectator of this ceremonial was Captain Swetenham, an English officer, who had been made prisoner while on his way to assume the command at Fort-William; and to him Charles now turned, and dismissed him with the following words, "You may go to your general; tell him what you have seen, and add that I am coming to give him battle."² Considering the scanty number at the muster, Swetenham's revelation would not appear very formidable; but at a later period of the day Keppoch arrived with 300 of his clan; several of the Macleods of Skye, impatient of the cold-heartedness of their chief, also repaired to his standard; and at the house of Lochiel, at Auchnacarrie, Charles was joined by Macdonald of Glencoe with 150 men, the Stuarts of Appin with about 200, and the younger Glengarry with as many, so that when the army commenced its march it consisted of upwards of 1600 men, many of whom, however, were very imperfectly armed. It was a small force with which to shake the throne of three kingdoms and replace a fallen dynasty; but after so many strange attempts in behalf of the Stuarts who could tell what the chapter of accidents might bring forth? A Highland army from such small beginnings had a wonderfully expanding principle, and two or three successes, as in the instances of Montrose, might increase it into a numerous host.

The best chances for this rebellion were to be found in the present state of Scotland. Of all the troops in the kingdom, exclusive of the garrisons, there were scarcely 3000 men, and of these a large proportion were raw recruits who had never seen any service. And as for Sir John Cope, the commander-in-chief, his military incapacity for such a strange and irregular warfare as was now on the eve of commencing was

¹ Home's *History of the Rebellion*.² Culloden Papers.

afterwards made too apparent for justification or apology. His first proceeding, however, was judicious, and under proper management might have extinguished the rebellion at the outset. As soon as he heard of the landing of Charles he left Edinburgh on the 19th of August, the same day that the standard of the Pretender was raised at Glenfinnan, and proceeded northward to attack the rebels before their forces had increased. Two regiments of dragoons, Hamilton's and Gardiner's, which were the youngest in the service, he left behind him, as unfit for the warfare of the mountains; and in like manner a regiment of Highlanders raised by the government, and commanded by Lord Loudon, whose fidelity in a quarrel of this nature could not be trusted. Thus, with nothing more than some 1400 or 1500 soldiers, which, however, he judged sufficient for the purpose, Sir John Cope marched from Stirling, intending to proceed to Fort-Augustus, which he regarded as the best central point from which to act against the enemy. But his march was not only encumbered with a great load of baggage, but also by a drove of black cattle for provisioning his troops among the mountains; and he carried with him 1000 stand of arms for distributing among such volunteers as might join him in his march. But no such recruits came forward, and when he arrived at Crieff he sent 700 of the muskets back to Stirling. On arriving at Dalwhinnie on his way to Fort-Augustus, he found that the enemy had anticipated his intentions by occupying the pass of Corryarrack, a precipitous mountain which Wade had made accessible to the top by seventeen traverses or zigzags, which were called the Devil's Staircase. A pass of such a nature, where the traverses were intersected by deep mountain ravines and torrents, and flanked with rocks and thickets, by which an ascending army could be galled with a heavy fire of sharpshooters at every turning, offered such advantages to the rebels that Charles had hastened to occupy it by a forced march, after causing his soldiers to destroy their baggage and everything that might impede their progress. Exulting in the advantages of his position and confident of victory, he expected an attack on the 27th of August, and on putting on a new pair of Highland brogues in the morning he exclaimed with great glee to his attendants, "Before these are unloosed I shall be up with Mr. Cope."¹

Everything was now in readiness for a hostile meeting, and the Highlanders were impatient for the onset. But still there were no signs of the

English general's advance to the Devil's Staircase, from which they hoped to send him in headlong fashion. The impatient prince sent Murray of Broughton, whom he had appointed his secretary, and Macdonald of Lochgarry, to ascend the hill on the north side for the purpose of reconnoitering; but instead of the files of Cope's army advancing upon the staircase, there was nothing but an utter solitude. At last some armed Highlanders made their appearance, who were mistaken for an advanced party of Lord Loudon's regiment; but in coming nearer it was found that these men were deserters from Cope's army, who brought intelligence that he had altered his line of march, and was already on his way to Inverness. That unfortunate general was a military pedant or martinet rather than a coward; and as an attack on such a pass as that of Corryarrack, except with such an overwhelming force as would make it successful, was not provided for in his book of military arithmetic, he stopped short within a day's march of the pass; and having learned the number of the rebel force, which equalled his own, he, instead of resolving to offer battle upon the plain, which would have drawn the Highlanders from their vantage-ground, decided on diverging towards Inverness. In this manner the whole prestige of his advance was thrown away and the low country left open to the rebels. On the morning, therefore, of the 27th, after advancing a mile or two until he reached the point where Wade's road branched off in two, the one leading to Fort-Augustus and the other to Inverness, he continued his route by the latter with all the disgrace of a flight.²

Great was the glee of the Highlanders at this confession of their superiority, and an immediate chase of the fugitive general was strenuously recommended. But this pursuit, even with the prospect of success, was postponed for a bolder and a more important movement, which was nothing less than an instant descent upon the Lowlands. For this, however, it was necessary to secure the co-operation of Lord Lovat, who still continued to favour both parties alike. His restoration to his country, and the possession of his estates in 1715, had bound him to the present government, until an offer from the Pretender of creating him Duke of Fraser had brought him back to the opposite side; and although he professed himself the devoted servant of President Forbes of Culloden, his near neighbour, to whom indeed his restoration was chiefly owing, he was plotting against him as

¹ Scott's *Tales of a Grandfather*; Letter of T. Fraser to the Lord-president, 29th August, 1745, in Culloden Papers.

² Trial of Sir John Cope; Letter of Lord Tweeddale to the Lord-president, Sept. 10, 1745.

the chief obstacle to the success of the Stuarts, and requesting a license from Charles to secure him whether dead or alive. And all the while, in his correspondence with the president, he assumed the appearance of oriental devotedness, subscribing himself his "faithful slave." This hoary sinner, who was now more than fourscore years old, and who had been alternately the friend and enemy of three generations of the Stuarts, had lived among the practices of selfish intrigue and deceit until he had apparently lost the power of keeping a straightforward course even when such would have more effectually conduced to his purposes, and having deceived every person and party in turn, he was now ingeniously outwitting himself, and furnishing matter for his own conviction and execution. He now felt himself so necessary for the cause of the Pretender, and so capable of either advancing or extinguishing the rebellion, that he was in a sore dilemma as to what course he could best adopt, and for a time he continued to keep both parties in suspense until the highest bidder should secure him body and soul. But he did not recollect that he had at last irritated both parties alike, and that let which of them might be successful a heavy retribution awaited him. Besides his numerous clan of Frasers, who were admirably armed and disciplined, he had great influence with the Laird of Cluny, his son-in-law, with the Macintoshes, the Farquharsons, and other clans who resided near Inverness, and would have been ready to rise with him at his bidding; but when summoned to join the prince's standard he excused himself on the score of his age and infirmities, which prevented him from drawing his clan together for instant service. Charles, who dared not offend the old magnate, was obliged to temporize in return, and admit his apologies as valid. To one condition, however, Lovat adhered in his second childhood with the pertinacity of a child to his toy—although to such a one it could be nothing more than a toy—this was his patent of dukedom and the lord-lieutenancy of Inverness, which James had drawn out, but which Charles had left in his heavy baggage behind him; and as a last chance of securing him the prince, as his father's regent, caused new deeds to be written confirmatory of the original grant. While the great chief was thus an impediment instead of an aid to the cause, a different line of conduct was adopted by Macpherson of Cluny, Lovat's son-in-law. Although he had been appointed captain of an independent company he secretly retained his allegiance to the Pretender, and when he was taken prisoner in his own house by a party of the rebels it was doubtful whether the capture had not been made with his own

connivance. On being carried to the rebel camp he had several interviews with Charles, and such were the winning powers of the latter that he afterwards declared "even an angel could not resist such soothing close applications." As he was the chief of a powerful clan his conversion materially strengthened the cause of the Pretender.¹

The march of Charles brought him to Perth on the 3d of September, and during his course he was joined by such influential adherents as promised to give strength to his cause. But, unfortunately, they brought with them those personal jealousies and divided opinions which had agitated the court of the Pretender, and proved a fruitful source of its weakness and its follies. The chief of these were the titular Duke of Perth and Lord George Murray, both of whom the prince invested with the office of lieutenant-general, and in the councils of war, from the discordance of these two, it was difficult to adopt any consistent course of action. At his arrival in Perth Charles was so much in want of money that, of the sum which he had brought with him in the *Doutelle*, only a single guinea remained. This he showed to one of his followers, declaring that he would soon get more. Indeed, the Lowland towns, as far as Inverness, were at his command, the public revenues of which he appropriated in the name of his father, while contributions of money began to pour into his military chest from those adherents who were unable to give military service. In these towns also his father was proclaimed by the title of James VIII. As the government by proclamation had set a price of £30,000 upon his head, Charles was importuned by his officers to retaliate, and to this, after much reluctance, he consented, on condition that the reward offered for the head of George II. should not exceed thirty pounds sterling! This, as adding insult to injury, was opposed, and at last the reward was raised to an equal amount with that offered by government. The proclamation also was concluded with the following words: "Should any fatal accident happen from hence, let the blame lie entirely at the door of those who first set the infamous example."²

From the 4th to the 11th of September Charles was chiefly employed in recruiting his finances and drilling the Highlanders for the campaign; but, short as was the time, the last of these tasks was easily accomplished, as every Highlander was born a soldier and inured to the

¹ Culloden Papers.

² *Collection of Declarations, &c.* This document is signed Charles P. R. and countersigned by John Murray as his secretary.

use of his weapons. All that was judged necessary was to add a few simple rules to their manner of marching and fighting, so that the clans who formed themselves in separate columns might act more fully in concert with each other. On the 11th of September the prince resumed his march, and crossed the Fords of Frew on the 13th, Gardiner's regiment of dragoons, which Cope had left there, retiring before the rebels to join the other regiment which was lying at Leith. They were soon afterwards at Kirkliston, and as this place is only eight miles distant from Edinburgh, the metropolis was filled with confusion and alarm. And good cause had the citizens for their fear, as the city not only abounded in Jacobites, who were impatient to welcome their prince, but was likewise so weak in its fortifications as to be almost absolutely defenceless. Its wall, indeed, was little better than a park wall, and almost entirely without flank defences, while it was too slight to resist a discharge of artillery, and too low to defy the attempts of escalade. Nothing, indeed, could be relied upon but the castle, which, besides its natural strength that could defy the siege of a Highland army, was occupied by a garrison commanded by the brave General Guest. Nor were the defenders within the city composed of more hopeful materials than the defenders without. Besides the town-guard, which the Porteous mob had almost extinguished, there were the trained bands of militia, whose training, however, was limited to an annual parade upon the king's birth-day, and four hundred volunteers who offered their services for the occasion, but who were ignorant of the first rules of discipline. All these civic forces were under the command of the lord provost, Archibald Stewart, whose incapacity was so notoriously displayed in the defence, that the charge of folly, which ought to have been established against him, was exchanged for the more serious one of Jacobitism and treason. There were, however, the untried heroes, the dragoons of Gardiner's regiment, who had now arrived at Corstorphine, where they were resolute to make a final stand; and to these were to be added Hamilton's regiment, which was summoned from Leith for the purpose, the city guard, and the volunteers.¹

And now for the defence of Edinburgh, which was to be maintained at Corstorphine, within three miles of the city, instead of a street-and-house resistance. The fire-bell, the appointed signal for preparation, was rung on Sunday the 15th of September during divine service; the dragoons from Leith poured into Edinburgh, elate with the thought of attacking, pursuing,

and trampling down the rebels; and the volunteers, loading their muskets for the first time, repaired to the Lawnmarket, their appointed place of rendezvous. The crowds poured out from the churches at the sound of the alarm-bell, and when the volunteers welcomed the arrival of the dragoons with loud huzzas, the latter responded with a triumphant clashing of their swords against each other. But were these volunteers to be marched off like lambs that they might be devoured by wild Highlanders? Their female friends and kindred hung about their necks imploring them to stay, several clergymen adjured them by all they held sacred to remain for the defence of the city; and these men, lately so valiant, were easily persuaded that their lives were too valuable to be sacrificed anywhere else than upon their own thresholds and at their firesides. Accordingly, no sooner had they commenced their march from the Lawnmarket, than their files at every step appeared marvellously to diminish by units, and gradually by scores. They dived down the closes by the way, or lingered and disappeared among the crowd; and when Captain Drummond, their commander, had reached the West Port he was astonished on looking back to find his following reduced to little more than two dozen. Here they also halted; not one of them would consent to leave the city. Being marched back to the college yard twenty of them (of these Home, the author of *Douglas* and the *History of the Rebellion*, was one) retired to a tavern, where they "unbosomed themselves," and being of opinion, from what they had seen, that the city would not be defended, they resolved to retire and join the regular army under Sir John Cope.²

While such was the conduct of the volunteers, that of the dragoons was more cowardly still. Brigadier Fowke, who had been sent from London to command them, had arrived, and by his orders they were posted at Coltbridge, between Corstorphine and Edinburgh. On Monday morning the rebel army, which was advancing, sent out a party of mounted gentlemen to reconnoitre, who, on approaching Corstorphine, and finding an advanced party of dragoons posted there, fired their pistols as preludes to a skirmish. But, without drawing sword or firing in return, these dragoons wheeled about and galloped to the main body at Coltbridge with tidings that the whole rebel army was at hand. Instantly a show of preparation was made for resistance, but in reality for a craven retreat. "Before the rebels came within sight orders were issued to the dragoons to wheel, which they immediately did with the greatest order and regularity ima-

¹ Home; Provost Stewart's Trial.

² Home's *History of the Rebellion*.

ginable. As it is known that nothing is more beautiful than the evolutions and movements of cavalry, the spectators stood in expectation of what fine warlike manœuvre they might terminate in, when new orders were immediately issued to retreat, which they immediately obeyed, and began to march at the usual pace of cavalry. Orders were repeated every furlong to quicken their pace, and, both precept and example concurring, they quickened it so well that before they reached Edinburgh they had quickened it to a pretty smart gallop. They passed in inexpressible hurry through the narrow lanes at Barefoot's Park, in the sight of all the north part of the town, to the infinite joy of the disaffected, and equal grief and consternation of all the other inhabitants. They rushed like a torrent down to Leith, where they endeavoured to draw breath; but some unlucky boy (I suppose a Jacobite in his heart) calling to them that the Highlanders were approaching, they immediately took to their heels again and galloped to Prestonpans, about nine miles further.¹ At Preston they were quartered for the night near the house and grounds of their brave commander, Colonel Gardiner, who was afflicted at the shameful flight of his regiment; but here they did not enjoy the rest which they had done so little to merit. After dark one of them, going in quest of forage, happened to fall into a disused coal-pit that was full of water, and raised a terrible outcry for assistance. Scared at the sound, for which they could not account, and mistaking his shouts for Highland war-cries, these terror-stricken troopers again mounted their steeds and commenced a fresh flight, in which they did not draw bridle until they reached Dunbar.² There they joined Sir John Cope, who had just landed, having proceeded from Aberdeen by sea; but they reached him in a scandalous plight for soldiers, having strewed the way with their swords, pistols, and firelocks, in the excess of their panic. When Colonel Gardiner rose in the morning he found that they had all disappeared, upon which he followed them, and caused their weapons to be collected and carried in a covered cart to Dunbar.

Previous to this "Canter of Coltbrigg," as it was popularly called, a message from the Pretender to the citizens of Edinburgh had filled them with alarm; it was a demand that the city gates should be opened to him on pain of military execution—an expression which they did not understand, so that it only added to their

fears, some interpreting it to mean the storming of the city and devoting its inhabitants to fire and sword. And in this mistake they might be justified by the memory of the wars of Montrose. A miscellaneous meeting of magistrates and citizens had assembled to deliberate upon the question of surrender or defence; but, being unable to decide, a deputation was sent to the prince, requesting a suspension of hostilities and time for full deliberation. Scarcely, however, had the deputation set out than tidings arrived that Cope had landed at Dunbar, in consequence of which the Young Pretender demanded a positive answer before two in the morning. As the immediate possession of the capital was of the utmost importance Charles sent forward Lochiel, Murray of Broughton, and five hundred Camerons during the night to attempt an entrance, and provided with a barrel of gunpowder should it be found necessary to blow up one of the gates. This party lay in ambush near the Netherbow Port, and had not long to wait. A hackney-coach in which a second deputation had been sent, but had been dismissed at the prince's headquarters without obtaining an audience, had now returned to the city, and the coachman, after landing his fare, was returning to his stables, which were in the suburb of the Canongate. It was necessary that for this purpose he should pass through the Netherbow, and as he was known by the guard to have been employed by the town-council the gate was opened to give him free egress. But this opening was enough for the Camerons ambushed near the Netherbow Port, who rushed in, overpowered and disarmed the guards, and took possession of the guard-house. Two other gates were occupied with the same ease, and when the citizens awoke in the morning they found their city in the hands of the rebels. The Camerons marched to the Cross, where they took their station and remained in strict order from six o'clock till eleven, not only abstaining from plunder, but even from whisky, although it was brought out to them by the town's folks, who wished to propitiate such dangerous visitors. Thus quietly and without resistance was the northern capital taken by a handful of Highlanders!³ The whole proceeding, that resembled the military ceremony of a change of guard, was in striking contrast to the wonted boldness and warlike spirit of the citizens and their daring conduct in the Porteous riot; but the previous cowardice of the soldiers and volunteers had unmanned them, the wavering councils of the magistrates, who were afraid to resist and unwilling to surrender, had confirmed their timidity;

¹ "A True Account of the Behaviour and Conduct of Archibald Stewart, Esq., late Provost of Edinburgh, in a Letter to a Friend, London, 1748." The authorship of this pamphlet has been generally attributed to David Hume.

² Home.

³ Home.

and, besides being thus deprived of their natural leaders and defenders, there was a numerous party of Jacobites among the townsmen, who sympathized with the rebels and were ready to have opened the gates. But government, indignant at such a tame surrender, attributed it to the treachery of Stewart, the lord-provost, and upon this charge he was brought to trial after a long and severe imprisonment. When these discouraging circumstances, however, were fully brought out in the trial he was honourably acquitted.

Edinburgh being thus at his command, the prince and his army entered the city, which he did in state on horseback; and on the same day at noon the Old Pretender was proclaimed at the Cross by the title of James VIII., with heralds, pursuivants, trumpets, and all the gorgeous ceremonial of the ancient Scottish kings, while throngs of ardent Jacobites and fair ladies, who added their applauding voices, gave an air of national cordiality to the proceeding. Had there been either timidity or demur among those who secretly favoured his cause it was borne down by the personal appearance of the young prince himself, who seemed to their enthusiastic eyes a fit hero for such a romantic enterprise. Charles-Edward, who was now in his twenty-fifth year, was of tall stature and engaging person; his face was oval, with regular features and a fair complexion; and while his height, his hardy active habits, and dexterity in every military exercise endeared him to his Highland followers, his noble and handsome countenance, princely bearing, and courteous manners were well fitted to kindle female enthusiasm and convert the ladies into the most zealous of his partisans. Thus, as he rode into Edinburgh, all classes agreed that he was every inch a king; he was the very image of Bruce, they said, in heroic appearance as well as romantic daring; and the devotedness with which he had thrown himself upon the fidelity of his people, with a world in arms against him, made them hope that his enterprise would be crowned with the same success and glory by which Bruce had made Scotland great and free. But after events showed how superficial all these qualifications were, and how little fitted he was to be a national hero. Besides his scanty education his political opinions, so little in accordance with the spirit of the age, and his bigoted attachment to Popery, to which nine-tenths of his subjects were hostile, he showed little aptitude for war or the details of business, and showed as little inclination for the counsels of those who were best qualified to direct him. The popular outburst of welcome with which the crowds received him was of the same character as

that which had greeted Absalom and the Duke of Monmouth, and which so soon afterwards sunk into indifference. But strong as was the present torrent of popularity, and amidst the din of congratulation which the Jacobites raised, and the hopes they expressed that a new Bruce had come to the home of his ancestors, "the Whigs," says Home the poet, who was present, "looked upon him with other eyes. They acknowledged that he was a goodly person; but they observed that even in that triumphant hour, when he was about to enter the palace of his fathers, the air of his countenance was languid and melancholy; that he looked like a gentleman and a man of fashion, but not like a hero or a conqueror. Hence they formed their conclusions that the enterprise was above the pitch of his mind, and that his heart was not great enough for the sphere in which he moved." But still more ominous of disaster was the appearance of that army by which the Stuarts were to be replaced on the throne. Besides their scanty number, it was only the better classes of the clans, who rejoiced in the title of Duniwassals, or gentlemen, that were fully equipped in the Highland dress, and completely armed with firelock, broadsword, target, dirk, and pistols. So successful had the Disarming Act proved, in spite of the cunning with which in many cases it was evaded, that the greater part of the rebel army had only one weapon, such as a sword, dirk, or pistol; some had nothing but scythe-blades set straight upon the handle, and some a cudgel or club. In the article of clothing, also, there was a variety as well as scantiness, which, however picturesque in the eyes of a painter, would have thrown a military disciplinarian into a fit of desperation, while those who wore such gear were undersized, gaunt, wild-looking ragamuffins, who seemed as if they had been suddenly wafted by some strange convulsion of nature into the midst of a civilized community.

When Charles passed through the crowd, where the tumultuous shouts of the Jacobites threw the silence and dissenting looks of the Whigs into the shade, and had come in front of Holyrood House, a slight stir was perceptible on the ramparts of the castle; a cannon flashed from one of the embrasures, but the ball, that was designed to fall plump upon the palace, hit obliquely a part of King James the Fifth's Tower, and threw up a quantity of rubbish which fell into the court-yard. Undismayed at this gratuitous interruption, which might have been fatal to friends and enemies alike, the prince was about to enter the porch, when James Hepburn of Keith, a Scottish gentleman of chivalrous character, stepped from the crowd, bent his knee before

the prince, and drawing his sword, walked before him, to marshal his entrance into his paternal halls. In the evening the ancient halls of Holyrood, so long silent and deserted, were lighted up and filled with music and dancing, for the prince gave a ball to signalize his arrival, and the ladies were delighted to perceive that, among his other attractions, he was a graceful dancer, and therefore doubly worthy of their loyalty. On the following day sterner matters occupied his attention, for his army had to be provided for action. He had lately been joined by the Earl of Kellie, Lord Balmerino, Sir Stuart Threipland, and Lockhart, the younger of Carnwath; but although, at his first entrance into Edinburgh, it was expected that at least a thousand

citizens would have joined his standard, they now on second thoughts stood aloof, so that very few enrolled themselves in his service. From the magazine of Edinburgh he took a thousand muskets, by which a part of his army was supplied with proper weapons, and exacted a contribution from the city, of tents, targets, canteens, and shoes. To compensate somewhat for the lukewarmness of the citizens he was joined on the same day by Lord Nairn, with a reinforcement of five hundred men collected in the Highlands, chiefly of the clan Maclaghlan and other Highlanders from Athole. Only that short day of preparation was allowed, for Sir John Cope was already in his neighbourhood, and Charles had resolved to meet him in the field.

CHAPTER IV.

REIGN OF GEORGE II. (1745-1746).

Proceedings of Sir John Cope—His army reinforced—His march towards Edinburgh—Preparations of Charles to encounter him—Injudicious advance of Cope—The armies confront each other at Prestonpans—Battle of Prestonpans—Defeat of the royal army by the rebels—Death of Colonel Gardiner—Effects of the victory on the rebel army—Cowardly flight of the Coltbridge dragoons from the battle—Return of the rebels to Edinburgh—Impatience of the Pretender to march into England—Proceedings in Edinburgh during its occupation by the rebels—The castle besieged—Reprisals of both parties in the siege—Proclamation of Charles to rally the nation in his cause—The appeal ineffectual—Continued duplicity of Lord Lovat—Preparations made in England to resist the threatened invasion—Charles and his army levy contributions upon Edinburgh and Glasgow—Charles appoints a council—His unwillingness to be advised—His popular proceedings in Holyrood—His army reinforced—His march into England commenced—Unpromising materials of which his army was composed—Plan adopted by the rebels in their march across the Border—Conduct of Charles in the march—Disinclination of the Highlanders to the expedition—The rebel army advances to Carlisle—Its defiance when summoned—The town surrenders without resistance—Dissensions among the officers of Charles—The march continued—The rebels at Preston—Their superstitious dread of the place—They proceed to Manchester—Their easy capture of the city—Welcome given to the rebels at Manchester—Their route continued towards Derby—Jacobite enthusiasm of a lady—The rebel army enters Derby—Discouragements that had attended the expedition—A retreat to Scotland proposed—Indignation of Charles at the proposal—The retreat commenced—Alarm occasioned in London by the arrival of the rebels at Derby—A rush upon the national bank—Ingenious device by which it was saved from insolvency—Conduct of the rebels in their retreat—Their severe retributions and exactions—The Duke of Cumberland pursues the rebel army—He overtakes it at Clifton—Night encounter and success of the rebels at Clifton—They leave a garrison in Carlisle—It surrenders to the Duke of Cumberland—The duke leaves the command of his army to General Hawley—The rebels re-enter Scotland—Their exactions in Dumfries and Glasgow—Review of their rapid and orderly expedition—Diminution of the army when it had reached Glasgow—It proceeds to Stirling—Its numbers nearly doubled at Stirling by new recruits—They commence the siege of Stirling Castle—General Hawley advances against them—His rashness, severity, and taste for capital punishments—The rebels continue the siege of Stirling Castle—Injudicious manner in which they conducted it—Arrival of Hawley to raise the siege—Battle of Falkirk—Remissness of Hawley—His troops defeated—Their flight to Edinburgh—They set fire to the palace of Linlithgow on their way—The rebels at a loss how to improve their victory—They continue their ineffectual siege of Stirling Castle—Singular incident among the rebels after the battle of Falkirk—Example of Highland severity in the punishment of accidental homicide—The Duke of Cumberland prepares to conduct the war in Scotland—His arrival in Edinburgh.

After his worse than useless march and countermarch in the Highlands and transit by sea from Inverness to Dunbar, Sir John Cope did not complete the landing of his troops, ammunition,

and stores until the morning of the 18th of September. At Dunbar he was joined by the flying dragoons who had been performers in the "Canter of Coltbrigg," and several

judges and lawyers from Edinburgh who intended to remain with his army as their surest refuge. Several gentlemen of the Lowlands also joined him as volunteers, the chief of whom was the Earl of Home; but this great Border nobleman, whose ancestors would have repaired to such a gathering with a whole army of mounted and harnessed retainers, was only accompanied by two servants. It was an impressive token of the downfall of feudal power and the popularity of Jacobitism among his tenantry. Soon afterwards Mr. Home, the author of *Douglas*, arrived at Dunbar, and the account which he gave to Cope of the number and condition of the rebel forces was enough to raise the general's confidence of obtaining an easy victory. His own army was now raised by these reinforcements to upwards of 2200 men completely appointed for battle. His soldiers were in high spirits; and the two regiments of dragoons were burning to retrieve their military reputation, which had been so foully tarnished by their late unaccountable flight. He had also six pieces of artillery, engines of war to which the Highlanders had still an especial dread. So elate was his army in these advantages that their universal, impatient cry was, "Forward!" Even many of the officers thought that the rebels would not stand a battle, and that the mere approach of their forces to Edinburgh would be sufficient for its recovery. On the 19th of September the march upon the capital was commenced, but by an unhappy fatality Cope took the high road, as the shortest and most convenient, never thinking that the Highlanders, instead of awaiting him on his own ground, might cross the country, occupy the heights that commanded the road, and thus be able to give or withhold battle as might best suit their convenience.¹

On the same day that the royalist army began to move the rebels made preparations to encounter it. They lay under arms at the village of Duddingstone, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, and there, on the evening of the 19th, Charles called a council of war. His proposal was to march on the following morning and meet the enemy half-way; and this being agreed to, he next asked the Highland chiefs how their men would be likely to behave when they were brought into action. Keppoch, who had served in the French army, was desired by the rest to answer, as being best acquainted with the difference between Highlanders and regular troops; and his answer was such as to inspire general confidence. He said that it was not easy to answer for the privates, as few of

them had seen a battle; but the gentlemen would be in the midst of the enemy, and the men, who loved their chiefs, would certainly follow them. Charles then expressed his purpose to lead them on in person and charge with the front rank; but to this the chiefs objected in one voice: they would be ruined, they declared, whether in victory or defeat, if his royal highness came to harm; and on his persisting they threatened to return to their homes and make the best terms they could with the government for themselves. The prince yielded, but declared that he would lead the second line. On the morning of the 20th the march of the rebel army commenced, and Charles, putting himself at its head, and drawing his sword, exclaimed, "Gentlemen, I have flung away the scabbard!"—a declaration which was received with immense cheering. They had only fifty horse, most of them gentlemen and their retainers, and an old iron gun, which was altogether useless except for firing signals. Charles would have left this encumbrance behind, but was dissuaded by the chiefs, as their followers attached an extraordinary importance to this "musket's mother," as their palladium of defence and pledge of victory, and the mass of old iron was permitted to join the march, being dragged along by a string of ponies. The whole rebel army had now been raised to about 2500 men, still insufficiently armed, notwithstanding their supplies of weapons obtained in Edinburgh, but eager for battle, and confident in their cause and the chiefs who led them. Their route in the first instance was for Musselburgh, but after passing the bridge they turned inland to the right, and occupied the brow of Carberry Hill, a place of melancholy remembrance in the history of Mary Stuart.

In the meantime Sir John Cope, who had left Dunbar on the 19th, had reached at night the neighbourhood of Haddington, a town only twelve miles distant; but this slow progress was probably owing to the long train of baggage carts with which his little army was encumbered. He still looked along the highway, expecting the coming of the rebels, but in vain; they were not hampered with the pedantries of military science or the heavy material of an army, and could march or fight where and how it best suited them. Impatient to learn their whereabouts, Sir John had sent forward two of the Edinburgh volunteers to bring intelligence of their movements; but these unpractised warriors, who were altogether unfit for such a duty, never returned; and it was wickedly reported that they were both taken prisoners by a mere lad, an attorney's clerk, in a tavern at which they had halted by the way, and

¹ Home; Sir W. Scott, *Tales of a Grandfather*.

THE CAPTURE OF SIR JOHN COPE'S SCOUTS.

When in 1745 Charles Edward, the Young Pretender, marched southward after the capture of Edinburgh, an army under Sir John Cope advanced from Dunbar to stop his progress. This force had reached the neighbourhood of Haddington without having encountered the Prince and his Highlanders, and as Sir John became impatient to learn their whereabouts, he sent forward two scouts from the Edinburgh Volunteers. But these two faithless warriors never returned. *Afterwards it was reported that they entered a tavern, where they became oblivious to their military duties over some sherry and oysters, and while they were in a drunken condition the scouts were captured by a mere lad, an attorney's clerk.*



W. H. MARGETSON.

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SIR JOHN COPE'S SCOUTS TAKEN PRISONERS

IN A TAVERN, BY AN ATTORNEY'S CLERK, BEFORE THE BATTLE OF PRESTONPANS. (A.D. 1745.)

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become oblivious of their military duties over some excellent oysters and sherry.¹ Thus, while Cope on the 20th was advancing, and looking westward, by which way he thought the enemy must approach, he suddenly saw them arranged southward, upon the ridge of hills, and ready to offer battle. No sooner were they descried than the royal army greeted them with a shout of triumph, and this the Highlanders answered with a yell of defiance. Glad that he had found the rebels on any terms, Sir John prepared for the engagement by drawing up his foot in the centre and placing the dragoons and his cannon on each wing, having Colonel Gardiner's park wall and the village of Preston on his right, Seton House at some distance on his left, and the villages of Prestonpans and Cockenzie at his rear. The rebel army was not a mile distant on a ridge near the town of Tranent, where a gentle descent ended in a morass that interposed between both armies. They were thus kept apart for a whole day, as the morass could not be crossed without certain defeat to the party that attempted it, and nothing was done by Cope with the exception of a slight cannonade, by which a body of the insurgents was dislodged from the churchyard of Tranent. Although thus hindered, the Highlanders were so impatient for battle, and so apprehensive that Cope might give them the slip, as he had done at Corryarrack, that it was necessary to appease them by detaching 500 men under Lord Nairn, who moved westward for the purpose of intercepting the English general should he once more attempt a retreat.

Thus situated, the two armies lay upon the ground during the night, which was both cold and dark, with their pickets and sentries close to each other, the prince resolving to cross the morass on the following morning at whatever place might be found least dangerous. Fortunately for his cause, Mr. Robert Anderson, a gentleman of the neighbourhood, and a Jacobite, who knew every inch of the district, suddenly bethought himself of a path to the right of the army, by the farm of Ringanhead, by which the rebels might avoid the morass, advance without being seen by the enemy, and form without being exposed to their fire. This fact he communicated to Hepburn of Keith and Lord George Murray, by whom he was brought to the Young Pretender, who was sleeping on the ground with a sheaf of pease for his pillow. On being awakened the prince was rejoiced at the tidings, more especially as Anderson undertook to be the guide; and, Lochiel and the other chiefs approving of the plan, Lord Nairn and his detachment

were recalled and the army speedily put in motion.² The morning was scarcely dawning through a veil of frosty mist when the morass was passed so safely that a few Highlanders only sank to the knees in it; they reached the solid ground unobserved; and this being effected, they did not care although the dragoon patrols, on hearing their approach, fired their pistols and rode off to give the alarm. When the whole body got on firm ground, they drew up in two lines, the first of which was composed of the Macdonalds, and the second of Camerons and Stuarts. At the head of the second Charles placed himself, uttering the short speech, "Follow me, gentlemen, and by the blessing of God I will this day make you a free and happy people!"

In the meantime Sir John Cope, who, instead of sleeping in the field with his troops, had spent the night in comfortable quarters and a snug bed at Cockenzie, returned to the field at the alarm of the dragoons, and was obliged to change his order of battle in the face of an advancing enemy. The alteration was effected amidst all the confusion of such a dangerous movement; the outposts could not easily find their respective regiments, and the cavalry were crowded on too small a space for freedom of action. The front of his army was now changed from south to east, each regiment having its former place in the line; but, notwithstanding the unavoidable confusion caused by such a movement, they presented such a gallant and orderly appearance while the sun shone upon their weapons that some of the rebel officers, contrasting this military display with that of their own army, broken into detached clans, and only half armed, were filled with apprehension that they would be swept off the field at the first charge. But this thought was only momentary, and confined to them alone. "The ground between the two armies was an extensive corn-field, plain and level, without a bush or tree. Harvest was just got in, and the ground was covered with a thick stubble, which rustled under the feet of the Highlanders as they ran on, speaking and muttering in a manner that expressed and heightened their fierceness and rage."³ Their charge, which was delivered under such circumstances, was short, sharp, and decisive. They fired only one volley, and threw themselves on the enemy; the Camerons and Stuarts rushed on the cannon, which were served by a few seamen hastily collected from the fleet, and who fled, being unsupported; and after this easy capture the Highlanders never afterwards feared to encounter cannon.⁴ Colonel Gardiner

¹ Lord Mahon, *History of England*.

² Home; Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 489.

³ Home.

⁴ Lockhart Papers.

now ordered his regiment to charge, and encouraged them by voice and example to attempt the recovery of the guns; but his dragoons, after receiving only one volley of musketry, fell into confusion, galloped off the field with all the speed they had displayed at Coltbridge, and were quickly followed by the regiment of Hamilton in equal disorder and panic. Thus abandoned by their cavalry, the foot were easily rent in shreds by the desperate charges of the Highlanders, and were soon flying across the field or surrendering in heaps. In five or six minutes the battle, if battle it might be called, was over, in which short time the whole royal army was either killed or taken prisoners, with the exception of 170 of the infantry, who escaped by flight, and the craven dragoons, whom the Highlanders could not overtake.¹ Amidst all this mismanagement and cowardice on the part of the king's troops, there was, however, one redeeming example to save it from the infamy that would otherwise have entirely covered it. We allude to the well-known instance in the case of Colonel Gardiner. This Christian hero, who had been trained in the armies of Marlborough, and whose piety in peaceful life was matched by his courage in the field, although wounded, had disdained to follow the flight of his regiment; and on seeing a knot of English soldiers attempting to hold their ground although their officers had forsaken them, he exclaimed, "These brave fellows will be cut to pieces for want of a commander!" and generously spurred forward and placed himself at their head. But while he was cheering them he was confronted and struck down by a gigantic Highlander armed with a scythe fastened straight upon its handle, and fell close to his park wall, and within sight of his own home.²

In this successful manner was the campaign of the Pretender opened by the victory of Prestonpans as it was called by the royalists, and of Gladsmuir by the insurgents, in which the victors had only thirty killed and seventy wounded. As for the prince, he had taken no personal share in the engagement, from which he was about fifty paces distant, in a reserve body, which did not come into action; but after the battle he signalized his humanity by his care for the wounded, whether friends or enemies, and his courtesy to the prisoners. The military chest of Cope, containing a seasonable supply of £2500, was brought to him, but all the other plunder of the field was appropriated by the Highlanders, who showed their skill in collecting it as well as their ignorance of its uses. In this way many were found dressed in the attire and ornaments of royalist officers, and not a few

in saddles which they had strapped on their own backs. This abundance, however, occasioned the wonted desertion in a Highland army, many of the clansmen returning to their homes to secure their booty, and leaving the cause in the meantime to shift for itself. On this account when the army re-entered Edinburgh it had diminished to 1400 Highlanders. Of the runaway dragoons who had fled from the battle a small party made for Edinburgh, went up the High Street at full gallop, and with much noise and terror, as if the claymore had been at their backs, and made for the castle, into which they prayed to be admitted; but General Guest, who had no wish for such a useless reinforcement, ordered them to be gone, and threatened to turn the guns of the ramparts against them as poltroons who had deserted their colours. At this rebuff they turned bridle and fled in the direction of the west. As for the rest of the dragoons, who were hastily collected by Sir John Cope in their flight, they still continued at the top of their speed until they had reached Coldstream. Even there, however, they did not think themselves safe, so that on the following morning they resumed their flight, and did not pause until they judged themselves in safety when they had reached Berwick. Bitter was the compliment upon his speed which Cope received on this occasion from his brother officer, Lord Mark Kerr: his lordship sarcastically congratulated him on being the first general who had carried the tidings of his own defeat.

On the day after the battle the prince and his army returned to Edinburgh. It seemed strange that such a city should have thus tamely been occupied by so insignificant a force as the insurgents mustered on their return. But with the exception of the royal army, which already had suffered such a defeat, there were no troops in Scotland save the garrison under General Guest, which only sufficed for the maintenance of the castle of Edinburgh. England was almost equally denuded of troops; and such was the general apathy of the people north of the Tweed in regard to the rebellion, that, when the militia of the several counties were summoned for service, their lukewarmness was too distinct to be mistaken. By a former compact the Dutch were bound to send 6000 troops for the defence of the kingdom, and these auxiliaries were now demanded by government; but at the same time the victory at Prestonpans had so much emboldened our enemies of France and Spain that it was feared they might avail themselves of the opportunity. England, indeed, was so helpless that it was ready for the first comer; and, if 5000 or 6000 French or Spanish troops could have been landed before the arrival of the

¹ Home. ² Dr. Doddridge's *Life of Colonel Gardiner*.

Dutch reinforcement, the Stuarts might have been replaced on the throne.¹ Never, indeed, had France possessed such an opportunity of humbling the power of her rival, and Charles, in consequence of his success, was encouraged to appeal for that aid and co-operation which had formerly been withheld. But fortunately for Britain the French court at this time was more deeply interested in its own factious quarrels than the cause of the Pretender; and its apology for inaction was founded upon the apathy of the English Jacobites, on whose aid and concurrence it was impossible to depend.² Charles, also, who after his success was impatient for an immediate march into England, was restrained by the more prudent counsels of his advisers. In the present panic he might have marched unopposed even to London itself; but there his handful of an army would have been prisoners rather than conquerors. The national spirit would have rallied under the insult, and the defeat of Culloden been anticipated by one in Cheapside. It was represented to him that his army was now diminished nearly to one-half, and that by a patient delay he would not only receive numerous reinforcements from the Highlands, but be in readiness for those French troops who were expected to land at Montrose, Dundee, and other harbours of the eastern coast, in which case he might march into England with every prospect of success and permanent occupation. This was the wiser course, although it, too, proved ineffectual when attempted, and Charles returned to Holyrood House to enjoy his present triumph and plan the movements of his future career.

Edinburgh was now converted into a Jacobite city; the Whigs disappeared, and their rivals were predominant. Every voice and bagpipe was loud in the praise of the young prince, "who could eat a dry crust and sleep on pease-straw, take his dinner in four minutes, and win a battle in five,"³ and on re-entering the city the Highlanders discharged their muskets in an irregular *feu-de-joie*, and were welcomed with acclamations and waving of handkerchiefs from every balcony and window. One young lady, Miss Nairne, a Jacobite, was thus celebrating the triumph of her party and its deliverers when her forehead was grazed by a bullet with which some unlucky Highlander had loaded his musket. As soon as she recovered from the shock she exclaimed, "Thank God that the accident has happened to me, whose principles are known!

Had it befallen a Whig they would have said it was done on purpose." As for the prince he now began to exercise the rights of sovereignty, not the least of which was to impose an assessment of £5000 upon the city of Glasgow, which still continued hostile to the Stuart cause. He invited the banking companies, who had fled to the castle, to return to the city and resume business with assurances of his protection, and exhorted the clergy of Edinburgh, who had absented themselves, to continue their public religious services; but both bankers and ministers were still too timid to resume their respective functions. Only one clergyman, the Rev. Mr. MacVicar, minister of the West Kirk, had not only the courage to abide by his duties, but even to pray for King George by name, although he was denounced for his boldness. Charles rejected every advice to punish or silence him, and for this forbearance the grateful minister consented to pray for the Pretender, which he did in the following terms: "As for the young man that is come among us to seek an earthly crown, we beseech thee in mercy take him to thyself and give him a crown of glory!"

As the idea of an immediate march into England was abandoned Charles occupied himself in laying siege to the castle of Edinburgh, a task for which his army was peculiarly unfitted. The old fortress was closely blockaded, and as the garrison was understood to have provisions only for six weeks it was hoped to reduce it by famine. But General Guest entertained no idea of surrender, and on the 29th of September he sent a letter to the provost of Edinburgh announcing that if a free communication was not allowed between the castle and the town he would be obliged to use his cannon against the Highlanders employed in the blockade. This was alarming intelligence to the citizens, and the general was persuaded to defer his cannonade until an answer to an express sent to government should be returned; but under the condition that no attempt should, in the meantime, be made by the Highlanders against the castle. This agreement, however, seems to have been misunderstood by the rebels, who opened their fire upon some people who were carrying up supplies of provisions to the garrison, while Charles ordered the blockade to be continued more strictly than ever. In reprisal Guest opened his threatened cannonade on the 4th of October, by which several of the townspeople as well as rebels were killed, and in a sally from the castle several houses were set on fire—a rough, decisive mode of treatment by which Charles was compelled to relax the strictness of the blockade, and permit the communication between the city and the castle. Nor was Guest

¹ Letter of Henry Fox to Sir C. Williams, Sept. 19, 1745; Coxe's *Memoirs of Lord Walpole*.

² Lord Mahon's *History of England*.

³ *Caledonian Mercury*; Chambers's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. I.

so deficient of provisions as the besiegers imagined; for although he had written expresses indicating his apprehension of being starved into surrender, and craving supplies, it was only that his missives might fall into the hands of the rebels, and detain them in the siege until time had been gained for the government to collect its forces.¹ Besides taking or silencing the castle another important aim of Charles was to assemble a Scottish parliament at Edinburgh; but in the disturbed state of the capital this object could not be realized. He had not, however, been long in Scotland when he saw how obnoxious the Union was among all classes; and he endeavoured to win the nation to his cause by proclaiming that his father would never ratify that "pretended union." The subject of the national debt he touched with a more gentle hand. It had unquestionably been contracted under an unlawful government; but as the greater part of it was due to those subjects whom his father was bound to cherish and defend, the advice of parliament should be taken concerning it. A still more important article than the Union and the debts it had entailed was the subject of religion, and he declared that full liberty of conscience should be allowed, and the churches of England, Scotland, and Ireland be left untouched. "This security for your religion, properties, and laws," he solemnly added, "we ratify and confirm in our own name before Almighty God upon the faith of a Christian and the honour of a prince." The justification of his father and dethroned grandsire necessarily implied the condemnation of the present dynasty, and Charles in his proclamation did not spare them. "As to the outcries formerly raised against the royal family, whatever miscarriages might have given occasion for them have been more than atoned for since, and the nation has now an opportunity of being secured against the like for the future. That our family has suffered exile during these fifty-seven years everybody knows. Has the nation during that period of time been the more happy and flourishing for it? Have you found reason to love and cherish your governors as the fathers of the people of Great Britain and Ireland? Has a family upon whom a faction unlawfully bestowed the diadem of a rightful prince retained a due sense of so great a trust and favour? Have you found more humanity and condescension in those who were not born to a crown than in my royal forefathers? Have they or do they consider only the interest of these nations? Have you reaped any other benefit from them than an immense load of debts? If I am answered in the

affirmative, why has their government been so often railed at in all your public assemblies? Why has the nation been so long crying out for redress?" The reliance of George II. upon his foreign allies, instead of his own subjects, was afterwards thus introduced by way of stimulating the indignant pride of the British people: "The fears of the nation from the powers of France and Spain appear still more vain and groundless. My expedition was undertaken unsupported by either. But, indeed, when I see a foreign force brought by my enemies against me, and when I hear of Dutch, Danes, Hessians, and Swiss, the Elector of Hanover's allies, being called over to protect his government against the king's subjects, is it not high time for the king my father to accept also of assistance? Who has the better chance to be independent of foreign powers—he who, without the aid of his own subjects can wrest the government out of the hands of an intruder, or he who cannot, without assistance from abroad, support his government, though established by all the civil power, and secured by a strong military force against the undisciplined part of those he has ruled over for so many years? Let him, if he pleases, try the experiment: let him send off his foreign hirelings and put all upon the issue of a battle, and I will trust only to the king my father's subjects."

This spirited proclamation, whether penned by Charles and turned into good English by Murray of Broughton, or wholly the composition of the latter, seems to have had little effect upon the Lowlanders, who preferred the Hanoverian succession and the Revolution settlement to the promises of Charles on his father's behalf. They had already witnessed with their own eyes the bigotry of the Old Pretender, and they knew with what facility he might be absolved from all such engagements that were hostile to Popery and Rome. Lord Ogilvie, eldest son of the Earl of Airly, joined him with 600 men, mostly of his own name; Gordon of Glenbucket brought with him a reinforcement of 400 from the hills; Macpherson of Cluny raised 300 fresh recruits in Perthshire, and Lord Pitsligo 150 cavalry in Banffshire. These supplies, both Highland and Lowland, were scanty droppings compared with the shower of recruits which such an expedition needed, and which the young adventurer might have expected. But the powerful chiefs, Sir Alexander Macdonald and Macleod, whose followers would more than have trebled these supplies, still continued to stand aloof, and in this they were supported by the example of their chief adviser, Fraser of Lovat. That selfish old nobleman still continued to keep both parties in suspense; and although he would have collected

¹ Home.

his vassals, for the purpose of striking in with whatever party proved victorious, he was deterred by fear of the consequences which this overt act might entail upon him should the rebellion end in favour of the government. In this difficulty he adopted an expedient that set the seal upon his selfishness; he ordered his son, the Master of Lovat, to join the prince with seven or eight hundred of his clan, and while this was doing he solemnly protested to the royal party and the lord-president that this was done without his knowledge and consent. Even this aid, however, was accompanied with so many delays, that the Frasers did not arrive at Perth until the Pretender had advanced into England. Thus Lovat had committed himself at last, but only when his aid was too late to be of any use.

In the meantime the apathy or the divisive counsels of the government had been such as to swell this insurrection, so insignificant at its commencement, into an alarming rebellion. As soon as tidings were conveyed to him of the impending danger George II. hurried from Hanover to London, where he arrived on the 31st of August. His first idea was, that the troops of Sir John Cope would be sufficient for the occasion; and when these were defeated he hoped that ten English battalions and the six thousand Dutch auxiliaries would more than suffice. He was also kept in suspense by the rivalry of the two factions in his cabinet, Lord Granville representing that the rebellion was a trivial disturbance that would soon be suppressed, while the Duke of Newcastle rejoiced at each step of its progress as a refutation of the statements of Granville.¹ Men and money, although in small instalments, continued to be sent to the Pretender from France; and although the attempts were dangerous, from the activity of the British cruisers, by which most of these ventures were captured, enough arrived to restore the confidence of Charles, increase the alarm of the king, and induce him to weaken his army on the Continent by recalling a part of it for the extinction of the rebellion. On this account not only native troops but Dutch and Danes were withdrawn from the headquarters in Flanders to England—disciplined soldiers who had stood the fire of Fontenoy, and in command of them was the Duke of Cumberland, the favourite of the army. By these preparations England was now so well defended, that the chances of the rebel army in marching to London were more hopeless than ever, while it was evident that the suppression of the rebellion would be merciless, from the fact that

the English guards had vowed they would neither take quarter nor give it.

In the meantime Charles, notwithstanding his impatience to march into England, was delayed in Edinburgh six weeks after the battle of Prestonpans by the necessity of recruiting his finances and increasing his little army, in both of which attempts he experienced both difficulty and delay. The British cruisers and privateers had almost wholly intercepted the supplies sent from France; but, as the weather became more stormy and foggy, a few French vessels succeeded in reaching the ports of Scotland. By some of these landings, which were effected at Montrose and the neighbouring coast, he obtained £5000, five thousand stand of arms, six field pieces, and several experienced French and Irish officers; and on one of these occasions M. du Boyer came with a letter from the French king, congratulating him upon his late victory. Charles made the most of this lucky circumstance by parading the messenger as an actual ambassador from the King of France, addressing him on all occasions by the title of "Monsieur," and representing his coming as an earnest that Louis was about to send a large army to his assistance. He also adopted every practice which his situation afforded to obtain money whether by forced loans or compulsory contributions. A heavy loan was imposed upon the city of Glasgow; the factors of the estates forfeited by the rebellion of 1715 were obliged to give in their accounts and pay their balances to the rebel treasury, under the threat of military execution; and the smuggled goods in the custom-houses of Leith and other ports were seized and sold back at a low rate to the smugglers from whom they had been taken. The Highlanders from the encampment of Dud-dingstone were also exactors upon their own account, and made their demands upon the Edinburgh citizens with levelled guns or brandished claymores; but these threatening demonstrations were an amusing contrast to the modesty of their demands, which were usually for a *bawbee*! But a staff of collectors who acted in the name and under the guise of the rebels were not so moderate. These were prisoners from the jails, which the Pretender had caused to be thrown open, and who, assuming the tartan dress and white cockade, levied greater contributions on the citizens than all the real Highlanders of the army. To give his proceedings, also, a character of royalty Charles had now formed a regular council of state, the members of which consisted of the Duke of Perth and Lord George Murray, his two lieutenant-generals, O'Sullivan his quarter-master-general, Lord Elcho, colonel of his horse-guards, Murray of Broughton his secretary, Sir Thomas Sheridan his former tutor; Lords

¹ Walpole, letter to Sir Horace Mann, Sept. 20, 1745.

Ogilvie, Nairne, and Pitsligo; Lewis Gordon, Cameron of Lochiel, and all the principal Highland chiefs. But, according to the account of Lord Elcho, this counsel, owing to the hereditary fatality of the Stuarts in taking advice, was worse than useless, and only served to deepen instead of correcting the errors of the campaign. They usually met every morning at ten in the prince's drawing-room; and, in proceeding to business, it was his custom first to declare his own opinion, and afterwards to ask that of every member in turn. "There was one-third of the council," says his lordship, "whose principles were that kings and princes can never think wrong, so in consequence they always confirmed whatever the prince said." Elcho adds that "his royal highness could not bear to hear anybody differ in sentiment from him, and took a dislike to everybody that did."¹ From this short notice it may easily be seen what kind of spirit pervaded their deliberations. At the rising of the council he dined with his principal officers in public, and afterwards rode out with his life-guards to inspect the camp at Duddingstone. But it was in the evening, and in the old picture-gallery of Holyrood, that Charles appeared to most advantage. He gave balls which were thronged by the fairest Jacobite ladies of the kingdom; his personal graces and skill in dancing, the vivacity and blandness of his conversation won their hearts; and the effect of these princely attractions, preserved by many a tradition, has not wholly lost its power in the present day. So minute and careful also were his attempts to win all parties, that they descended to the music of the dance, and he called for Highland and Lowland tunes alternately, so that neither race could complain of an undue preference. The uncertain future also tended to deepen and enhance the charm. To what dangers might he be exposed, and what was the fate that awaited him upon that adventurous expedition into England, the hour for the commencement of which was now at hand?

With the Highlanders who had returned to their standards after depositing their booty at home, and with fresh recruits both Highland and Lowland, Charles thought that the time was ripe for crossing the Border. His army was now raised to 6000 men, and as well armed, equipped, and disciplined as perhaps a Highland army had ever been. But still its appearance was such as would have deterred the thought of such an attempt to any leader less obstinate than one of the Stuart race. The following is a description of its materials by a spy of government about the middle of October: "They consist of an odd

medley of gray beards and no beards—old men fit to drop into the grave, and young boys whose swords are near equal to their weight, and I really believe more than their length. Four or five thousand may be very good determined men; but the rest are mean, dirty, villainous-looking rascals, who seem more anxious about plunder than their prince, and would be better pleased with four shillings than a *crown*." It was not to be wondered at that the Scottish counsellors of Charles were averse with such a force to attempt a campaign in England; but unfortunately they had nothing more feasible to suggest in its stead. They proposed, indeed, that he should rest content with the recovery of Scotland, in which he might establish a separate and independent sovereignty; but they seemed to forget that, in the present state of things, this separation of the two kingdoms could not be maintained. The age of chivalrous warfare had been superseded by military science, in which superior numbers and resources were certain in the end to prevail; and England, from her vastly greater advantages in these respects, could either reimpose the Union, or even win the country by conquest. In such a dilemma the proposal of Charles was perhaps the least desperate difficulty of the two; and, by advancing into England, he might obtain that co-operation of the English Jacobites which was not to be expected if he should content himself with the Scottish throne. He had embarked in an enterprise in which all or nothing was the alternative, and, failing to win the three kingdoms, he would be replaced in the condition of an exile. His resolution to go forward was therefore so determined, that he thus addressed his council, when every other argument had failed: "I see, gentlemen, you are determined to stay in Scotland and defend your country; but I am not less resolved to try my fate in England, though I should go alone."

The die being thus cast, the only subject of deliberation was the best mode of crossing the Border. This was not to be done suddenly or at hap-hazard, as government had now taken the alarm, and adopted every preparation to meet the coming difficulty. Marshal Wade was at Newcastle with an army of ten thousand, while the Duke of Cumberland was forming an encampment in the midland counties. Fourteen noblemen had undertaken to raise each a regiment of his own, the militia were called out, the Commons had voted plentiful supplies for the war, and the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended. Confronted by this formidable array of difficulties, it was suggested by Lord George Murray that their entrance into England should be by the Cumberland rather than the Northumberland side of the Border. In

¹ Lord Elcho's MS. *Memoirs*, in *Tales of a Grandfather*.

this case Wade must advance against them after a fatiguing march to Carlisle, by which his troops would be exhausted, and would have to engage among the hills, which resembled those of the Highlands, and where Highlanders could act with most effect. On the other hand, if the marshal remained at Newcastle on the defensive, opportunities would thus be given for French troops to land and the Jacobites of the English border counties to rise in their favour. This judicious counsel prevailed, and the Young Chevalier having left Lord Strathallan to command in Scotland during his absence, commenced his march on the 1st of November towards the English border. Still further to mislead the English it had been decided, by the advice of Lord George Murray, that the army should march in two columns; and that while the first, which was laden with baggage and other encumbrances, should advance by the way of Moffat, the second, which was disencumbered and headed by the prince in person, should proceed by Kelso, as if it meant to enter Northumberland, and that both divisions should meet and reunite on a certain day near Carlisle. In these marches each division was preceded by a body of light horsemen, who kept a sharp look-out, and brought information of the state of the country and the movements going on ahead. In the clan regiments the chief was colonel, and had under him two captains, two lieutenants, and two ensigns, while every private considered himself more or less a kinsman of the colonel, for whom he was bound to fight to the death. The pay of a captain was half-a-crown a day, of a lieutenant two shillings, and of an ensign eighteen pence; the front rank soldiers, who were tacksmen and duniwassals, carrying targets and being better armed than the rest, had their pay fixed at a shilling a day, and that of the ordinary soldiers at sixpence. In the day of battle the chieftain took his position in the centre of the clan, two of the bravest of each company composed his *leichtach*, or body-guard, and he was also flanked by his brothers, cousins, and nearest relatives, who considered their place the post of honour, which they would in no case abandon.¹ The prince generally marched in the Highland dress and on foot, with his target across his shoulders, ate but one meal a day, and showed such endurance of strength and activity that even his hardy followers found themselves outdone in those qualities upon which they set so high a value. As he carried no change of shoes a hole was worn in the sole of one of them, which made his followers hope for

a rest during the march; but the prince caused the blacksmith of the next village to cover the hole with a plate of iron, and observed to him, "You are the first, I believe, that ever shod the son of a king." While he thus fared as plainly as his soldiers, and excelled them in the endurance of the march, he had learned a few words of Gaelic, and these he employed in such a manner as to charm his simple followers by his condescension and affability.

But in spite of the ties which united the clans to their chiefs, and all to their prince, nothing could be more distasteful to the Highlanders than a march into England. To a hostile inroad or marauding *spreach* into the Lowlands their military services had hitherto been confined, and these they were wont to undertake with hearty readiness; but to cross the Border into a country they knew not, and dangers they had never tried, appeared to them the height of temerity. They could not, also, forget the disasters of their countrymen thirty years earlier at Preston; and during their absence their homes would be left defenceless to the Whig clans that surrounded them. In consequence of this they began to desert almost as soon as the march had commenced, and one morning, it is said, more than an hour and a half was spent in expostulation by the prince before he could induce them to move forward. The division which he commanded rested two days at Kelso, and sent forward orders to Wooler to prepare quarters for his troops, as if he meant to stop at that town in his route eastward. But the order was only a feint, to withdraw the attention of Wade from the real course of his march; and suddenly wheeling westward he passed Liddesdale and entered Cumberland on the 8th of November. On crossing the English border the Highlanders drew their claymores and shouted, but Lochiel in drawing his weapon happened to wound his hand. The hurt, although trivial, made the whole army turn pale; it was the first blood shed on English ground, and, being Highland blood, it was an omen of such discomfiture and disaster to their cause as renewed their dislike to the expedition.² On the following day they were joined by the division that had taken the other route, and which arrived on the appointed ground within two hours of the specified time. The two columns, thus united within less than a mile of Carlisle, advanced against that ancient town, and summoned it to surrender.

This capital of the county of Cumberland, which had been exempt from war since the union of the crowns, had no better fortifications than those which had been erected during the

¹ Home.² Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 455.

old Border warfare. But although its wall was frail and unfitted to resist a cannonade, its castle was stronger, and being well provided with artillery, and defended by a garrison of invalids, while the town was occupied by a considerable force of Cumberland and Westmoreland militia,¹ it was thought that Carlisle might hold the rebel army in check, more especially as Marshal Wade was reported to be on the way to its relief. Accordingly to the summons of surrender the mayor sent a reply that his name was not Paterson from Scotland, but Pattieson, a true-born Englishman, and that he would hold out his town to the last.² The place was immediately invested under the orders of the Duke of Perth; but scarcely had this commenced when it was rumoured that Wade had left Newcastle, and was on his way for the relief of Carlisle, a report that drew the prince with the greater part of the army to Brampton for the purpose of giving battle to the marshal. Finding, however, that he had been deceived by false intelligence, Charles sent back the Duke of Perth to Carlisle, and the siege was resumed with vigour, the duke and Tullibardine working without their coats in the trenches like common pioneers, to encourage the army by their example. These preparations extinguished the courage of the mayor, and before a single cannon had been fired he hung out the white flag of surrender. But as the capitulation was only for the town, the prince, when this offer was sent to him, demanded the surrender of the castle and its garrison also; this after some little demur was conceded, and both town and castle surrendered. The military, as prisoners of war, were dismissed, after taking an oath not to bear arms against the Stuarts for the space of one year. In this capture of Carlisle the conduct of Marshal Wade was inexplicable. Although it was invested by the rebels on the 9th of November, while he was lying at Newcastle, which is only sixty miles distant, with an army that more than doubled that of the enemy, he did not move till the 15th, the day of the surrender. On the 17th he had got no further than Hexham, which is twenty-two miles distant from Newcastle, and having there learned that Carlisle had surrendered, instead of marching forward to attempt its recovery he quietly went back to his old quarters.³ But although no interruption was offered by Wade the success of this capture was almost as fatal to the cause of the prince as a defeat. While it gained no accession of English recruits it revived the bicker-

ings of his army and the dissensions of its principal officers, the Duke of Perth and Lord George Murray. The former had conducted the siege and signed the capitulation, while the latter, discontented at the reputation the duke had won and the favour in which he was held by the prince, wrote an angry letter to Charles and resigned his commission as lieutenant-general. This was followed by a petition from several officers requesting the dismissal of all Papists from command and the reinstatement of Lord George; and as most of the Highlanders were Protestants after a fashion, the civil war was menaced with extinction in the fiercer flames of religious contention. In this extremity the Duke of Perth, who was a Papist, generously resigned his commission, but offered to serve as a volunteer, while Murray, who was by far the most competent of the rebel officers, was invested with the sole command.

While dissensions were thus breaking out among his own troops an accumulation of evils, both before and behind, were closing upon the unfortunate Charles, to prevent alike his advance or retreat. His cause was so unpopular at Carlisle that, although he made a triumphal entry into it on the 17th, no Englishmen joined his standard. The whole kingdom was in alarm at the invasion and earnest to oppose it, so that while volunteers in thousands came forward with their offers of military service, the merchants were equally liberal of their tenders of money and credit. Churchman and dissenter were equally at one in their attachment to the house of Hanover and hostility to Popery and the Pretender; and besides the army of Wade at Newcastle there was a second under General Ligonier advancing into Lancaster, and a third, commanded by the king in person, encamped on Finchley Common. While these dangers were gathering in his front, the prospects of Charles in Scotland were almost to the full as desperate. On setting out upon his expedition he had left Lord Strathallan commander-in-chief in Scotland, with a commission to muster recruits at Perth in aid of the invasion into England; but although he succeeded in collecting between two and three thousand men, a still larger force was arrayed against him by Lord Loudon and the lord-president at Inverness; the principal towns had heartily returned to their allegiance, and were resolute in their hostility to the Pretender; and even in Edinburgh the crown officers had been brought back with a public ovation, and two regiments of cavalry from Wade's army had been sent down to support them. It was thus apparently as difficult for the Pretender to retrace his steps to his old quarters in Holyrood as to enter London and occupy the

¹ Chevalier Johnstone's *Memoirs of the Rebellion*.

² Scott's *Tales of a Grandfather*. ³ Chevalier Johnstone.

palace of St. James's. In this dilemma he assembled his council at Carlisle to deliberate upon their further proceedings. But with these difficulties staring them in the face the members were at a loss what to advise, and while some suggested a longer stay at Carlisle to watch the progress of events in England, others counselled an immediate retreat into Scotland as the least dangerous alternative. But M. du Boyer, who had accompanied them in their march to England, confidently predicted the landing of a French army, and Charles as confidently declared that his adherents in Lancashire would muster as soon as he appeared among them. At this juncture the advice of Lord George Murray, who was always in favour of bold measures, turned the scale. His voice was for an advance into England, although not too far, and as a trial what support they might expect from the English Jacobites; and he assured the prince that his army, although so small, would be certain to follow him.¹ It was decided, therefore, that they should go forward, and on the 20th of November the march commenced. The army, although not a man had been lost in the capture of Carlisle, had been reduced by desertions since it left Scotland to about 4500 men, and of these a garrison of 200 was unnecessarily left in Carlisle.

The first stage of the rebel army was Penrith, into which the cavalry entered on the first day of the march, and on the 21st the prince arrived with the infantry. Here they halted for a day in expectation of an attack from Wade; but as the marshal did not make his appearance they resumed their march in two divisions, the one generally about half a day's journey from the other. On the 27th they arrived at Preston, a place regarded with dread by the superstitious Highlanders, from the defeat of the Duke of Hamilton and the unfortunate expedition of Mackintosh; and such was their belief in the fatal prestige of the place to their cause, that they believed the fate of every Jacobite soldier to be sealed as soon as he had reached it. To counteract this unfortunate impression that the town of Preston was their *ne plus ultra* Lord George Murray crossed the Ribble Bridge and encamped his vanguard on the opposite side of the river, by which the spell was supposed to be broken.² At Preston, reckoned the most Jacobite town in England, the prince was welcomed with hearty cheering; but there its zeal stopped short, as no recruits joined him except about a dozen of vagabonds. The same apathy was manifested to the cause

of the rebels in their march from Preston to Wigan and from Wigan to Manchester: the people cheered them as they passed, and wished them success; but when arms were offered them they shook their heads, and begged to be excused from fighting. At Manchester, however, the Pretender expected to be more fortunate; and here by a curious chance his expectations were realized. What was called an advance party of the rebels entered on the 28th, but this party consisted of nothing more than a sergeant, a drummer, and a cannon. Such as they were, however, they entered the town with amazing confidence, and after dinner began to beat up for recruits, in which they were so successful that they enlisted about thirty in less than an hour. "They were likewise joined by several others, some of desperate fortunes, who were modelled into what they called the Manchester Regiment—mostly people of the lowest rank and vilest principles—which occasioned him who called himself the Duke of Perth to say, that if the devil had come a-recruiting, and proffered a shilling more than his prince, they would have preferred the former."³ This Manchester Regiment, when completed, amounted only to 200 men, and was placed under the command of Mr. Francis Townley, almost the only English gentleman who had joined the Pretender in his march. All this was sadly in contrast to the noisy Jacobite zeal of the citizens, who welcomed the prince's entrance with shouts and bell-ringing and mounting the white cockade.

It was now seen by the rebels themselves that at every step their difficulties continued to multiply. Wade was advancing through Yorkshire to attack them in the rear; before them was the Duke of Cumberland at Lichfield, with an army of 8000 men, of whom the greater part were troops who had seen hard service in Flanders; while a third army was rapidly collecting on the borders of Hertfordshire and Middlesex. The bridges, also, by which they were to pass after leaving Preston had been broken down, so that if they went forward they would have to leave their baggage and artillery behind. These difficulties appeared so insurmountable that the Highland chiefs remonstrated against proceeding farther, and were only pacified by the assurances of Lord George Murray. He advised them not to oppose the wishes of the prince until they arrived at Derby; but if they were not then joined by the English Jacobites in considerable force he promised that he would urge, and even as general enforce, a retreat. On the 1st of December they resumed their

¹ Home's *History*; Lord George Murray's *Narrative*.

² Lockhart Papers.

³ *Complete History of the Rebellion, from its First Rise in 1745, &c.*, by James Ray of Whitehaven.

march, in two divisions, and crossed the Mersey, the one headed by the prince fording the river near Stockport, with the water up to his middle, while the other division crossed lower down, with the artillery and baggage, by a rude bridge hastily constructed with the trunks of trees. On the opposite side of the Mersey were a few Cheshire gentlemen to welcome the prince, but they brought neither money nor reinforcements; they either could not or would not bestow anything in the present doubtful condition of matters but their congratulations and good wishes. There was one contrast, however, although the story is only traditional, to this cautious and lukewarm loyalty, exhibited by a very old lady, Mrs. Skirving. When a child she had been raised in her mother's arms to witness the landing of Charles II. at Dover at the Restoration; and notwithstanding the neglect and ingratitude of the "merry monarch" to her father and family, her enthusiastic allegiance to the Stuarts had continued unabated. After they were deposed she never ceased to pray for a fresh Restoration; and while they were exiles she laid aside half of her yearly income for their support, and transmitted it to them without announcing the name of the donor. She had lately sold her jewels, plate, and every article of value, and now laid the sum at the prince's feet, exclaiming, in the words of Simeon, while her aged eyes were dimmed with tears of rapture, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace." It is added in the story that this amiable enthusiast died a few days afterwards when tidings were brought of the prince's retreat.

On the 4th of December the rebel army, after having successfully outwitted the Duke of Cumberland as to their route, and sent him in a wrong direction, reached Derby, where the prince took up his abode in a house in Full Street, belonging to the Earl of Exeter. Here, also, the Highlanders, who were never better elated than in the near prospect of battle, in the hope of an encounter with Cumberland repaired in crowds to the shops of the cutlers to have their claymores sharpened, quarrelling who should be first. Here, also, as during the whole march, the prince had endeavoured to magnify the number of his followers by demanding billets for 10,000 men, when his army scarcely amounted to half the number. He was also in such high spirits, and so confident of success, that he spoke of nothing but a triumphal entrance into London, and was only puzzled to decide whether he should enter on horseback or on foot, in a Highland dress or an English one. On the first evening of his arrival in Derby a council of war was held to decide their future course, but no decision was made except to levy

the public money, which was done under the threat of military execution. It was now apparent to the principal officers that they had already marched far enough, if not too far. They had not been successful in recruiting among the common people, and no English Jacobite of rank had joined them. Three hostile armies were before them, each well appointed and of greater force than their own; and in the face of such difficulties how could they enter London, or maintain themselves there if they should be successful? And in the supposition of a defeat how were they to retreat or escape, with the whole country raised against them? It would be better to march back to Scotland while there was yet time, and where Strathallan was waiting with 3000 or 4000 men to join them, than proceed towards London in the face of inevitable ruin. In their march, also, they had been buoyed up by the promises of a French landing, and these promises had evaporated in empty words. These were the remonstrances of the Highland chiefs and officers which Lord George Murray urged upon the council that was called soon after the previous meeting; and he enforced these statements with arguments that were unanswerable. They had tried a daring experiment, and all had ended in failure. Charles was indignant at the proposal to retreat, but could only answer their arguments by assertions. As Providence had hitherto favoured him so far, why should he not go forward? Retreat! He would sooner consent to lie twenty feet under ground.¹ Besides, there was danger as well as disgrace in going back. *Perhaps*, also, as he advanced, he might be joined by the English Jacobites; *perhaps* the French would make a landing in Kent or Essex; and in the fulfilment of these contingencies his course was both clear and easy. When he found that his appeals could not move, that his castles built on sand could not sustain the blast of argument, he then proposed the middle course of a retreat into Wales, in the hope of being joined by his Welsh adherents. But nothing less than a retreat into Scotland would satisfy the majority of the council, and this stormy meeting was dismissed without coming to an agreement. The prince's chief advisers, Murray of Broughton, his secretary, and Sir Thomas Sheridan, counselled him to yield, by representing that if the chiefs were unwilling to advance the cause could not be induced to go forward; and Charles at last gave an ungracious assent to a movement which he could not hinder. The Highlanders commenced the retreat on the 6th of December under the idea that they were

¹ MS. Memoirs of Captain Daniel, quoted in Lord Mahon's *History of England*.

on their march to encounter the enemy; but when they discovered their mistake, and that their route was homewards, they were transported with indignation. Unable to foresee the difficulties before them, and under the apprehension of which their chiefs had wisely succumbed, they accounted this retreat as a confession of inferiority, and could not have been more deeply grieved if they had been defeated in sad earnest. Their anger and sorrow scarcely equalled those of the Young Pretender: he had resisted the proposal to the last, and when compelled to give way he declared that, as he was accountable only to God and his father, he would call no more councils nor ask or accept their advice. Of the same character was his behaviour when the retrograde march commenced. In the advance he had usually been first up in the morning, and had set the troops in motion before break of day, marching with them on foot; but in the retreat, when it had commenced, although the rear could not move without him, he made them wait a long time for his arrival; and at last, when he arrived, he mounted his horse, and rode straight on and took his place in the van.

Among the other consequences of the retreat from Derby was the removal of a nightmare of terror from the mind of the metropolis. Its peaceful citizens, who knew nothing of war but the cost of it since the days of the Commonwealth, and had never been stirred by even the threat of an invasion since the Dutch fleet entered the Thames in 1667, were appalled at this menaced hostile visit from Charles Stuart and his victorious army. They were only a hundred and thirty miles from London, while neither Wade's nor Cumberland's army lay between them, and who could tell how suddenly and soon these unknown invaders might be in their streets? Fear also magnified not only the numbers but the characters and habits of these Highlanders, until it was believed among the vulgar that they were men of frightful form and aspect, and that to their other savage practices they added that of cannibalism, and devoured young children as they marched along.¹ The news of their arrival at Derby

reached the capital on the 5th of December, and instantly the city was in as great commotion as if Hannibal were at the gates. A rush was made upon the bank, and it only escaped insolvency by procrastinating the mode of payment. Accordingly, the first comers obtained the priority; these were their own agents, men hired for the purpose, who, on presenting their notes, were paid in sixpences in order to gain time; and on disappearing at one door they returned by another with the specie, thus helping to bolster up the currency of the bank and keep the *bona fide* creditors aloof. In this manner the process of payment was procrastinated and the credit of the bank saved. It is also asserted that the king himself had embarked all his most valuable effects in yachts at the Tower quay, and ordered them to be in readiness to sail at a moment's notice. In this confusion the Duke of Newcastle, then secretary of state, whose wits were never clear or methodical at the best, took fright, remained inaccessible in his house during the whole of the 6th of December when his presence was most needed, and in his seclusion took counsel with himself whether it would be best to retain his allegiance or declare for the Pretender.² But even with all these representations, which have probably been somewhat exaggerated, this extravagant panic would soon have been allayed had the handful of half-armed Highlanders managed to reach the capital. At the best they could only have occupied London two or three days before the opposing armies had closed upon them and prevented all chance of their escape. Even the *éclat* of having been masters of London on such terms would scarcely have compensated for the risk in winning it and the certain ruin to themselves with which the deed would have been followed.

In their march into England the rebel army had been distinguished by moderation and forbearance; but on their return their tempers were soured with disappointment, the bands of discipline were relaxed, and the Highlanders, who had so carefully abstained from plunder,

¹ Even the "gentle Lochiel" was suspected of being a babe-eater, as appears from the following incident which occurred in the retreat of the rebel army from England: "The terror of the English was truly inconceivable, and in many cases they seemed quite bereft of their senses. One evening as Mr. Cameron of Lochiel entered the lodgings assigned to him his landlady, an old woman, threw herself at his feet, and with uplifted hands, and tears in her eyes, supplicated him to take her life, but to spare her two little children. He asked her if she was in her senses, and told her to explain herself, when she answered that everybody said the Highlanders ate children and made them their common food. Mr. Cameron having assured her that they

would not injure either her or her little children or any person whatever, she looked at him for some moments with an air of surprise, and then opened a press, calling out with a loud voice, 'Come out, children; the gentleman will not eat you!' The children immediately left the press, where she had concealed them, and threw themselves at his feet." Chevalier de Johnstone's *Memoirs of the Rebellion*, p. 76. The same author also adds: "They affirmed in the newspapers of London that we had dogs in our army trained to fight, and that we were indebted for our victory at Gladsuir to these dogs, who darted with fury on the English army. They represented the Highlanders as monsters, with claws instead of hands. In a word, they never ceased to circulate every day the most extravagant and ridiculous stories with respect to the Highlanders."

² Chevalier Johnstone's *Memoirs of the Rebellion*.

thought it no shame to lift what they could take in their retreat. Their vengeance, also, in cases of resistance, was severe, and the inhabitants of a place near Stockport having shot at a Highland patrol, his comrades set fire to the village. At Manchester, where they had a few days before been so heartily welcomed, their vanguard was violently opposed by the mob, which although dispersed afterwards hung upon their rear in their departure, and to punish this insult the prince levied a fine of £5000 upon the town. After halting only one day at Manchester the rebels continued their retreat, while these instances of unfriendly feeling only aggravated their ill-humour and increased their love of plundering, which now assumed a form unusual for Highlanders—their fancy was for horses; and this new taste for horse-flesh, by which some of them seemed to be transformed into Yorkshire jockeys, or horse-stealers, was manifested in several amusing displays. Few would go afoot if they could get a charger to carry them, and Highlanders were to be seen, in defiance of their costume, striding the bare backs of horses, with no better bridles than straw ropes.¹ It was doubtless one of those freakish drolleries in which the extremity of disappointment often finds its strongest expression among a rude and sensitive people.

In the meantime the Duke of Cumberland, as soon as he was apprised that the rebel army was at Derby, had fallen back upon the neighbourhood of Coventry for the defence of the capital; but learning afterwards of their retreat, he commenced a pursuit at the head of his cavalry and a thousand foot, whom he mounted on horses. On reaching Macclesfield he found that the enemy had gained two days' march upon him, on which he continued to press forward, and was joined on the way by a fresh body of horse that had been sent by Marshal Wade. On the 17th the main body of the rebels had arrived at Penrith; but on the following day Lord George Murray, who commanded the rear-guard, and had been delayed by the breaking down of some baggage-wagons, found at Clifton, within three miles of Penrith, several parties of cavalry drawn up to oppose him. These, however, were not regular soldiers, but volunteers of Cumberland, who were mounted to follow and harass the retreat, and who were easily dispersed by a charge of Glengarry's regiment. In this successful attack of the Highlanders a footman of the Duke of Cumberland was made prisoner, who informed Lord George that the duke himself with four thousand cavalry was within a

mile of his rear. On these tidings being forwarded to the prince he sent the Stuarts of Appin and the Macphersons of Cluny to the assistance of Lord George Murray, who was resolved to maintain his post. The sun had set when the duke's forces came in sight, and formed in two lines upon Clifton Moor and the high road, having the stone fences of the village on one side and the inclosures of Lord Lonsdale's domain on the other; and by the light of the moon, which shone at intervals through a clouded sky, a body of dismounted dragoons of the royal army were seen stealing along between the hedges and stone-walls in the hope of coming upon the rebels by surprise. But Murray had already lined these hedges and stone-walls, and the English on their advance were received with such an unexpected fire as made them stagger and recoil. At the same instant Lord George, shouting "Claymore!" suddenly charged them with the Macphersons and Stuarts, before the dragoons could load again, and drove them back upon their main body. Although this night conflict lasted only for a few minutes its result was decisive, for the dragoons were so dispirited that they did not venture a second attack, and Lord George without any further interruption continued his march to Penrith.²

On arriving at Carlisle on the 19th Charles, who hoped to make a second and more successful invasion into England at no distant period, was anxious to secure this gate of the kingdom for his return by strengthening the garrison which he had left there at his departure, and accordingly the Manchester regiment was appointed to this service along with a few French, Irish, and Lowland soldiers. Although the whole garrison, when thus reinforced, amounted to little more than 300 men, it was an provident waste of his resources, for which nothing but his extravagant hopes could apologize. He thought, also, that they might make a successful resistance, as the Duke of Cumberland had no train of artillery for the purposes of a regular siege. There, accordingly, the prince left them, with the promise that in a *few days* he would return to their relief, and continued the march of his army to Scotland on the morning of the 20th. But a single day sufficed to bring down upon this devoted garrison the Duke of Cumberland, who had been closely following the prince's retreat, and who was already signaling himself by that severity which was soon after to be so conspicuous in Scotland. At first they

¹ MS. Memoirs of Captain Daniel, Lord Mahon's *History of England*.

² Ray's *History of the Rebellion*; Lockhart Papers; Chevalier Johnstone's *Memoirs of the Rebellion, 1745-46*; Home's *History*; Lord George Murray's *Memoir of the Skirmish of Clifton*.

endeavoured to make a vigorous defence, and commenced a brisk cannonade under the belief that the duke had no siege artillery; but they were confounded to find their small ordnance answered by the deafening roar of six eighteen-pounders, for which the duke had sent to the seaport of Whitehaven. The garrison raised the white flag and proposed terms of surrender, but Cumberland would only grant that they should not be put to the sword, but reserved for the king's pleasure. These terms were accepted, and after receiving the surrender and hanging seven prisoners who had deserted from Cope's army to take service with the Pretender, the Duke of Cumberland posted off to London, leaving the command of the army to General Hawley.

Under this partial interruption to the pursuit Charles continued his retreat unmolested. After fording the Esk, which was a work of some difficulty and danger, the main body of the rebel army advanced to Annan, and after resting there for a night proceeded on the following day to Dumfries. The arrival of the Highlanders at that town was as unwelcome as it was unexpected, for its inhabitants, upon a report that the rebels had been destroyed or put to flight, had signalized the happy event by an illumination, and the bonfires were still burning when the Highlanders entered.¹ To punish this premature triumph a fine of £2000 was imposed upon the town, and as only £1100 could be raised the provost and another magistrate were seized by the rebels as securities for payment of the remainder. The next route was to Glasgow, which the prince entered on the 26th, and as this thriving city had been distinguished by its Presbyterian zeal and loyalty to the house of Hanover, it could not expect to escape a similar impost. Here, accordingly, the rebel army rested, living during seven or eight days at free quarters, and levying heavy contributions of shirts, coats, shoes, bonnets, and every article of clothing which their army needed. At this stage of their march we are compelled to look back upon it with wonder. From Edinburgh to Derby, and from Derby back to Glasgow, they had gone not less than 580 miles, and this march, notwithstanding occasional halts, they had effected in fifty-six days! An army that never numbered 6000 men, they had occupied the capital of the one kingdom, and thrown the other into dismay; marched through the most powerful counties of both, and in defiance of three armies each more powerful than their own; and, although so imperfectly armed, had con-

fronted their disciplined well-appointed enemies and routed them in every attack. And, finally, although in want of almost every article of comfort, and marching through the richest counties of England and Scotland carrying dismay wherever they came, they had so carefully abstained from those excesses which indicate the march even of friends or allies, that their enemies themselves bore testimony to their moderation, and remembered their visit with affectionate regret. Had the goodness of their cause corresponded with their forbearance, courage, and activity! But such a thought is as idle as it was unavailing. Their heroic prowess and high devotedness were enlisted for the restoration of a dynasty and principles which were incompatible with the spirit of the age; and the young prince who led them on had already given proofs of his incapacity either to establish the old state of things or accommodate himself to the new.

Another year had now commenced—an eventful year, in which the great question was finally to be decided, whether a Stuart or Hanoverian sovereign was to be established in the throne of Great Britain. On the 3d of January, 1746, the rebel army marched from Glasgow to Stirling. The retreat from Derby and re-entrance into Scotland had so thinned its ranks that at Glasgow it could only muster 3600 foot and about 500 horse; but, in consequence of the junction of Lord Strathallan and the troops that reinforced it under Lord John Drummond and Lord Lewis Gordon, the army was increased to nearly 9000 men. The town of Stirling was immediately invested by the rebels, and as it had no means of defence it surrendered without resistance. But the castle was well garrisoned, with General Blakeney for its commander; and as the reduction of it was judged necessary for the rebels to secure their communication with the Highlands, they commenced the siege of it in regular form, being assisted by French engineers and battering-guns brought by Lord John Drummond from France. It was a fatal waste of time, especially for such an army, whose proper sphere was the march and the battle. On the other hand the army of Marshal Wade, as numerous as that of the rebels, and commanded by General Henry Hawley, a favourite of the Duke of Cumberland, entered Scotland and advanced to raise the siege of Stirling. Of this Hawley a brief notice may be necessary, not on account of his talents, but his insufficiency and insignificance. He had been present in the battle of Sheriffmuir as a major of dragoons, and from the ease with which the Highlanders had been routed by a charge of horse he entertained a contemptuous idea of

¹ MS. Memoirs of Captain Daniel, Lord Mahon's *History of England*.

their courage, and felt confident that he was marching to certain victory. As his ignorance and vaingloriousness also were more than matched by his cruelty, he caused two gibbets to be erected in Edinburgh for the purpose of hanging such prisoners as he might take in battle; and his march was accompanied by a staff of executioners, whose functions might be useful in his more summary proceedings. His mercilessness to his own soldiers was likewise so remarkable that they usually nicknamed him the "Lord Chief-justice;" but this title was too good for him, and that of "hangman" would scarcely have been too severe. As a proof of his taste for military executions we are told that when in Flanders he had a deserter hanged up before his windows. The surgeons craved of him the body for dissection, and Hawley at last assented; but to the gift he added the following proviso, "At least you will give me the skeleton to hang up in the guard-room."¹

While this formidable commander was marching along the east coast from Berwick and Dunbar to Edinburgh, Charles, instead of advancing to encounter him midway, had commenced in earnest the unprofitable siege of Stirling Castle, an attempt for which he had not the means, and which, even if successful, would have been of little service. The approaches were made and the siege conducted under the direction of a certain M. Gourdon, whom they dignified with the title of the Marquis de Mirabelle, and only a dozen of French gunners, who were covered by the Duke of Perth with about five hundred men; and the manner in which the affair was managed showed the folly and uselessness of the attempt. "The engineer," says one of the rebels, "to show his dexterity in his profession (not considering that he had neither all things necessary for such an undertaking nor regular troops that had been accustomed to such undertakings) made his appearance on the strongest side of the castle, where there was nothing but rock and shingle to work upon, so that, in order to raise the batteries that were intended, there was nothing but forced earth which was to be carried from a great distance and at great expense, and when finished, was commanded by the castle, by which there was a great many men lost, and the battery of little use; however, the work was continued rather than oppose his schemes, though it was agreed that the approaches might have been made, and to better purpose, on the other side."² It was fortunate for the rebels that Hawley was about to interrupt them with a folly greater than their

own. On the evening of the 16th of January he arrived at Falkirk, while Charles was encamped only nine miles distant at Bannockburn, with the whole of his army except a thousand men employed in the siege; and on the following day his troops were reinforced, so that they were equal in numbers to the enemy. The Highlanders had expected an immediate attack, and were prepared to receive it; but, finding that none was offered, they advanced to the neighbourhood of the Torwood, so that only seven miles interposed between them and the royalist army. Perceiving, however, that this movement had failed to provoke the enemy, they resolved to become the assailants, for which purpose they crossed the Carron at Dunipace, and drew up in order of battle upon Falkirk Muir.

And where the while, at such a critical moment, was the redoubted Hawley? He was at Callendar House, at some distance from the field, and enjoying the hospitalities with which he was regaled by Lady Kilmarnock. Considering that her husband belonged to the opposite party, and that her own Jacobitism was very strong, it is not to be wondered at if she forbore to interrupt the comfort of her guest, who, during these critical movements of the two armies, was indulging in the luxuries of a well-spread table. In the meantime his officers, finding that they had been out-manœuvred by the unexpected march of the Highlanders, beat to arms, and sent to Callendar House, while the inquiries were loud and frequent among the common soldiers of "Where is the general!—what is to be done? we have no orders."³ Roused by the tidings Hawley in a hurry mounted his horse, and without his hat galloped off to Falkirk Muir, where he found both armies in motion, each striving who would first get possession of the heath, and the eminence by which it was commanded. Perceiving how matters stood he threw forward three regiments of dragoons at full speed, and ordered the infantry to follow with fixed bayonets; the Highlanders bestirred themselves to anticipate him, and a race between both parties commenced, in which the rebels won the height. In this trial of speed the Highlanders were obliged to leave their artillery behind them, while that of their opponents stuck fast in a morass, and was useless during the whole engagement; but this equality was negated by a storm of wind and rain, which beat on the faces of the royalists and wetted their powder, and by the ground on which they were drawn up below the height that was unfavourable to the evolution of regular troops.

¹ Letters of H. Walpole to Sir Horace Mann.

² Lockhart Papers.

³ Home's *History of the Rebellion*.

Under these circumstances the engagement, commonly called the battle of Falkirk, was commenced by Hawley sending orders to Ligonier, who commanded the horse, to charge with all his cavalry on the enemy's right. The three regiments of dragoons accordingly advanced briskly to the charge, and the Macdonalds who awaited them withheld their fire until they were within ten yards, when they opened, at the signal of Lord George Murray, such a steady well-directed volley that multitudes of saddles were emptied in an instant, and the whole three regiments thrown into confusion. It happened also that two of them were the same regiments that had fled at Coltbridge and Prestonpans; and, mindful of their former discretion, by which they had saved themselves for fresh actions, they again betook themselves to flight, leaving the third regiment, which was Cobham's, either to fight it out or follow their example. They resisted, indeed, but only to be driven back with heavy loss; and the Macdonalds, elated with success, instead of remaining in their ranks as Lord George had ordered, made a furious charge sword in hand upon the flank of Hawley's two columns of foot. They would have paid dear, however, for their temerity, but for the storm of wind and rain which beat upon their enemy's faces, and spoiled their gunpowder as well as blinded them, and after a short ineffectual resistance the whole centre of Hawley's army was broken and chased off the field. Very different, however, was the state of matters with his right wing, where three regiments were posted behind a ravine, protected by its rugged banks; the Highlanders were unable to reach them with their wonted charge of the broadsword, and were received with such a heavy fire as threw them into disorder; and, to add to their confusion, Cobham's dragoons had rallied and were again ready for action. At this spectacle the left wing of the rebels lost heart and began to fly westward, communicating the alarm to those behind them, who believed that all was lost. It was a critical moment, in which the confusion was like that of Dunblane, and while the greater part of the king's army was in full flight eastward a large body of their opponents under similar terror were flying westward. Something like order was restored by the exertions of Lord George Murray, and the second line of the prince's army having been brought up for a final onset, the royalist right was checked and at last compelled to retreat. But this they did in regular order, and with such a steady front that it was judged unadvisable to follow them, more especially as a dark and stormy evening was at hand, which would have been dangerous for such irregular troops as those of the rebel army. In

this battle of Falkirk, which throughout scarcely lasted half an hour, the king's army left four hundred dead upon the field, of whom a large proportion were officers, while the rebels stated their loss to be only forty men, which was probably far short of the reality. The changes and reverses of this engagement had been so striking, and the darkness at its close was gathering so fast, that the rebels were not fully aware of their success, until tidings were brought them that the enemy had left Falkirk and were in full retreat. The rain was now falling in torrents, and Charles was conducted into the town by torchlight. As for Hawley, who had shown such bad generalship, and been only distinguished throughout the action by the courage of a common soldier, he rested that night in Linlithgow, and on the following morning, at their departure, his soldiers, whether by accident or through malignant spite, set the palace on fire and reduced it to a ruin. Thus perished the noblest of the Stuart palaces, as if to commemorate the last victory of the Stuart cause under the last of its representatives. On the following day Hawley continued his retreat to Edinburgh, where he used the gibbets he had designed for the rebels to execute such of his soldiers as had misbehaved in the action, four of whom were hanged in one day.

Much dissension in the meantime prevailed among the victors, and this, too, in consequence of their success. The victory had not been so complete as it ought to have been, and this was owing to the blunders or remissness of the officers, who blamed each other as the cause of the deficiency. These quarrels created mutual jealousies which were fatal to the subsequent operations of the campaign. Another grievous mistake originated in the decision upon the step that should next be adopted. The prince was advised to press forward to Edinburgh, which was still in a panic and unfit for resistance, so that it might be entered and occupied with as much ease as at first. But Charles, and those who agreed with him in opinion, thought that it would be better in the first instance to reduce the castle of Stirling, the siege of which they had already commenced. The siege was accordingly resumed, and on the 30th of January Mirabelle, with a childish impatience to try the effects of his battery, unmasked it when only three out of six embrasures were finished. But his feeble cannonade could make no impression upon the ramparts, and the answering fire from the batteries of the castle was so deadly, that the rebels were driven in less than half an hour from their guns, while the works which they had been more than two weeks in constructing were demolished as speedily as if they had been built of cards.

General Blakeney, foreseeing this result, had allowed them to go on without obstruction until their task was completed, knowing that at any time he might destroy it in a few minutes.¹

While time was thus lost in so unprofitable an attempt some events, which followed soon after the battle, tended to increase the general confusion. While Lord Kilmarnock was delivering a list of the prisoners to Charles, who was standing at the window of his lodging in Falkirk, the following grotesque incident occurred, which is thus related by the author of *Douglas*: "A soldier in the uniform of one of the king's regiments made his appearance in the streets of Falkirk, which was full of Highlanders; he was armed with a musket and bayonet, and had a black cockade in his hat. When the volunteers saw a soldier with his firelock in his hand coming towards Charles they were amazed, and fancied a thousand things; they expected every moment to hear a shot. Charles, observing that the volunteers (who were within a few yards of him) looked all one way, turned his head that way too; he seemed surprised; and, calling Lord Kilmarnock, pointed to the soldier. Lord Kilmarnock came down-stairs immediately; when he got to the street the soldier was just opposite to the window where Charles stood. Kilmarnock came up to the fellow, struck his hat off his head, and set his foot on the black cockade. At that instant a Highlander came running from the other side of the street, laid hands on Lord Kilmarnock, and pushed him back. Kilmarnock pulled out a pistol and presented it at the Highlander's head; the Highlander drew his dirk and held it close to Kilmarnock's breast. In this posture they stood about half a minute, when a crowd of Highlanders rushed in and drove away Lord Kilmarnock. The man with the dirk in his hand took up the hat, put it upon the soldier's head, and the Highlanders marched off with him in triumph. This piece of dumb show, of which they understood nothing, perplexed the volunteers. They expressed their astonishment to a Highland officer who stood near them, and entreated him to explain the meaning of what they had seen. He told them that the soldier in the uniform of the royal was a Cameron. 'Yesterday,' said he, 'when your army was defeated, he joined his clan; the Camerons received him with great joy and told him that he should wear his arms, his clothes, and everything else, till he was provided with other clothes and other arms. The Highlander who first interposed, and drew his dirk on Lord Kilmarnock, is the soldier's brother; the crowd who rushed in are

the Camerons, many of them his near relations; and in my opinion,' continued the officer, 'no colonel nor general in the prince's army can take that cockade out of his hat, except Lochiel himself.'²

This was not the first occasion in which Charles had to learn the bitter fact that among the Highlanders who followed him, and on whose zeal he relied for success, there was a far stronger principle than that of loyalty, and that the power of their chief was in all cases superior to that of the king. He had seen a nobleman braved in his own presence by a common mountaineer, and was aware that his interposition would be ineffectual. Another case showed him the fealty which was rendered to their own feudal laws and customs, in defiance of acts of parliament and the sovereign in whose name they were enacted. On the day after the battle of Falkirk, while a Highlander of the Clanranald tribe was cleaning an English musket, which was a part of his spoil, the piece accidentally went off and shot Colonel Æneas Macdonald, the second son of the chief of Glengarry. Although the dying gentleman declared that the event was accidental, and begged with his dying breath that the man should not suffer, and although Charles himself endeavoured to allay the rage of the clan and attended the funeral as chief mourner, all was of no avail; it was enough that a life had been taken, and nothing less than a life could expiate the deed. The unfortunate homicide was surrendered to the Macdonalds, led out and despatched with a volley of bullets. He, too, was a Macdonald, otherwise his single life would not have sufficed; but even as it was the clan Glengarry was discontented, and after the execution considerable numbers deserted.³ The usual falling-off had also taken place after the battle to secure the spoil among the mountains, and the victory had reduced the followers of the Pretender almost as ruinously as a defeat.

It was now, indeed, more than time that Charles should abandon the siege of the castle and lead his followers into the field, where their services could be most availing. The apprehension of a French invasion having been discovered to be groundless, the Duke of Cumberland, whom it had withdrawn from the Scottish campaign to a more important sphere of action, was now gratified in his wishes by being appointed to the chief command for the suppression of the rebellion. The defeat of Hawley, he declared, had been owing not to the fault of the troops but the incompetence of the commander, and he boasted that with

¹ Chevalier de Johnstone's *Memoirs*.

² Home's *History of the Rebellion*.

³ Lockhart Papers.

the same soldiers he would again attack the rebels and not doubt of success: they had only to be told what they ought to do and they would do it. This young prince, who was so soon to acquire such an evil reputation in Scotland for his cruelty, was nearly of the same age as his cousin the Pretender, being only four months younger, but there the comparison ended; for while he possessed that energy of character and military talent and experience in which Charles was defective, he had neither his personal attractions, being gross, clumsy, and of homely appearance, nor his graces of demeanour and conversation, his language and manners being those of a dragoon, who understood nothing and cared for nothing but war. It was only with the soldiers, who admired his bluff manners so like their own, that he was popular, but in the present state of affairs these qualities were likely to be more available than the courtly graces of his rival. As soon as he was invested with the sole command the Duke of Cumberland lost no time in

proceeding to the scene of action; he left London on the 27th of January, and travelling post night and day he arrived on the 30th in Edinburgh, several hours earlier than he was expected. He was received with acclamations by the soldiers, who had been rallied under Hawley, and his first proceedings were to stop the executions and other military punishments which that general was inflicting upon his dragoons for losing the battle of Falkirk. But he sorely offended the magistrates, in disregard of whose authority he brought soldiers into the city, and caused his guards to ride with swords drawn without their permission; and he wounded the pride of the gentry and citizens by treating them as if they were concealed Jacobites, or at least very lukewarm Whigs. He spent only one night in Edinburgh, lodging in the same apartment, and even sleeping in the same bed which his cousin had occupied in Holyrood House, and on the 31st he set off at the head of his troops in quest of Charles, resolving to give him battle whenever he might find him.

CHAPTER V.

REIGN OF GEORGE II. (1746-1748).

Necessity of the rebels to retreat from Stirling—Resistance of Charles to the retreat—Remonstrance of his officers against their further stay at Stirling—Their plan for continuing the campaign in the Highlands—Charles obliged to assent to the proposal of a retreat—Disorderly march of the Highlanders to Inverness—Residence of the Pretender at the castle of Moy—Attempt of the royalists to take him prisoner—Their attempt defeated—The rebels compel Fort-George and Fort-Augustus to surrender—Failure of the rebels in their other sieges—Increasing difficulties of Charles and his army—Advance of the Duke of Cumberland against them—His merciless proceedings during the march—The royal army encamps at Nairn and the rebel army at Culloden—Designs of the rebels to surprise their enemies in a night attack—Difficulties in their march—The attempt defeated—Proposal that the rebel army should be withdrawn and the war transferred to the Highlands—Eagerness of Charles for instant battle—Uncomfortable plight of the rebel army—Battle resolved—Preparations made for it by the rebels—Arrangement of their troops—The royal army drawn up—Foresight and prudence of the Duke of Cumberland—Battle of Culloden—Total defeat of the rebels—Episodes of the battle—Hesitation of Charles to make a final charge—Subsequent movements of the Duke of Cumberland—His merciless proceedings in the Highlands for the extinction of the rebellion—He returns to London—Exultation of its citizens at his victory—Rewards bestowed on him—The public services of Forbes neglected and unrequited—Adventures of Charles after the battle of Culloden—His flight to Gartaleg—His interview with Fraser of Lovat—He continues his flight to Glengarry Castle—The rebels offer to rally and renew the war—Charles orders them to disband—His flight becomes more dangerous—He escapes to the Isles—His landing at South Uist—He is inclosed by the pursuers—His escape from South Uist effected by Flora Macdonald—Dangers that beset their flight—Charles arrives in Raasay—Fidelity he experienced from his Highland adherents—Hospitality with which he was sheltered in a cave of sheep-stealers—Report circulated that he had been overtaken and killed—Effect of the report on the pursuers—Charles finds a hiding-place with Lochiel and his friends—French vessel arrives to carry him off—He embarks and escapes to France—Subsequent history of the Pretender—Coldness with which he was received by the French court—He refuses to leave the country—Compulsion found necessary for his ejection—His applications to foreign courts—His growing habits of sordidness and intemperance—His culpable domestic arrangements—He utterly forfeits the confidence of the Jacobites—His marriage and its results—His death—Fate of the prisoners taken at Culloden—Cruel and wholesale executions—Apprehension of Lord Lovat—Escape or death of several of the rebel leaders—Trial and execution of Charles Radcliffe—Trials of Cromarty, Kilmarnock, and Balmerino—Defence of Lord Balmerino—His cheerful and sportive behaviour on his trial—Cromarty and Kilmarnock plead guilty and throw themselves on the royal mercy—The Countess of Cromarty obtains the pardon of her husband—Kilmarnock and Balmerino

executed—Intrepid conduct of Balmerino on the scaffold—Trial of Lord Lovat—His strange behaviour on the occasion—His levity and jokes—His applications for mercy ineffectual—His inconsistent conduct in prison—His last jests on the scaffold—Sir John Cope tried for his defeat at Prestonpans—He is honourably acquitted—Hawley escapes an inquiry—Cumberland disgraced for his conduct in the treaty of Closter Seven—Flora Macdonald brought to London and imprisoned—She is dismissed without a trial—Her favour with the Jacobite ladies of London—Precautions adopted for the prevention of rebellion in Scotland—The Highlanders disarmed and compelled to lay aside their national costume—Suppression of feudal jurisdictions in Scotland—The war of the Austrian succession—Lord Stair—The battle of Dettingen—The battle of Fontenoy—Gallantry of the Highlanders—The Scots at Laffeldt and at Bergen-op-Zoom—Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

The necessity of a retreat from Stirling was to the full as great as the retreat from Derby, but still the Young Pretender refused to recognize any such urgency. Inflated with his successes at Prestonpans, Clifton, and Falkirk, he had acquired a childish taste for war that could only be gratified by battles; and believing that all things were possible to his army, he cared not about the dangers into which it might be led, or the lives of his faithful followers that would be thrown away in realizing his impossible schemes. His apparent readiness to be foremost in every danger, or to share it equally with the rest, could not be looked at as a redeeming trait; for in all their conflicts he had remained at a wary distance, and been the spectator rather than the leader of their successful movements. But his principal officers could not share in his infatuation, and while he spoke of a fresh inroad into England, that was only to terminate in his triumphal entry into London, the utmost they could now contemplate was a defensive war in the Highlands, and the chances that might arise from a procrastinated resistance. They were also mortified at the small account in which he held them, and at his taking counsel of none but Murray of Broughton his secretary, Sir Thomas Sheridan his tutor, and O'Sullivan his quarter-master general, who flattered his vanity and assented to all his proposals. While the siege of the castle of Stirling was still going on, and Charles dreaming of nothing but awaiting the Duke of Cumberland at Bannockburn, and there signaling himself as the Bruce of the age, these chiefs resolved to hold a council of their own, and assert their right to advise and remonstrate. They accordingly met on the evening of the 28th of January, and on the next morning the result of their deliberations was presented to Charles in the following words:—

“We are certain that a vast number of the soldiers of your royal highness's army are gone home since the battle of Falkirk; and notwithstanding all the endeavours of the commanders of the different corps, they find that this evil is increasing hourly, and not in their power to prevent; and as we are afraid Stirling Castle cannot be taken so soon as was expected, if the

enemy should march before it fall into your royal highness's hands, we can foresee nothing but utter destruction to the few that will remain, considering the inequality of our numbers to that of the enemy. For these reasons we are humbly of opinion that there is no way to extricate your royal highness, and those who remain with you, out of the most imminent danger, but by retiring immediately to the Highlands, where we can usefully employ the remainder of the winter by taking and mastering the forts of the north; and we are morally sure we can keep as many men together as will answer that end, and can hinder the enemy from following us in the mountains in this season of the year; and in spring, no doubt but an army of ten thousand effective Highlanders can be brought together and follow your royal highness wherever you think proper. This will disconcert your enemies, and cannot but be approved of by your royal highness's friends both at home and abroad. If a landing should happen in the meantime, the Highlanders would immediately rise either to join them or to make a powerful diversion elsewhere. The hard marches which your army has undergone, and now the inclemency of the weather, cannot fail of making this measure approved of by your royal highness's allies abroad, as well as your faithful adherents at home. The greatest difficulty that occurs to us is the saving of the artillery, particularly the heavy cannon; but better some of these were thrown into the river Forth, as that your royal highness, besides the danger of your own person, should risk the flower of your army, which we apprehend must inevitably be the case if this retreat be not agreed to and gone about without the loss of one moment; and we think that it would be the greatest imprudence to risk the whole on so unequal a chance when there are such hopes of succour from abroad, besides the resources your royal highness will have from your faithful and dutiful followers at home. It is but just now we are apprised of the numbers of our own people that are gone off, besides the many sick that are in no condition to fight. And we offer this our opinion with the more freedom, that we are persuaded that your royal highness can

never doubt of the uprightness of our intentions."¹

This sober remonstrance and appeal was signed by eight chiefs, among whom were Lord George Murray, Lochiel, Keppoch, and Clanranald, men whose courage was as unimpeachable as their devotedness to the house of Stuart. But they were aware of the desertions by which their army was reduced, and that to attempt with such means to follow up the purposes of Charles would have been the height of cruelty, as well as rashness and presumption. Such, however, was not the opinion of the young hero who was tarrying at Bannockburn, which he was to invest with double glory, and who only the night before had received a plan of the intended battle drawn up by Lord George Murray. No sooner had Charles read the advice of the united chiefs, which was tantamount to a command, than he exclaimed, "Good God! have I lived to see this?" and dashed his head against the wall with a violence that made him stagger. He sent Sir Thomas Sheridan to Falkirk to remonstrate with the chiefs against a retreat; but they were so confirmed in their purpose that Charles was obliged to give a sullen assent.² Accordingly, on the 1st of February the rebels commenced their retreat, after spiking their heavy cannon which they could not carry with them, and setting a train for blowing up six thousand pounds of gunpowder which they had laid up in their magazine at Saint Ninians. But so unskilfully was the train fired, that the explosion not only destroyed the neighbouring church, but several of their own soldiers and country people, after which they proceeded across the Fords of Frew to Dunblane. They had thus got the start only by a single day of the Duke of Cumberland, who joined the army on the 31st of January, and lost not an hour in advancing to meet the rebels. On that night he halted at Linlithgow; but on the following morning the duke had information of the retreat of Charles, and the tidings were confirmed by the explosion of the magazine at St. Ninians, which shook the country for several miles round. He entered Stirling on the 2d of February, and after repairing the bridge across the Forth, which General Blakeney had destroyed to hinder the communication between the rebels and the Highlands, he proceeded first to Dunblane and afterwards to Perth, without being able to overtake his nimble antagonists, who on reaching Crieff had separated, and continued their retreat in two divisions, intending to reunite at Inverness. Seeing the hopelessness of rival-

ling them in speed, the duke fixed his headquarters at Perth, and sent out detachments of his troops in various quarters to reduce the rebellious districts. In the retreat through England the irritated Highlanders had not been so scrupulous as in their advance, but their deeds of pillage were as nothing compared with those of the royalist army, which were now commenced systematically and upon a wider scale. Under pretext of searching for arms, they swept the fields of horse, sheep, and cattle, and the houses of plate and other valuables, often involving the adherents of the house of Hanover with the friends of the Pretender in these profitable visitations.

For several weeks after the war was confined to a series of petty skirmishes and reprisals. On approaching Inverness, Charles found it strengthened by rude fortifications, and held for the king by Lord Loudon with a force of 2000 men. He therefore halted ten miles from the town, and took up his residence at Moy Castle, the seat of the chief of Mackintosh. Although her husband was a king's man, and serving in the army of Lord Loudon, Lady Mackintosh was an enthusiastic Jacobite, and raised the clan for the service of the Pretender, riding in front of them as their captain, with a man's bonnet on her head and pistols at her saddle-bow. While Charles, under such faithful guardianship, was so unsuspecting of danger that he often dispensed with the attendance of a body-guard, Lord Loudon, who was not strong enough to venture out to battle, devised a plan to take him prisoner. He accordingly made a secret night march with 1500 soldiers, but not so privately as to prevent his design from being discovered. In what manner it was discovered it is difficult to learn from the various statements, but the following given by Chevalier Johnstone seems to be the true one:—Some English officers, who, to pass away the time until the march commenced, were drinking in a tavern in Inverness, happened in their cups to make allusions to the intended adventure, and were overheard by the daughter of the innkeeper, a young girl of thirteen or fourteen years of age, who waited upon the company. On learning the design, and being unable to endure the thought that "bonnie Prince Charlie" should be taken prisoner, the young girl, running as fast as she could without shoes or stockings, reached Moy in time to give warning of the danger. As soon as he received the tidings, Charles, in his robe de chambre, night-cap, and slippers, escaped to the neighbouring mountain, where he passed the night in concealment. While he thus ensured his safety, a blacksmith of the neighbouring village, who had

¹ Home's *History of the Rebellion*.

² John Hay's account of the retreat from Stirling, Home's *History of the Rebellion*.

also caught the alarm, undertook to defeat the enterprise; and with only a dozen of his companions posted himself in ambush on the Inverness road, and ordered his party not to fire until he had given the signal, and not in one volley but a running fire. As soon as Loudon and his troops were at hand, the warlike blacksmith shouted, "Here come the villains! Camerons, Macdonalds, down upon them and give no quarter!" and at the word, shots followed from both sides of the road, and the drummer, who was the foremost of Loudon's troops, was killed. This unexpected interruption brought them to a stand, and thinking that the whole army of the rebels was upon them, they took to their heels, and never halted until they had reached their quarters in Inverness. It is added that the generous girl to whom Charles owed his life almost lost her own, owing to the excessive fatigue of her long and hasty run, but that by care and attention her strength was restored and her health re-established.

To requite this unwelcome visit the Pretender on the day following (Feb. 17th) collected his dispersed troops, that were quartered in several places, and advanced upon Inverness; but Lord Loudon and President Forbes, who were unsupported by an unthankful government, and who had exhausted their own private means for retaining possession of the town, could occupy it no longer. They accordingly retired to Ross-shire by Kessock Ferry, carrying all the boats with them to the opposite side to prevent pursuit. The prince entered Inverness just as the royalist forces were leaving it, and laid siege to Fort-George, which, notwithstanding its title, was more of a barracks than a fortress. As it had a tolerably strong garrison, which had been left there by Lord Loudon, with plenty of ammunition, a stout resistance was expected; but as soon as some French officers in the rebel army had commenced the siege in form Fort-George surrendered. The provisions and military stores were a valuable acquisition to the rebels, and the fortifications, which were an eyesore to the independent high-spirited Highlanders, were destroyed. Thus far successful, they next proceeded, with sixteen cannon taken in Fort-George, to lay siege to Fort-Augustus, the other rein of the Highland bridle, and were equally fortunate, the garrison, consisting of about one hundred and fifty men, having yielded in a few days. The success of the rebels in other sieges was not equal to these first attempts. Fort-William could not be taken, as its communication was open by sea, and the Castle of Blair was resolutely and successfully defended by Sir Andrew Agnew, a veteran of the Marlborough school. But the affairs of the rebels

were daily becoming more ominous of failure and disaster. While the prince, who had established his headquarters at Inverness, was distrusting Lord George Murray, and quarrelling with his military proceedings, his troops were shut up within a barren district of the Highlands, which they soon exhausted of food. To add to the difficulties of Charles the sea was so closely watched that he could receive little assistance from France. Occasionally a ship or two reached Aberdeen or Peterhead in safety, but the greater number failed, and the Pretender was reduced almost to his last *louis-d'or*. In consequence of this want of money he was obliged to pay his troops in meal or barley, and this, when they tried to convert it into money, went but a little way to supply their wants.¹ Discontent and a mutinous spirit were the consequence; the men suspected that their pay was withheld by the officers, and desertions were becoming frequent. Nor were the foreigners, French and Spanish, in the service of the Pretender in a better mood. Knowing that by the laws of war their lives would be spared by the enemy, and sick of the rude living and privations of their Highland campaign, they were more eager to surrender than to fight, and only waited a decent opportunity to throw down their arms.

While these operations had been going on the Duke of Cumberland was not idle. His army, besides being plentifully supplied, had been reinforced by 5000 Hessian auxiliaries, and these being distributed in garrisons over the south of Scotland, he was enabled to bring all his British troops to act against the rebels. In March, the weather having become favourable for military operations, he advanced more closely upon the insurgents, and closed up the passes to the Lowlands to prevent their escape or receiving supplies of men and money, himself advancing with the bulk of his army and establishing his headquarters at Aberdeen. There it was hoped by the rebels that he would remain during the summer, so that they should have an opportunity of rallying and recruiting; but this hope was frustrated by his departure on the 8th of April from Aberdeen. His intention was to march to Inverness, and there offer battle to the rebels; and as he proceeded along the coast his army, which amounted to 8000 foot and 900 horse, was attended and supplied by the fleet. This movement compelled the recall of all the Highland detachments to headquarters, and the sieges they had undertaken were broken up. The duke proceeded first to Old Meldrum, and afterwards to Banff, and here he gave earnest of the merciless spirit in which his cam-

¹ Macdonald's Journal, Lockhart Papers, vol. ii.

paigned was to be conducted. Two rebel spies being taken, one of them employed in marking the numbers of the royal army by notches upon a stick, they were both hanged, one on a tree within the town and the other on the ridge-tree of a house a little out of the town, for want of a tree or gibbet.¹ Daily summary executions of this kind were taking place, and both in the march and halt the duke's course could be traced by the dead bodies suspended on the way. The chapels of the Episcopal Scots also were destroyed, as nurseries of Jacobitism and treason. Thus holding onward in his march, and still keeping the fleet and transports in sight, the duke arrived at Fochabers, on the right bank of the Spey, where he found a considerable force under the command of Lord John Drummond drawn up to oppose the royal army in crossing the river. Lord John had also raised a battery, the guns of which commanded the ford, while along the bank of the Spey some of the best marksmen were stationed, who kneeling down fired across the river with deadly precision. But the artillery of the duke, which was far more numerous as well as better served than that of the rebels, quickly silenced their battery and compelled them to retire. Having thus cleared the opposite bank the royal army crossed the Spey in three divisions, and although its water was deep and rapid and the ford narrow and slippery, they effected the passage with no greater loss than that of a dragoon and a woman, who fell from her horse and was drowned. Two days after they entered Nairn, and beyond the town some skirmishing occurred between the royal vanguard and the rear of the insurgents, but on the sudden arrival of Charles with his guard from Inverness to support the latter the English vanguard retired.

On that night (April 14th) Charles and his principal officers took up their quarters in Culloden House, the residence of President Forbes, while his troops lay upon the moor, where the heath served them for bedding and fuel, the night being very cold. On the morning of the 15th, expecting an attack, they were drawn up in order of battle on Drummossie Muir, about a mile and a half to the south-east of Culloden House. But as no enemy advanced Lord Elcho and a party of horse was detached to ride forward and reconnoitre, who came back with the intelligence that it was the Duke of Cumberland's birth-day, and that his troops were celebrating it at Nairn with feasting, drinking, and revelry. This news decided the Highlanders in remaining where they were instead of falling back upon Inverness; and, on a council of war

being held, it was resolved to improve the opportunity by making a night attack on the royal army, who, it was judged, would be soundly asleep and unguarded after a day of riotous festival. It was an occasion not to be neglected, as provisions had become so scarce that on that day only a biscuit had been served out to each man, and longer delay was thought dangerous, as the starving army was growing discontented and mutinous. Not a few of the Highlanders, indeed, had gone to Inverness to get something to eat, and when followed by their officers to bring them back had replied that they might shoot them if they pleased, but that they would not go back till they had got some food. It was hoped, however, that the midnight surprise would be crowned with victory, and that victory would bring them everything. But by this defection the evening march, which was appointed to commence between six and seven o'clock, was delayed till eight, and many soldiers were gone in quest of food whose absence could be ill spared. Every precaution, however, had been adopted to crown the enterprise with success. The heather had been set on fire, to convey the idea that they were still encamped on the heath, and "King James the Eighth," was given them for their watchword. They were ordered to march in the profoundest silence, in the attack not to use their firearms, but only their swords, dirks, and bayonets, and whenever they observed a swelling or bulging in the falling tents, there they were to strike and thrust vigorously. The enemy was to be attacked in front, flank, and rear at the same instant by three divisions of their army, the first of which was commanded by Lord George Murray, the second by Charles and the Duke of Perth, and the third by Lord John Drummond.

At eight o'clock in the evening, after several vexatious delays, this important night march commenced. The distance from Drummossie Muir to Nairn was twelve miles by the regular road, but the route which the rebels were appointed to take was considerably longer. The length of the way and the movements of such large bodies was accompanied with such impediments as could not be foreseen, and these began to appear almost as soon as the march had commenced. Even the darkness of the night, which appeared friendly to their enterprise, was against them, as the guides occasionally lost their way, so that van, centre, and rear often lost each other, and could not be reunited without frequent halts. Thus when two o'clock arrived, the hour at which they were to enter into action, they were still more than four miles distant from Nairn; and, exhausted by their privations, many of the hardy Highlanders had laid them-

¹ Ray's *History of the Rebellion*.

selves down by the way, especially in the wood of Kilravock, and could march no farther. It was decided by the principal officers that a surprise before daybreak, and with their army reduced to half its number, was no longer possible. Hepburn of Keith, the enthusiast who had conducted Charles into Holyrood House, endeavoured to urge them forward by representing that their broadswords would not be the worse of a little daylight, and that the red-coats would not have recovered from the effects of their debauch; but, with this solitary exception, it was unanimously judged better to retrace their steps to Drum Mossie Muir. Even while Hepburn was speaking the beating of a drum at their outposts showed that the royal army, instead of being unguarded and asleep, was awake and ready to receive them. It is also added that Cumberland himself was made aware of their design by spies in the rebel army, and had got his men under arms in preparation for the attack. At all events it is certain that Lord George Murray was convinced of the utter hopelessness of the undertaking, and that the order to retreat was obeyed with greater alacrity than that to advance, as most of the rebels reached their encampment in less than three hours.¹

On their return, dispirited and disappointed by this weary and unprofitable march, a council was called to consider what ought next to be done. A speedy decision must be formed, as Cumberland had left Nairn between four and five o'clock in the morning, and was advancing against them with a superior army, fresh, well-fed, and vigorous, while their own provisions were so exhausted that even the prince himself, on his return from the night march, could get no better breakfast than a little bread and whisky. Lord George Murray suggested that they should fall back and take up a position upon the other side of the water of Nairn; and that having drawn the Duke of Cumberland thither, they should retreat further back to the mountain passes, where cavalry could not act against them, and where they might protract the war at pleasure. But to such a retreat Charles was obstinately opposed, from a fantastic principle of honour, that would not shun an enemy's challenge to battle, however unfavourable the circumstances; and his views were confirmed by Sir Thomas Sheridan and the French officers, who thought of nothing but Prestons and Falkirk, and believed that the Highlanders would be victorious wherever they fought.² But, indeed, a retreat was already

difficult for an army exhausted with hunger, and while at least one-third of their number were either dispersed in search of provisions, or were lying despairing upon the moor for want of them. The advance of Cumberland made further discussion useless; and a Cameron, one of Lochiel's lieutenants, who had been left asleep in Kilravock wood during the night march, came running at eight o'clock to Culloden House, where Charles and his chief officers were resting, and told them that the royal army was on its march. They instantly drew up their troops on a part of Culloden Muir that was half a mile distant from the place they had previously occupied, their army extending in two lines, the right of which was composed of the Athole brigade, the Stuarts, and several other clans, under the command of Lord George Murray; and the left, of the Macdonalds under Lord John Drummond. This arrangement provoked the indignation of the Macdonalds, as they had occupied the right wing during the whole war, and had held that place of honour since the days of Robert Bruce and the battle of Bannockburn.³ Immediately behind the right of the first line were the two or three troops of cavalry whose horses had not been knocked up by the retreat into the Highlands; and behind the right of the second line, upon a gentle eminence, was Charles himself, with the body of reserve consisting of Lord Kilmarnock's regiment of foot guards, and about thirty horse, the miserable remains of two regiments of cavalry.

At eleven o'clock, when these arrangements were completed, the Duke of Cumberland's army came in sight, and halted within half a mile of the rebel front rank. At first it had been his opinion that they would not await an encounter, but when he found them thus drawn up, his preparations for battle were made with readiness and skill. He drew up his army in three lines, with his cavalry on each wing, and between every two regiments of the front line were placed two pieces of cannon, himself taking up his position between the first and second lines. In some measure to neutralize the terrible effects of a Highland charge, in which the claymore and target were still more than a match for the bayonet, he had directed his soldiers to thrust not at the man directly opposite, but at him who fronted his right hand comrade, and thus attack the side that was unprotected by a target.⁴ Having completed his arrangements, the duke addressed his army in one of those brief and homely, but animating speeches, which go so directly to the heart of every soldier on the

¹ Lockhart Papers.

² Chambers' *Jacobite Memoirs*; Statement of Patullo in Home's *History of the Rebellion*.

³ Lockhart Papers.

⁴ This statement is contained in a letter published soon after in the *Scots Magazine*.

battle-field. If there was any man of them, he said, who was reluctant or afraid to fight, let him go in God's name; for his own part, he would rather face the enemy with 1000 determined men at his back, than with 10,000, a tithe of whom were lukewarm. His speech was received with huzzas and cries of "Flanders! Flanders!" As it was now nearly one o'clock it was proposed that the attack should be deferred until the army had dined, but the duke more wisely resolved to avail himself of the present readiness and enthusiasm. "No," he replied to the proposal, "they will fight more actively with empty bellies; and besides, it would be a bad omen. You remember what a bad dessert they got to their dinner at Falkirk."

The battle was commenced by the rebels with a cannonade, but their guns were so ill served and unskilfully pointed that they did little execution. At first this fire could not be answered, as the duke's artillery, in crossing soft, boggy ground within five or six hundred paces of the rebels, stuck fast in the swamp, with the horses that drew it, upon which the soldiers, slinging their firelocks, dragged the cannon across the bog. They then answered the fire of the rebels with such accuracy and deadly effect, that the cannonballs made lanes through the Highland regiments. As the right flank of the rebels, at which this cannonade was directed, was protected by an old stone-wall, it was the wish of Cumberland to provoke them from their favourable position into the plain, and his wishes were gratified: impatient of the havoc made in their ranks by the royal artillery, the Highlanders in the first line clamoured to be led to the attack, and before Lord George Murray could give his assent, the right wing and centre of the rebel army, raising an angry yell, came on like a mountain torrent, hoping to silence the artillery by a sudden overwhelming charge. It was an awful moment of suspense; the charge might have been as successful as it was terrible, but its fury in the first instance was somewhat checked by a heavy discharge of grapeshot, accompanied with volleys of musketry. This staggered the Highlanders, but only for a moment; they recovered, rushed on, and charged with such fury that two regiments in the front line were broken through by the onset. But here their course was fatally arrested. Foreseeing the likelihood of such a charge, the duke had strengthened and advantageously posted his second line, which was drawn up three deep, the front rank kneeling, the second stooping forward, and the third standing upright; they reserved their fire till the Highlanders were close upon them, when they opened with such a heavy and close volley, that the ground was

covered in an instant with the bodies of the dead and wounded. After this the torn ranks of the rebels could no longer rally and reunite, for the royal troops, following up their advantage, closed upon them while they were a confused mass, and struck them down or drove them off the field. Many duniwassals and some of their best and bravest chiefs were the victims of this fatal onset; MacLaghlan was killed and trodden under foot, and Lochiel, who fell wounded, was carried off by two henchmen. This was the deciding event of the action, for all that followed was an unavailing resistance or scarcely more availing fight. While the rebel right and centre were thus all but destroyed, affairs were scarcely more hopeful with their left. The Macdonalds, offended at being placed there instead of the right, took their station in moody silence; and although the Duke of Perth, who was also placed there, exhorted them to act with their wonted valour, assuring them that in this case they would convert the left wing into the right, and that he would in future call himself a Macdonald, his exhortation was useless. It was equally in vain that their gallant chief, Keppoch, set them the example, by advancing against the enemy accompanied by a few of his kinsmen; they looked coldly on, although they saw him brought down and mortally wounded by several musket shots, while his anguish at their conduct was so deep, that he exclaimed with his dying voice, "My God! have the children of my tribe forsaken me?" After the defeat of the right wing, which the Macdonalds seemed to witness with satisfaction, they fell back in good order upon the second line. The left wing was still unbroken, but its chances every moment were becoming more desperate, as Cumberland's cavalry in pursuing the fugitives was closing upon their rear, increasing the hazard of their retreat. In the meantime, Charles, from the little eminence on which he had taken his station, had witnessed the failure of the charge and the rout of his army with astonishment; all was so different in its results from the similar proceeding at Prestonpans and Falkirk, that he could scarcely believe the testimony of his own eyes; and he was only recalled from his trance of bewilderment by Lord Elcho, who, spurring up to the spot, conjured the prince to place himself at the head of the left wing and lead it to a fresh charge, by which his army might be rallied and the disasters of the day retrieved. It was a desperate expedient which nothing but a mere chance could have made successful, but such chances were not unfrequent in Highland warfare. The conduct of Charles on this occasion has been variously represented; according to some, he

showed no disinclination to the attempt, until O'Sullivan and Sheridan seized his horse by the bridle, and led him by compulsion from the field. The other account, as given by Lord Elcho himself, which seems more worthy of belief, represents Charles as refusing his proposal, upon which his lordship, calling him an Italian coward and scoundrel, swore that he would never serve him or speak to him again. It is added that Elcho kept his word so well, that he would never consent to see Charles again; and that in their exile he was wont to leave Paris as soon as the Young Pretender had entered it.¹ The second line and left wing of the rebels, thus left to themselves, and pressed by the whole royal army, broke off in two divisions and retreated, the one to Inverness and the other to Ruthven in Badenoch. Such was the close of the battle of Culloden, in which the Duke of Cumberland, with an army mustering between seven and eight thousand men in excellent condition, defeated about half the number of starved and exhausted Highlanders. Thus the latter, in the midst of their unexampled miseries that followed, could console themselves in the thought that no honour had been lost in their defeat, and that they had done all that brave and true men could accomplish. Had Charles been equally brave and steadfast, there either would have been no battle of Culloden, or one that would have terminated in a glorious victory. About 1500 of the rebel army fell, of whom the greater part were struck down in the pursuit; fourteen stand of their colours were taken, 2300 firelocks, and all their baggage and artillery, while the whole loss to the royal army in killed, wounded, and missing, was estimated at not more than 310.

The chief care of the Duke of Cumberland after the victory was to pursue the fugitives so as to prevent them from rallying, and utterly to extirpate the rebellious spirit of the Highlands in a deluge of fire and blood. In the pursuit of the fugitives the dragoons, who had lost so much military reputation since their first flight at Colt-bridge, now attempted to retrieve their character by an indiscriminate carnage of the flying enemy, and they signalized their courage and zeal by following the chase to within a mile of Inverness. The duke also sent out flying detachments in every direction to arrest the fugitives and reduce the rebellious districts to submission. His proceedings immediately after the battle were a bitter foretaste of what the Highlands at large had to expect from the conqueror, and such as procured for him the title of "Cumberland the Butcher"—a stigma that has become as lasting

as their native rocks. The wounded rebels in Culloden were allowed to lie the whole day on the field uncared for, and on the following day most of those who survived were put to death in cold blood. Some were dragged out of hovels or from among the bushes into which they had crawled for shelter, and were either deliberately shot or despatched with the butt-ends of muskets. A single farm building in which twenty wounded rebels had concealed themselves was set on fire, and with all its helpless inmates was burnt to the ground.² To ensure the fulfilment of military justice and destruction the duke made Fort-Augustus his headquarters, and all round this unfortunate centre of disaffection the country was laid waste, the houses plundered or burnt, and the cattle driven away, while women and children perished of hunger. It adds to the misery of the narrative that in many cases these helpless creatures were to be seen following the march of the plunderers and entreating to have for their food the blood and offal of their own cattle on which the soldiers were banqueting. By these merciless processes, which the duke called "a little blood-letting,"³ the fever of Highland Jacobitism was cured, and the patient exhausted beyond the power of doing hurt. Thus matters went on till July, when Cumberland returned to Edinburgh, and afterwards repaired to London. In proportion to the craven dismay of the government at the march of the Highlanders to Derby was the reaction of triumph produced by the battle of Culloden; it was called a great and glorious victory, although little glory can be found in the achievement. A pension of £25,000 a year was voted to the duke and his heirs, and the freedom of many corporations were showered upon him to welcome him on his return. But while the successful soldier was thus rewarded, the patriotic statesman by whose sagacity and self-sacrifices the rebellion had been circumscribed within narrow limits and prepared for its easy overthrow was overlooked. We allude to Lord-president Forbes of Culloden. He had shut up Lovat within his harmless neutrality, and prevented several powerful chiefs from joining the Pretender; and even when the ill-advised government was refusing him the necessary supplies for securing the pacification or reducing the rebellion of the Highlands, until it required money to a hundredfold the amount for its suppression, he had been obliged to draw upon his own personal resources until his means were expended and his estate impoverished. When he appealed to the clemency of the conqueror in behalf of the

² Johnstone's *Memoirs of the Rebellion*.

³ Letter of Cumberland to the Duke of Newcastle, Coxe's *Memoirs of the Administration of the Right Hon. Henry Pelham*.

¹ MS. Memoir of Lord Elcho, quoted by Sir Walter Scott.

misguided insurgents, and spoke of the authority of law and their claims to a legal trial, Cumberland replied contemptuously, "What laws? I will make a brigade give laws." In like manner, when he appealed to government for the repayment of the sums he had advanced in its service, his demands were neglected, and he died soon after in comparative poverty, and without the prospect of restitution.¹

We must now turn to the unfortunate Charles himself, as he stood on the field of battle and witnessed the destruction of his last hopes. Had he but possessed a tithe of the Bruce's spirit, whose steps he professed to follow, all might not yet have been lost; and by a last decisive charge he might either have regained the day or at least have secured a safe retreat and the means of protracting the war. Even at the worst he would have died with the character of a hero instead of living to be branded as a coward and hunted as a fugitive, with the chance of being captured and made a public spectacle and derision. But nothing of the kind seemed at that time to be in his thoughts. His chief object was personal safety for the moment, and to secure this, after crossing the Nairn at the ford of Falie, about three miles from the field of battle, he next directed his course to Gortuleg, accompanied by his chief advisers, Sheridan, Sullivan, and Hay. At Gortuleg that hoary traitor Lovat was at present residing, and we may imagine with what a throbbing heart he was awaiting the issue of a battle on which all his fine-spun schemes were suspended, and which was either to make him or mar him beyond recovery. In this state the following vision, so graphically painted by Sir Walter Scott, suddenly broke upon him, and filled him with consternation:—"A lady, who, when a girl, was residing in Lord Lovat's family, described to us the unexpected appearance of Prince Charles and his flying attendants. The wild, desolate vale on which she was gazing with indolent composure was at once so suddenly filled with horsemen riding furiously towards the castle, that, impressed with the belief that they were fairies, who, according to Highland tradition, are visible to men only from one twinkle of the eyelid to another, she strove to refrain from the vibration which she believed would occasion the strange and magnificent apparition to become invisible. To Lord Lovat it brought a certainty more dreadful than the presence of fairies or even demons. The tower on which he had depended had fallen to crush him, and he only met the Chevalier to exchange mutual

condolences." After resting and partaking of some refreshment Charles continued his flight to Glengarry's castle of Invergarry, where he arrived early on the morning of the 17th, but so utterly exhausted that he and his party could only throw themselves on the floor in their clothes. In the meantime Ruthven, which was the chief rallying-point of the Highlanders after the battle of Culloden, already mustered 1200 fugitives, while there was the prospect of an hourly increase; and, elated by this promise, the undaunted Lord George Murray sent off a messenger to Charles with the tidings and an invitation to come and put himself at the head of this forlorn hope. He suggested that they might still maintain a summer campaign and guerrilla warfare among the hills, where regular troops could not easily reach them or act against them, and support themselves until a favourable change of circumstances or the arrival of assistance from France might enable them to resume the offensive. But Charles was so utterly dispirited by his defeat as to be incapable of sympathizing with such bold measures, and in his answer, after thanking these faithful adherents for the bravery they had shown and their continued attachment to his cause, he advised them to disperse and shift for themselves until a better opportunity should present itself. This discouraging answer sufficed to break up the rendezvous at Ruthven, and from that moment the rebellion was completely extinguished.

The chief object of Charles was now to secure his escape from the kingdom, and as every pass and outlet was guarded, and every district watched, while a reward of £30,000 was proclaimed for his apprehension, escape scarcely seemed possible. Clanranald, in whose country he had taken shelter, proposed to build huts for him in the woods, in which he and his attendants might find safety and accommodation until the means had been found of passing over to France; but the prince, conceiving such a project too dangerous, was impatient to pass over to the Isles, where he thought the pursuit would be less urgent, with greater facilities to escape. He accordingly set off in a boat accompanied by Sullivan, Macdonald, a priest, and one or two attendants, but was driven by stress of weather into Benbecula, where for three days he found no better shelter than a hut that was neither wind nor water tight, and no better food than oatmeal and water. From Benbecula he was conveyed by the chief of Clanranald to a temporary dwelling called the Forest-house, in South Uist, where he might either escape among the mountains or by the sea, a boat being kept in readiness for the purpose; and here he amused himself for several weeks in shooting deer or

¹ Culloden Papers. The president died on December 10th, 1747, at Edinburgh.

wild fowl, until the pursuers had closed upon him both by land and water. General Campbell, who had swept the Isles in quest of the fugitive, landed at last in South Uist; the Macdonalds and Macleods of Skye, whose wavering loyalty the prince's disasters had confirmed, assisted Campbell in the pursuit; the coasts were surrounded with cruisers, and the ferries with guards, while every boat and article that could float was secured, and no man allowed to leave the island without a passport. It was at this crisis, when land and water, and even air was watched, and when all exit seemed impossible, that the *deus ex machina* entered upon the scene in the person of Flora Macdonald. This heroic young woman, a relation of the chief of Clanranald, having been introduced to Charles, was so deeply moved by his forlorn condition, and the dangers that beset him, that she resolved at every risk to herself to procure his escape. The prince was therefore transformed into a woman, Betty Burke by name, an excellent spinster of flax, who had been recommended to Flora as a servant on account of her skill in that useful household art, and whom she was going to take to her native island of Skye; and she easily procured a passport from her stepfather, who then happened to be in South Uist, in which passport Betty Burke was especially included. It was full time that they should be stirring, for while Charles attired in his female disguise was meeting Flora on the sea-shore, to concert measures for their departure, General Campbell and his assistants were searching Clanranald's house in quest of the prince. On the next morning, having parted with all his attendants, the prince and Flora set sail in a shallop for the island of Skye; but the boatmen, having mistaken their course owing to a thick fog, rowed so near the shore that they came within reach of a party of Macleods, who discharged their muskets at them but without doing any mischief. After a very perilous voyage, in which the pursuit of enemies was more to be feared than the dangers of waves and tempests, the fugitives landed on the 29th of June at Moydhlat, from which place Flora Macdonald sent back the boat to South Uist, and had the prince conducted to the house of Sir Alexander Macdonald. Here the prince, having thrown off his disguise which had now become known to the pursuers, bade farewell to the faithful woman who had so well discharged her task, and resumed his precarious flight by passing over to the small island of Raasay.

Although Charles was thus extricated from one danger by means that were almost miraculous, his risks, instead of being ended, were multiplied at every step. Into these, however, which were more perilous and adventurous, as

well as attended with sharper privations than those of Charles II. after the battle of Worcester, we have no design particularly to enter. From the islands he was hunted to the mainland, and from the west Highlands to Ross-shire, seeing, wherever he turned, the ruined houses and desolate condition of the faithful adherents of his cause, and finding the difficulty of eluding those pursuers, whose eagerness the reward set upon his head had sharpened, becoming more and more serious. The hunger, the privations, the toil, the sleeplessness during this pursuit, in which he was hunted like a partridge upon the mountains, had such a startling resemblance to those which the ancestors of his royal house had inflicted upon the Covenanters, as might serve too appositely to point a moral. From these distresses it is more agreeable to turn to the kindness of those simple mountaineers who watched for him, protected him, and ministered to his necessities. Neither the temptation of the reward for his apprehension could allure nor the punishments denounced for favouring him deter them; and at one time seven sheep-stealers, whose residence was a cave, received him into their dreary home, obtained for him food and raiment by plundering those who more abounded in such necessities, and entertained and sheltered him in their best manner during five weeks. It is said, also, that when Charles, impatient of his long confinement, or wishing for better society, began to inquire what gentlemen resided in the neighbourhood, they suspected that his purpose was to leave them, and employed the following unanswerable arguments to dissuade him. If any of themselves betrayed the prince no one would afterwards associate with them or converse with them, so that they must leave the country. On the other hand such a reward as £30,000 was an immense inducement to a poor gentleman, who could retire with the money to Edinburgh or London, where he would find plenty of people to live with him and eat his meat and drink his wine.¹ This common-sense representation was irresistible, and Charles submitted to his confinement, while their plans to make it more tolerable were sometimes sufficiently grotesque. On a particular occasion one of them, after a long journey for the purpose, brought back for the prince one of the choicest dainties he had ever heard of—it was a little cake of gingerbread! An incident before this time had occurred that is said to have abated the ardour of pursuit. A certain gentleman named Mackenzie, who had been one of the prince's officers, and somewhat resembled him in face and figure, was shot by

¹ Home's *History of the Rebellion*.

a party of soldiers while the pursuit was at the hottest; and, from his dying exclamation, it was thought that he was no other than the Pretender himself. His head was cut off and carried to the Duke of Cumberland, who took it to London in his own carriage as a trophy. Such is the story upon which much romance has been constructed, but as it was, it seems to have facilitated the means for the deliverance of Charles from close pursuit and his final escape to the Continent.¹

On leaving the cave of the kind freebooters Charles was conducted to a place called Mel-lanauir in Badenoch, where the "gentle Lochiel" and Cluny were lurking in a concealment appropriately called "the Cage," that was in the face of a high rugged mountain, and rendered difficult alike of discovery and access by the stones, crevices, and scattered wood interspersed round its access. Here the wanderings of the princely adventurer were in danger of being abruptly terminated by his best friends. When Charles and his guides were approaching the Cage its inmates were alarmed by this advance of five armed men; and supposing that this was a party come to apprehend them, Lochiel, who was unable to escape, having been lamed by his wound at the battle of Culloden, resolved to receive the new-comers with a discharge of musketry. His party accordingly was quickly arranged, and all were in readiness to fire, when their supposed enemy was discovered to be no other than the prince himself. It was a joyful meeting, and after his long abstinence a few collops, hastily dressed with butter in a saucepan and eaten with a silver spoon, was such a luxury, that Charles exclaimed, "Now, gentlemen, I live like a prince!" after residing for some time in the Cage, which was so ingeniously constructed that it seemed half-suspended in the air, and was concealed like a bird's nest by the surrounding thicket, the fugitives learned that two French vessels expressly sent for their deliverance had anchored in Lochanua. This joyful intelligence set the fugitives again in motion, and Charles, accompanied by Lochiel, Colonel Roy Stewart, and the chief of Lochgarry, went to Borrodale, which they reached in two days, by travelling only during the night; and on the 20th Sept. he embarked with a hundred of his followers, who at the tidings had repaired to the spot, and were anxious to escape. It was a singular coincidence, that the *Happy Privateer* of Morlaix, which carried Charles from Scotland, belonged to Walsh, by whom the expedition to its shores had been originally equipped, and that the place of embarkation

was the same at which he had been landed fourteen months before.² Thus terminated an adventure which rashness had planned and incapacity conducted, but which seemed more than once on the point of succeeding; and which all Europe regarded with wonder on account of the valour of its supporters and the weakness and pusillanimity of its head. Had Charles been a hero in earnest such an enterprise, if it had not been crowned with success, would at least have fallen with dignity, and his name would have been commemorated among those illustrious of past ages whose renown failure cannot diminish.

Although the career of the Pretender, so far as Britain is concerned, had ended, such devotedness was preserved by his enthusiastic admirers, and such wishes and hopes for his return, that a short glance at his after history may be necessary for the completeness of the narrative. On setting sail from Lochanua the *Happy Privateer* was so fortunate in a thick fog as to sail through the midst of the English fleet undetected, and arrive in safety near Morlaix on the 29th of September; and at Paris Charles was received with great sympathy, while the French populace received him at the opera as the fitting object of their applause. But his political influence was gone, and his successive applications to the courts of France, Spain, and Prussia for means to resume his enterprise were coldly received and disregarded. To add to his other disappointments his only brother Henry, with the concurrence of his father, entered the church in 1747 and became a cardinal, by which the chances of perpetuating the Stuart line were most materially diminished. As his further stay in Paris after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle would have tended to interrupt the harmony between France and England, the French court was desirous to be rid of him, and for this purpose proposed that he should take up his residence in Switzerland, where a revenue and establishment would be assigned to him sufficient for his recognized rank as Prince of Wales; but to this proposal Charles not only turned a deaf ear, but refused to leave Paris. As force was necessary for his ejection from the capital, he was seized one evening by the guards while repairing to the opera, bound hand and foot, as he always carried arms about him to oppose such an attempt, and after a few days of close confinement in the state prison of Vincennes, was carried to the frontier of Savoy and set free to wander at large in any country but France.³ After this rough dismissal, and a short stay

¹ Johnstone's *Memoirs of the Rebellion*.

² Cluny's Narrative, Home's *History*.

³ Lockhart Papers.

which he made at Avignon, he travelled for several years incognito, and without advertising his friends of his whereabouts, so that sometimes he was heard of in Holland, sometimes in Germany, and sometimes even in Paris; and there were curious rumours of his having paid two visits to England in 1750 and 1753. But still worse for his royal prospects than the apathy of courts was the deterioration which had taken place in his own personal character. His hereditary selfishness had assumed the form of a sordid love of money, and while he allowed his faithful followers, who had lost all for his sake, to starve, he kept his hoarded louis-d'ors carefully locked in his strong-box. Another habit still more repulsive was his intemperance in drinking. In his wanderings in the Highlands, after the battle of Culloden, it frequently happened that the chief and indeed only means of refreshment and sustenance was whisky; but the use of such stimulants became a habit, and the accomplished prince of Holyrood, the wonderful hero of the campaign of 1745-46, had degenerated into a sot. His domestic arrangements kept pace with his other faults and infatuations. Among his mistresses to whom he had attached himself in Scotland was a certain Miss Walkinshaw, for whom he sent some years after his return to the Continent, and to this lady he intrusted all his political secrets and the correspondence he kept up with his adherents in Britain. As it was known, however, that her sister was house-keeper of the dowager princess of Wales, it was suspected she was in the pay of the English ministry; and, alarmed for the cause of the prince and their own personal safety, his Jacobite correspondents in Britain sent one of their number to him to intimate their apprehensions, and request that Miss Walkinshaw should be removed from his society. In this interview the gentleman used every argument but in vain; the Stuart pride and impatience of advice was as strong with the fallen prince in his exile as it could have been had he been seated on the throne of the three kingdoms; and he answered proudly that although he did not care for the lady, and could part from her without regret, he would not be counselled or directed in his conduct by any mortal man, and that he would rather endure the utter ruin of his interests than abate one jot of his princely independent rights. Finding that all reasoning on the subject was hopeless, the agent of the party took leave of him with these indignant words: "What can your family have done, sir, thus to draw down the vengeance of heaven on every branch of it through so many ages?" When he returned with the account of this interview the

Jacobite leaders, indignant at this rejection of their reasonable demands, and regarding all further efforts in his cause as hopeless, reconciled themselves to the government.¹

On the death of the Old Pretender in 1766 Charles became reconciled to his brother the cardinal, and after a long delay he consented to submit to marriage in the hope of perpetuating his royal claims to the British crown. Accordingly, in 1772, when he was fifty-two years of age, with a frame considerably bent as if from old age, with a face red and bloated, and eyes that were dull and sleepy, the effects of his intemperate habits, he married the Princess Louisa of Stolberg, who was only in her twentieth year. But marriage came too late to reclaim him, and after a life of unhappy union for eight years his wife eloped with her lover, Count Alfieri, the celebrated Italian dramatic poet. After this event the Pretender's natural daughter, whom he had by Miss Walkinshaw, and whom he ennobled with the title of Duchess of Albany, took the charge of his establishment, while Charles, now sunk into dotage, devoted himself to the study of astrological prophecies, and hoarded money for a fresh expedition to Britain, which he still regarded as no impossible event.² But it is time to drop the curtain upon this picture of degraded and fallen senility in one who had once been so brilliant and so beloved. At the beginning of 1788, and in the 70th year of his age, he was struck with paralysis which in a few days proved fatal, and his body lies interred under the magnificent dome of St. Peter's at Rome. Thus the illustrious race of Stuarts passed away, leaving their rights of lineal descent, as well as the throne itself, to the house of Hanover.

Resuming the regular thread of the narrative we return to the course of events which signalized the suppression of the rebellion. After Cumberland had accomplished his merciless work in the Highlands, the summary executions by the sword were to be superseded by the forms of the law and by legal trial and sentence; but still, instead of being a merciful change, it was a gleanings of the harvest which war had reaped. The prisons of England and Scotland were filled with victims awaiting their doom, and the holds of several war-vessels and transports were packed as closely as African slave-ships with those who were destined to the secondary punishment of transportation. But in such a close crowding of human beings the usual diseases rose both in the ships and prisons, which made no distinction between the criminals and their keepers,

¹ Dr. King's *Anecdotes*.

² Despatch of Sir Horace Mann, 30th November, 1779, quoted by Lord Mohun from the MS.

the victors and the vanquished, but swept them off in one common doom.¹ An instance of this merciless and summary justice was afforded at Carlisle, where four hundred Scottish prisoners were thrust into a jail scarcely large enough for forty. A speedy jail delivery being necessary the common men were allowed to cast lots, one in twenty to be tried and hanged, and the rest to be transported to the West India plantations without the delay of a trial. The more formal processes of law were preceded by a manifest breach of the articles of Union; for the Scottish prisoners, instead of being tried in Scotland, where it was feared that their punishment would be too lenient, were removed for trial to England, where the partiality was wholly in an opposite direction. Among the first that suffered was Colonel Townley, the commander of the Manchester regiment. He was hanged on Kennington Common with all the horrid accompaniments denounced on the crime of high treason, and eight of his officers and men were similarly executed at the same place. In many other towns the work of trial and execution went on with similar activity, and eighty heads of traitors set up in various parts of the north warned the inhabitants of what they might expect in any fresh attempt of rebellion. But the public appetite which fed and thrived upon these horrible exhibitions was not to be satisfied with inferior victims, and there were leaders of the conspiracy in store to gratify the public craving. The Earl of Kilmarnock had been taken prisoner at Culloden, Lord Balmerino had been captured soon after, and these noblemen, with the Earl of Cromarty and Lord Macleod, were sent to London in May to abide their trial. Stirling of Keir was apprehended in a Dutch ship in the Clyde and lodged in Dumbarton Castle. The worst of them all, and the one most worthy of punishment—Fraser of Lovat, was also among the captured. After his parting interview with Charles, and finding that all was lost, he caused himself to be carried, being too old and frail to walk, to an island in Lochmorar; and there, surrounded by a guard of his armed clansmen, and confiding in the difficulties of access to his place of concealment, he boasted that he could defy the utmost power of King George to take him. But in this instance, also, he overreached himself, for a party of sailors and soldiers having been landed from a king's ship upon the island, found him after a careful search concealed between two feather beds, and lying nigh the side of the lake with his strong-box beside him.² Other authors of the rebellion,

although they did not die on the scaffold, had scarcely a more enviable fate. The Marquis of Tullibardine, who was attacked in his flight by sickness, and obliged to give himself up to his pursuers, was sent prisoner to London and soon after died in the Tower. The titular Duke of Perth got on board a French ship waiting on the west coast, but died before he reached the Continent from disease, fatigue, and disappointment. As for Murray of Broughton, who during the rebellion had officiated as the Pretender's secretary, he too was apprehended, and he only escaped the death of a traitor, which he had deserved more than the rest, by turning king's evidence against them.

The trials and executions of noble personages were now conducted with remorseless vigour, and of these none were so unfair, or excited so much sympathy, as the trial and death of Charles Radcliffe. He had been *out*, as it was termed, with his brother the Earl of Derwentwater in the rebellion of 1715, and like him had been taken prisoner, tried, and sentenced; but he had escaped the block by breaking prison and flying to the Continent. Being lately captured on board a French vessel bringing arms and supplies to the Young Pretender, instead of being subjected to a fresh trial he was condemned upon his old sentence passed thirty years before. It was in vain he objected that he was a subject of France and held a commission from the French king; his plea was overruled and an application for delay disregarded, and he underwent his sentence on Tower Hill with the greatest fortitude.

On the 28th of July the Earls of Cromarty and Kilmarnock and Lord Balmerino, having claimed their privileges, were brought before the peers in Westminster Hall. It was a solemn and imposing spectacle. Three parts of the hall were inclosed with galleries and hung with scarlet, and 139 lords were present. Kilmarnock and Cromarty pleaded guilty, and threw themselves on the king's mercy; but the old Lord Balmerino pleaded not guilty, and took exceptions to the indictment. He proposed to disprove it by showing that he was not present at the siege of Carlisle, being, on the contrary, ten miles distant from the place; but his objection was overruled, and a few witnesses being examined, proved that he had entered Carlisle at the head of a regiment of horse with his sword drawn, although not on the day specified in the indictment. He was then found guilty, and sent back to the Tower. During the whole trial the old man's jocularly was irrepressible. He played with his fingers upon the axe, which, according to form, was laid beside him during the proceedings; and on a gentleman coming

¹ Ray's *History*; Letter of Nicolson, Bishop of Carlisle, to Archbishop Wade, Sir Henry Ellis's Collection.

² *Scots Magazine*, 1747, p. 614.

nigh to hear more closely, his lordship took it and held it like a fan between their faces. A little boy who was near him being not tall enough to see the trial, his lordship made room for him, and placed him near himself. One of his reasons, he afterwards said, for pleading not guilty, was that so many fine ladies who were present might not be disappointed of their show. On being brought up to receive sentence Kilmarnock and Cromarty entreated for mercy. "My own fate," said Cromarty, "is the least part of my suffering; but, my lords, I have involved an affectionate wife with an unborn infant as parties of my guilt to share its penalties. I have involved my eldest son, whose youth and regard for his parent hurried him down the stream of rebellion. I have involved eight innocent children, who must feel their parent's punishment before they know his guilt. Let the silent eloquence of their grief and tears supply my want of persuasion." Lord Kilmarnock, who added great powers of eloquence to a noble person and graceful manners, made a speech which was regarded as a splendid effort of persuasive oratory. He pleaded the loyalty of his ancestors and of his own, which had remained unshaken until after the battle of Prestonpans, and the humanity he had shown to the king's soldiers when taken prisoners; and as an alleviation of his guilt he declared that he had instilled loyal principles into his eldest son, who was serving in the Duke of Cumberland's army, and had been present at the battle of Culloden. Sentence of death was pronounced upon the three noblemen. Previous to the day appointed for execution powerful intercessions were made in behalf of Kilmarnock and Cromarty, and in the latter case they were successful, owing to the pleader, the Countess of Cromarty. Dressed in deep mourning, and in a condition that demanded tender sympathy for a wife entreating for the life of her husband, she offered her petition to the king, and swooned in the act of presenting it. A refusal in such a case would have been the most unpopular of kingly acts, and Cromarty was reprieved. Few or no entreaties were made in behalf of old Balmerino, who was too proud to seek such interference, and when he heard of the efforts that were made for the others he sneeringly remarked, "They might have squeezed in my name between them."¹

On the 18th of August Kilmarnock and Balmerino were executed on Tower Hill. On their being received by the sheriffs of London and Middlesex the deputy-lieutenant of the Tower exclaimed, "God save King George!" to which Kilmarnock silently bowed, but Balmerino an-

swered, "God bless King James!" When he was brought to the scaffold Kilmarnock died devoutly and penitently, and his head was separated from his body at a single blow. After he was despatched Lord Balmerino was brought out. He was dressed in the same regimentals which he had worn at Culloden, and he advanced upon the scaffold with the air of a conqueror rather than of one who was going to execution. He bowed to the people, who were crowded in thousands, not only on the ground before and around Tower Hill but upon the masts of ships in the river, read the inscription upon his coffin with an approving nod, and rebuked his friends for their sorrowful demeanour on the scaffold; and in a clear unbroken voice he read a long paper, which he afterwards delivered to the sheriff. It was his dying testimony or confession. He mentioned King George as a good sort of prince, but denied his right to the throne. He avowed his unalienable devotedness to the Stuarts, and declared that Prince Charles was so sweet a prince that flesh and blood could not resist him. The same loyalty to the dethroned family he expressed when trying the fitness of the block, exclaiming, "If I had a thousand lives I would lay them all down here in the same cause." After feeling the edge of the axe, and asking the headsman how many blows he had given Lord Kilmarnock, he presented him with three guineas, declaring he had never been rich at any time, and that this was all he had to offer. He pulled off his coat and gave it also to the executioner, whom he patted on the back and exhorted to do his duty like a man without hesitating or trembling; and when he took off his periwig he replaced it with a tartan night-cap, declaring that he would die a Scotchman. When he knelt down at the block he uttered in a loud voice his last prayer, exclaiming, "O Lord, reward my friends, forgive my enemies, bless King James, and receive my soul;" and with that he gave the signal for the death-stroke "by tossing up his arm, as if he were giving the signal for battle." The headsman, taken by surprise, being not prepared for such alacrity, dealt the first blow unskilfully, so that two other strokes were needed to sever the head from the body.²

But the arch-rebel, Lord Lovat, was still spared, not, however, from clemency, but because it was difficult to prove any overt act against him, not having appeared in arms like the rest. Thus far his selfish caution and trimming between both parties had befriended him, until Murray of Broughton brought forward his

² Account of the behaviour of the two lords, published by authority of the sheriffs; Ray's *History*; Horace Walpole's Letters to Mann.

¹ Walpole's *Letters*.

revelations by which the correspondents and secret friends of the Pretender were betrayed. In these, as well as the testimony of several of his kindred and clansmen, whom he had aggrieved beyond the endurance of clanship, there was enough to convict the veteran conspirator, and Lovat was brought to trial on the 9th of March the following year (1747). The trial lasted seven days, and during its proceedings his conduct was a strange medley of cunning, boldness, and buffoonery, so that he alternately puzzled the crown lawyers with his arguments, and made the court ring with laughter at his jokes. According to Horace Walpole, who closely attended the whole trial, Lovat's behaviour was the strangest that ever had been witnessed in any court or anywhere else. But his jokes and arguments were equally ineffectual to save him, and from Murray of Broughton's revelations, the testimony of Robert Fraser his secretary, and his own letters, the deep complicity of his lordship in the whole of the late rebellion was established beyond the power of contradiction. In these it was shown that he had signed the association in support of the Pretender, that he had accepted from him the commission of lieutenant-general of the Highlands, and the patent creating him Duke of Fraser; that he had sent round the fiery cross to muster his vassals, and commissioned them to join the Pretender under the conduct of his son, the Master of Lovat. He was found guilty, but even when his sentence was pronounced his spirit of jesting and the merriment it caused were unabated. When he withdrew for the last time from Westminster Hall he exclaimed, "Farewell, my lords; we shall never meet again in the same place." Notwithstanding these flashes of free and easy humour he omitted no means of escaping from the penalty of his deeds, and on one occasion he wrote to the Duke of Cumberland, reminding his grace how often he had carried him in his arms when a child. He also showed that he had no objection to perform the part of Murray of Broughton, for he offered in the same letter to make such discoveries as would be a hundred-fold more useful to government than the chopping off his old gray head. And, to wind up his manifold inconsistencies, he wrote to his son, then confined in Edinburgh Castle, in such a strain of devout exhortation as would have become a Covenanter or an ancient martyr. In his last hours he professed himself a Papist of the Jansenist party; and his conversation showed the same accommodation in political belief, in which attachment to the Stuart race was oddly blended with professions of affection and esteem for the reigning family. His levity and love of jesting did not for-

sake him even upon the scaffold, to which he was brought out to suffer on the 9th of April. After a hearty breakfast he declared that he was never in better spirits, and rejoiced that at least he would die like a Highland chief, that is to say, not in bed.¹ A short time before he came to the place of execution, a large scaffolding on Tower Hill built for the accommodation of spectators broke down, by which eighteen persons were killed and a greater number mortally hurt. It is said that Lovat, on learning of this disaster, exclaimed with fiendish glee, "Ay, ay, the mair mischief the better sport!" but this story rests upon no better foundation than popular rumour. On ascending the scaffold, and looking upon the sea of up-turned faces that met his view, he humorously said, "God save us! why should there be such a bustle about taking off an old gray head that can't get up three steps without two men to support it?" and to a friend who looked sorrowful he exclaimed, patting him on the shoulder, "Cheer up thy heart, man; I'm not afraid, why should you?" On giving the usual present of money to the headsman, he, in allusion to the shortness of his neck, bade him strike fairly, "For," said he, "if you should cut and back my shoulders, and I should be able to rise again, I shall be very angry with you." Resuming a patriotic style, he repeated the well-known line of the Roman poet, "*Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori*," but never was the sentiment so travestied as when it issued from such lips. His head was struck off with one blow of the axe, but his remains, instead of being sent down to Scotland, for a funeral at which he had intended that all the pipers from John-o'-Groat's to Edinburgh should be engaged for his *coronach*, were quietly interred at the back of the Tower.²

The remaining events of this memorable rebellion may be briefly told. Sir John Cope, the unfortunate hero of Prestonpans, after his defeat was discountenanced at court and derided by the public, while the lampoons in prose and verse which were published against him seemed more than enough to effect his entire extinction. But Sir John boldly weathered the storm, and on being brought to trial by a court-martial he was honourably acquitted. It was found that he had been wanting neither in conduct nor military courage, and that his disaster was owing to a concurrence of events that might have proved too hard for any commander. It was not, indeed, the first occasion in which a regular, well-disciplined army had been put to rout by the sudden,

¹ Letter of Sir Arthur Forbes to the Lord-president, Cul-loden Papers. ² Horace Walpole's Letters to Mann; Ray.

resistless charge of half-armed Highlanders. A trial ought more justly to have been held upon the vapouring, vainglorious Hawley, who at Falkirk had shown far greater incompetence than Cope, and sustained a worse defeat than that of Prestonpans; but from this ordeal, which he could scarcely have passed through with impunity, he was saved by his patron, the Duke of Cumberland. As for the duke himself, he was not so fortunate. After his easy victory at Culloden, in which he defeated an army of starved, dispirited, and exhausted Highlanders with forces that more than doubled the number arrayed against him—after his summary and sanguinary executions in the Highlands, and his incessant demands for more executions when he returned to London, by which he obtained the unenviable title of “Cumberland the Butcher” in England as well as Scotland—he got, after many political intrigues, the office which he so greatly coveted, of commander-in-chief in the war against France in 1757. But against tried soldiers and skilful leaders his inferiority was soon manifested. He was outmanœuvred, defeated, and driven from the banks of the Rhine and the Weser into a corner between the Elbe and the German Ocean, until he had no chance of escape, and there he was obliged to sign the shameful convention of Closter-Seven, by which he surrendered his army and the electorate of Hanover into the hands of the enemy until peace should be restored. It was a submission so scandalous in the military history of the country that when the duke returned home his father, George II., welcomed him with these words: “Here is my son, who has ruined me and disgraced himself.” Another important personage of the drama in 1745–46 was Flora Macdonald. Her courage, devotedness, and ingenuity had saved the prince, and facilitated his escape from Scotland when his capture would otherwise have been inevitable; and for this grave offence she was arrested and conveyed to London for trial. At this time she was a young woman of twenty-four years of age, and this, with her comely appearance and *naïve* manners, so struck the Londoners, that she soon became a heroine in their eyes, and government was too tolerant or too much ashamed to proceed against such an offender. She had also, although unwittingly, done our rulers good service, as, had the Pretender been captured, they would have been more perplexed than ever about his disposal, as they could neither punish him as a traitor, nor confine him, nor yet let him go at large. It was well for them, therefore, while they were in this sore strait, in which their own personal character and the safety of the country were in perplexing antagonism, that this Hebridean damsel unex-

pectedly stepped in and solved the dilemma. After a confinement of twelve months she was dismissed without trial, and with £1500 in her pocket, which had been collected for her by the Jacobite ladies in London.

After so many executions an act of indemnity was passed, with an exception against eighty persons who had been engaged in the rebellion and had fled from the country. Bills were also passed in parliament for the prevention of all future rebellions in Scotland in behalf of the Stuarts. By one of these the master and teacher of every private school was required to swear allegiance to King George, his heirs and successors, and register their oaths. By another the Episcopalian clergymen in Scotland, who were generally Jacobites, were curtailed of their authority, and non-jurors in general restricted. For the Highlands bills were passed not only for disarming the Highland clans but restraining the use of the Highland garb, which was permitted to none but soldiers and officers in the royal army. This attack upon the very costume of the poor Celts was felt so keenly that many ventured to brave the threats of a prison rather than the coercion of Lowland nether habiliments, and among the modes of eluding the requirement some, it is said, wore breeches, not upon their legs, but upon a pole over their shoulders. The prohibition, however, which was not very strictly enforced, soon became a dead letter, and in process of time the tartan plaid and philabeg, so dear to the hearts of the Highlanders, became as prevalent as ever.

But the most important and effectual measure, not only for the effectual suppression of rebellion, but the future welfare of Scotland, was the suppression of feudal jurisdiction in the Lowlands and patriarchal authority in the Highlands. By certain heritable jurisdictions, which had from time immemorial belonged to some families of the aristocracy, and which the articles of the Union had left untouched, the regular administration of justice by the king's courts was often prevented, and the court of the baron and the authority of the baron-bailie were inconsistent with that jurisdiction by which the community at large ought to be regulated. But the inconsistency was still greater in the Highlands, where the authority of the chief was paramount to that of royalty itself, while the laws themselves were different from those of the realm. It was in these independent authorities of Lowland lord and Highland chief that the administration of justice found its strongest check and the resistance to constituted rule its strongest support, and it was full time, therefore, that both should be abolished. The chief resistance to such a measure might be ex-

pected from the Highland clans, but this was the less to be dreaded, as the law for depriving them of their arms was still in force. Accordingly, before the parliament rose in 1746 two orders had been issued to the Court of Session, the one to prepare the draught of a bill for remedying the inconveniences arising from the different kinds of jurisdiction in Scotland, the other to inquire what regalities and sheriffships were held in that part of the United Kingdom, how they had been obtained, and by what right they were held. No such draught was prepared, but suggestions were offered in its stead, which were laid before parliament at its first meeting in January, 1747. The suggestions were to the following effect:—That circuit courts should be held twice a year at Glasgow, Stirling, Perth, Aberdeen, and Inverness, at which offenders from the Highlands as well as other parts might be tried; that trial for all offences inferring the loss of life or limb should be confined to the Court of Justiciary at Edinburgh or the judges of these circuits, leaving to the lord of the jurisdiction the escheats arising from the convictions; that lesser offences should remain with the sheriffs; and that if the latter were still allowed to try in criminal cases they should report their sentences to the Justiciary Court for its approval or modification, with a full account of the trial. It was also suggested that the sheriffs should still retain the right of trial in civil cases where debt did not exceed 200 merks Scots (or £11, 2s. 2½d.), and the baronial or bailie courts their usual jurisdictions in small debts, trespasses, and petty offences. As sheriffs and stewards had at present no other legal reward for doing their duty than sentence money, which was a sort of poundage out of the sum decreed for, it was suggested that instead of this a reasonable salary should be allowed to the judge in proportion to the valued rental of each shire and stewartry, and that he should hold his office *ad vitam aut culpam*, in which case “men would soon be found willing to qualify themselves for the discharge of such offices, and desirous to continue in them by the faithful discharge of their trust.” Finally, it was stated that, “though the high jurisdiction, which by the grant of *pit* and *gallows* is in barons, may very properly be restrained, yet it seems to be expedient, not only that the baron’s jurisdiction in respect to the recovery of his rents, but also that his authority with respect to the correction of lesser offences and trespasses, and the recovery of small debts due by one tenant to another, be left entire, as the preservation of the peace and of good neighbourhood, without engaging the lower class of mankind in expensive lawsuits, seems to be of great consequence.”

In consequence of these suggestions a bill was

brought into the House of Lords, and afterwards into the Commons, entitled “An act for taking away and abolishing the heritable jurisdictions in that part of Great Britain called Scotland; and for restoring such jurisdictions to the crown; and for making more effectual provision for the administration of justice throughout that part of the United Kingdom by the king’s courts and judges there; and for rendering the Union more complete.” This bill, which was fraught with such consequences to the Scottish members of both houses, encountered a keen opposition; but it was in behalf of a hopeless cause that would soon of itself have died a natural death. In June, therefore, the bill was passed, of which the following is a summary:—All the heritable jurisdictions of Scotland, comprised in those of justiciary, regalities, baileries, constabularies (with the exception of the office of High-constable of Scotland), and all sheriffships, deputies, &c., were to cease on the 20th of March, 1748, and their powers to be transferred to the king’s courts. The rights still to be reserved to baronial courts were the power of trying in cases of assault, violence, and other smaller offences, of which the punishment did not exceed a fine of twenty pounds sterling, three hours of confinement in the stocks, or a month’s imprisonment for failure in the payment of the fine. All private prisons or dungeons were to be abolished, and no person was henceforth to be incarcerated except in a place that had grates or windows, and was accessible to his friends. For every shire a sheriff-depute was to be appointed, who should be an advocate of three years’ standing; he was to hold his office by royal warrant for seven years, but afterwards *ad vitam aut culpam*; and that a competent salary should be assigned to him, with power to appoint one or more substitutes during his pleasure. Lastly, the fines and penalties imposed in these courts, by which the poor had been oppressed, and justice bought and sold, were to be abrogated, and the shares of those fines or penalties which had formerly fallen to the judge were to be paid into the royal exchequer.

By this wholesale and decisive act of legislation all the lingering feudalism of Scotland was swept away. It had no longer any plea except use and wont for its continuation; but such an apology, when tried by the light of the eighteenth century, could no longer be availing. It was to be expected that these time-honoured privileges would not be destroyed without a struggle, and both within parliament and without there were arguments both loud and personal against the measure. Were the articles of the Union which guaranteed these privileges to be thus set aside? Were private property and

family rights and distinctions to be thus recklessly disregarded? Was the crown to be strengthened by this additional weight of patronage and influence that the liberty of the people might be the more easily destroyed? To these remonstrances it was truly answered, that the fair and equal administration of justice was of greater importance than private interests, and ought to supersede them. Nor did this change violate the Treaty of Union. By a clause of the compact it was stipulated, that "no alteration be made in the laws which concern private right, except for the evident utility of the subjects within Scotland"—and here was a case that demanded the abrogation of the old jurisdictions and the establishment of the new. It was in vain also to object that the power of the crown would be increased, and the liberties of the people endangered by the change; instead of being a war of the crown against the people, it was a union of both against the tyranny of those in whom exorbitant powers were vested. The power of truth and the odium of the late rebellion were too strong to be resisted, so that although, in the House of Lords, ten peers entered their protest against the bill, not one of them was a Scot. The question of a money compensation to the bereaved was not of such easy settlement; but this, too, was finally adjusted. The amount demanded had originally been more in accordance with the imaginary value of these hereditary privileges than their substantial profits, and well-nigh a million had been originally talked of as a fair and just estimate; but the price paid by government was £152,037. It was a fair *solatium* for a dying system whose hours the course of nature had already numbered, and which no power of political leech-craft could have revived.

To turn now to some affairs in which Scotland was mainly concerned as part of the United Kingdom. The war of the Austrian succession, in which Britain was still involved, and which had seemed to offer a favourable opportunity for the enterprise of the Young Pretender, came to an end in 1748 by the signing of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. It had brought little of either profit or glory to Britain on the whole, though one or two of the battles that took place are sufficiently noteworthy to be here mentioned. One of these was the battle of Dettingen, on which occasion the British troops were under the leadership of the Scottish nobleman Lord Stair, as commander-in-chief, though the king himself arrived to take the nominal command. The Earl of Stair had not only a great reputation as a general and diplomatist, but was also a noted reformer in agriculture and rural economy

generally, being the first Scotsman to plant turnips and cabbages in fields upon a large scale. He had been an active opponent of Sir Robert Walpole, and had assisted in bringing about the prime-minister's resignation early in 1742, being soon after raised to the rank of field-marshal. When England determined upon giving an active support to Maria Theresa, and to assist in carrying out the terms of the Pragmatic Sanction, Lord Stair had received the supreme command of the troops sent to the Continent, and had advanced into Bavaria to join the Austrian general, Von Khevenhüller. He was opposed by the able French general, the Duke de Noailles; and when King George arrived he had allowed the forces under his command—consisting of English, Hanoverians, Hessians, and some Austrian regiments—to be cooped up in a narrow valley that runs along the river Main from Dettingen to Aschaffenburg. After holding several councils of war the king resolved to get out of this valley at all hazards and force his way to Hanau, where the magazines with provisions and forage were. When the king advanced towards Dettingen he found his way barred by a strong French force under the Duke de Grammont, the nephew of Noailles. The position of the allies now seemed very critical, as a strong French force had entered the valley at Aschaffenburg, which the king had left behind him, while his flank was exposed to the French batteries on the opposite bank of the Main. Nothing was left, therefore, to the British but to surrender or cut their way out. Fortunately for them, however, Grammont was rash enough to advance from his secure position and to rush to meet them. The king, who behaved with the utmost coolness and gallantry, and was ably seconded by the Duke of Cumberland, formed his infantry into a dense column, charged the enemy, and soon drove them backwards in headlong retreat. Noailles tried to remedy the disaster, but was too late. The French were panic-stricken, and in their hurry to escape many of them were drowned in the river, while a large number were taken prisoners. The battle was fought on June 27th, 1743, and this was the last occasion on which a king of England led his troops in person against an enemy. Lord Stair had behaved with his usual bravery in the battle, and had almost been taken prisoner, owing to his being short-sighted and his eagerness to be ever in the front. After the victory he was greatly disappointed that the king would not carry out further operations recommended by him, and resigned his command. His resignation was unwillingly accepted by the king, and he was soon again employed, having been appointed to the supreme

command of all the troops in England when a Jacobite rising was apprehended in 1744. He died in 1747.

The battle of Fontenoy, fought in May, 1745, was less fortunate for Britain and her allies. The immediate occasion of this battle was the march of an army of British, Hanoverian, and Dutch troops, under the chief command of the Duke of Cumberland, to the relief of the fortress of Tournai, which was invested by a superior French force under the skilful generalship of Marshal Saxe. When the allies reached Fontenoy, several miles distant from Tournai, they found the French encamped on the gentle heights which rise from the right bank of the river Scheldt, with that river and the village of Antoine on their right, Fontenoy and a narrow valley in their front, and a small wood on their left. Their position was strengthened by redoubts and other fortifications, and, as at Dettingen, the French had a free passage across the river by a bridge. The battle began early in the morning of the 11th by a brisk cannonade on both sides, and by six o'clock both armies were closely engaged. The Duke of Cumberland, with the British and Hanoverians, advanced against the French left, while the Dutch moved forward to attack the French right. The Dutch failed in their assault, and forthwith withdrew, remaining little more than cowardly spectators while their allies bore the brunt of the battle. The brave British and Hanoverians had thus a serious task before them, and when the combat came to close quarters they were cut down in heaps by the enemy's artillery. Forcing their way onward, however, they carried the French position in front of them, and still pressed forward with the view of getting to the rear of Fontenoy and cutting the French off from their bridge across the Scheldt. At this point of the battle victory almost seemed to have declared itself on the side of the allies, when Marshal Saxe, seeing that the Dutch were still holding aloof, brought up all the troops he could collect in order to crush the British and Hanoverians by a last desperate effort. The struggle now became fiercer than ever, and perhaps the most furious onslaught on the British was made by the brave Irish brigade in the pay of France. Force of numbers and the fire of the French artillery at last compelled our troops to fall back, but this they did slowly and steadily and with their faces to the foe. The French were victors, but their losses were as great as those of the allies, and the British troops at all events lost no honour in the fight. It is related of the Duke of Cumberland that he was the last in the retreat, that he called upon his men to remember

Blenheim and Ramilies, and that he threatened to shoot one of his officers whom he saw running. It is a pity that so brave a man, and one possessed of various soldierly qualities, should have so soon after been guilty of the deeds that fixed upon him the odious title of the "butcher of Culloden." The Highlanders in particular highly distinguished themselves at Fontenoy by their bravery and feats of arms. One of them, a soldier of the name of Campbell, belonging to what was then Sempill's regiment, afterwards known as the famous 42nd, "killed nine Frenchmen with his broadsword, and, while aiming a blow at a tenth, had his arm carried away by a cannon-ball. The Duke of Cumberland nominated him to a lieutenancy on the field; his portrait was engraved; and there was scarcely a village throughout England but had the walls of its cottages decorated with the representation of this warlike Celt."¹

The Duke of Cumberland was again commander in the Netherlands in 1747, in which year the army of the allies was defeated at Laffeldt, near Maestricht, by the French under Marshal Saxe. As had been the case at Fontenoy, the British were insufficiently supported by their allies, and the brunt of the battle fell upon them. They fought with their usual dogged steadiness, and before the struggle was over some 10,000 of the enemy lay stretched upon the field. The defeat of the allied force would have doubtless been much more serious than it was had it not been for a brilliant charge by Sir John Ligonier at the head of the Scots Greys, the Inniskilling Dragoons, and two other regiments. Leading on these, he dashed upon the whole line of French cavalry with such daring impetuosity as to carry everything before him, and thus made a diversion which enabled the Duke of Cumberland to effect an orderly retreat to Maestricht. Sir John himself was taken prisoner by a French carbineer after his horse had been shot under him, but his regiments were able to retire with deliberation. The French loss on this day was considerably greater than that of the allies. The French soon after this captured the strong fortress of Bergen-op-Zoom, the work of the celebrated engineer Coehorn, at that time deemed almost impregnable. It should have held out much longer than it did, but was taken by dash and audacity, and through the negligence and careless security of the besieged. Almost the only resistance the French met with when they entered the place was from a body of Scots. "Two battalions of Scottish troops in the pay of the States-General of Holland were collected in

the market-place when the French entered the town, and they attacked these assailants with such fury that they were driven from street to street until, fresh reinforcements arriving, the Scots were compelled to retreat in their turn. They continued to dispute every inch of ground, however, and fought until two-thirds of them were killed on the spot."¹ A Scottish brigade, we may here remark, was kept up for many years in the Dutch military service. By the

Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, which ended this war, conquests were to be restored as between the different parties (but Frederick the Great was left in possession of Silesia), and the Pragmatic Sanction giving the Austrian throne to Maria Theresa was acknowledged. One article of the treaty bound Louis XV. to give up the cause of the Pretender and exclude the Stuarts from France; and this, as we have already seen, was done.

CHAPTER VI.

REIGN OF GEORGE II. (1748-1760).

Death of Frederick, Prince of Wales—Introduction of the New Style of reckoning time—Vulgar notion as to the loss of eleven days—Act passed for settling the management of the forfeited Highland estates—Income to be applied to the improvement of the Highlands—Astonishment at the amount of mortgages upon the estates—Recognition of claims though known to be not genuine—Famous trial at the first circuit court held at Inveraray—James Stewart of Aucharn found guilty of the murder of Colin Campbell of Glenure—General doubt as to the justice of the sentence—Sympathy caused by the execution of Dr. Archibald Cameron for his share in the rebellion—Hostilities between the British and French in North America—Increase in the forces of the country—Scotland zealous in encouraging enlistment by bounties and otherwise—Harsh measures adopted in recruiting men for the army and navy—Outrageous and arbitrary proceedings of the military authorities—War formally declared against France—The Seven Years' War—Loss of Minorca—Admiral Byng condemned and executed for his conduct in connection with this—The Black Watch or 42nd Regiment sent to America—New regiments of Highlanders now raised—Conduct of the Black Watch in America—Popularity of Pitt in Scotland—War vigorously carried on—Capture of Quebec by General Wolfe—Gallant conduct of the Highland soldiers—Other successes—Proceedings of a French squadron in Scottish waters—Demand for a militia force for Scotland—Bill thrown out in parliament—Act continuing the special measures passed for keeping down the Highlanders—Death of George II.—His character—Management of Scotland during his reign—Archibald, Duke of Argyle, long administers the country—John, Duke of Argyle and Greenwich.

Few events requiring to be here recorded took place during the first two or three years after the signing of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. In 1751 Frederick, Prince of Wales, eldest son of the king, died suddenly, leaving his son George to inherit his title, and afterwards to ascend the British throne as George III. Frederick had long been at enmity with his father, and had in a sense been at the head of a petty court of his own. Though he had a certain popularity, neither his character nor his conduct was such as to make him deeply regretted by any one. The next year was introduced the New Style of reckoning time, originally brought into use by Pope Gregory XIII. in 1582. By the time we now speak of the calendar as employed in Britain was eleven days behind the true time, and an act of parliament was passed by which eleven days were dropped from the month of September in reckoning, the 3rd of the month being designated

the 14th. Many of the ignorant vulgar supposed that in this way they had been basely robbed of eleven days, and members of parliament, after assisting in passing the measure, were annoyed by people demanding that they should give them back their eleven days. The Scottish vulgar were long unwilling to accept the new mode of computing time, more especially since the pope—that "man of sin"—had been the author of it, and the old style was long steadily adhered to—indeed the old style in some few matters still makes its influence felt.

The same year (1752) an act was passed for the purpose of settling the position and method of managing the estates that had been declared to be forfeited by participators in the recent rebellion. This act was designated as one "for annexing certain forfeited estates to the crown unalienably, and for making satisfaction to the lawful creditors thereupon; and to establish a method of managing the same, and applying the rents and profits thereof for the better civilizing and improving the Highlands of Scot-

¹ Smollett.

land, and preventing disorders there for the future." Among the estates thus dealt with were those belonging to Lovat, Lochiel, the Earl of Cromarty, Lord John Drummond, Macpherson of Cluny, besides others. The clear yearly income of the estates was to be applied as the king and his successors should direct, for the purpose of promoting in the Highlands and islands of Scotland the Protestant religion, good government, manufactures and industry, and loyalty to the crown. To carry out these intentions commissioners and trustees were to be appointed, without salaries, to manage the estates, these officials being empowered to engage stewards or factors under their supervision, receiving remuneration at a rate not exceeding five per cent of the rental; while salaried clerks and other necessary officers were also to be engaged. Leases were to be granted for any term not exceeding twenty-one years, or forty-one years under certain conditions; but no one person was to enjoy any lands or tenements other than mines or fisheries, at a greater annual rent than twenty pounds at most. The leaseholder must also be a residenter and was not to have the power of sub-letting or assigning his lease, and must also have taken the oaths requisite by law to qualify persons for offices of public trust in Scotland.

Considerable astonishment was expressed when a statement was laid before the House of Commons, at the amount of the mortgages upon these estates, the aggregate sums in all or most cases exceeding the total value of the subject; and the spirit of the government—then directed by Mr. Pelham—must be considered as anything rather than vindictive, when these claims, although known to be in many cases fraudulent, and made by trustees or friends for behoof of forfeited persons, were yet protected. Nor was the remark of the Duke of Bedford altogether groundless, that it would be for the interest of Scotland to have frequent rebellions, if after having paid £10,000 to Glasgow to make good the damage done the city by the rebels, and £152,000 to the nobility and gentry for the loss of their heritable jurisdictions, England should now pay more than both these sums put together for planting religion and loyalty in the Highlands. The act above mentioned did certainly contribute to the prosperity of the Highlands, although one of its proposed objects, that of preventing the disaffected chiefs or their heirs from again getting possession of their ancient inheritances—as might have been the case if the estates had been put up to public sale—was by the generosity of a succeeding administration treated as unnecessary.

One of the new circuit courts for the High-

lands was held at Inveraray in the autumn of this year, and a trial took place before it which caused a great sensation in the country. It was the only one at which a lord justice-general presided, the then justice-general being the Duke of Argyle, the judges who sat in the case being Lords Elchies and Kilkerran. Lord-advocate Grant was the prosecutor. The facts from which the trial arose were as follows:—Colin Campbell of Glenure had been appointed by the barons of the exchequer factor upon the forfeited estates of Ardsheil, Mamore, and Callart, and according to instructions received had removed from their holdings the chief tenants who had been engaged in the late rebellion. This naturally gave rise to much angry feeling in these districts, and in the month of May Campbell was treacherously shot while passing on horseback through a wood on the farm of Lettermore, in Duror of Appin, Argyleshire, accompanied by Mr. Mungo Campbell, writer in Edinburgh, and Donald Kennedy, a sheriff-officer, and attended by a servant. Suspicion speedily fell upon James Stewart of Aucharn in Duror of Appin, who had been removed from his farm on the estate of Ardsheil, and who was half-brother of Charles Stewart of Ardsheil, who had forfeited the estate by joining in the rebellion. The actual perpetrator of the murder, however, was said to be a kinsman and former ward of James Stewart, namely, Allan Breck Stewart, who had deserted from the royal to the rebel army, and after the battle of Culloden had entered as a cadet in the French service, but was then on a secret visit to his native country. James Stewart was apprehended a day or two after the murder was committed, and was brought to trial as accessory to, or art and part in the murder of Colin Campbell of Glenure. Criminal letters were executed also against Allan Breck Stewart, but the latter was fortunate enough to evade the grasp of the law, and to escape to France. Between the Campbells and the Stewarts a deadly feud existed, and no doubt the accused would have been assured of a fairer trial had the venue been changed from Argyleshire to Edinburgh; but as it was he was brought before the court at Inveraray, and eleven of the jurors were Campbells. After a trial of some length, at which a great many witnesses were examined, more especially on the side of the prosecution, and after a long deliberation by the jury, a verdict of guilty was unanimously returned. Stewart was sentenced to be hanged and his body to be hung in chains, a sentence that was duly carried out. The evidence against him was by no means conclusive, being merely presumptive and circumstantial, and there was a very com-

mon feeling in the country that he was unjustly condemned. He died protesting his innocence, and leaving a long written statement alleging the same, and explaining his own position and actions in regard to the whole affair.¹

The fate of Dr. Archibald Cameron, brother of Lochiel, called forth much more unmingled sensations of pity. Dr. Archibald had studied medicine, and settling among his clansmen in Lochaber had been unwearied in his efforts on their behalf, assisting them both by his medical knowledge and otherwise. He had joined in the rebellion rather "from compulsion of kinship" than from choice, according to his own statement, and had acted more in the character of a physician in the rebel army than of a combatant. After Culloden he was in constant communication with Prince Charles, and escaped to France along with him and others, being also attainted and his life forfeited. In 1753 he returned to Scotland, on purpose, as was supposed, to rescue for his orphan nephews some portion of the wreck of their father's property, but being apprehended in the neighbourhood of Loch Lomond, he was taken to Edinburgh and thence to London. Here he was arraigned upon the act of attainder, was sentenced to death and executed, meeting his fate, as a spectator remarked, "like a brave man, a Christian, and a gentleman." The execution of a man of Cameron's character—one too who had been so little of an active rebel, and so many years after the rebellion had been entirely crushed—was generally regarded as an act of unnecessary severity; but it seems the government had been informed that his visit was partly in connection with the cause of the Young Pretender, and had reference to moneys sent from France to keep this cause alive. Another statement was that he was an emissary of the King of Prussia, who was intending, according to rumour, to throw 15,000 men into the Highlands in support of a new rebellion.²

Matters had for some time been tending towards a collision between Britain and France in North America, where at this time France held possession of Cape Breton Island and Canada, as well as the extensive tract to which the name Louisiana then applied. Between the French and English colonists great jealousy existed as to the trade in furs with the Indians and the fisheries on the coasts; and the French were also much annoyed at the growing importance of our colony Nova Scotia. In 1752 under the Marquis Duquesne, they began to

encroach on our colonies. A line of forts was built by them along the river Ohio and the Alleghany Mountains to block out the British from the internal trade. One of these forts, called Fort Duquesne, was on the site of the present town of Pittsburg in Pennsylvania. The object of the French was to connect Canada and Louisiana by a chain of military posts, make themselves masters of the Mississippi as well as of the St. Lawrence, and keep the British to the territory between the Alleghanies and the Atlantic. Such proceedings could only end in war, and fighting began in 1754. It was continued next year, and resulted in a disaster to the British, a force under General Braddock being routed by an ambuscade of French and Indians when it was marching to attack Fort Duquesne. On this occasion a young Virginia major of militia helped by his skill and coolness to save a portion of the British troops. His name was George Washington.

Notwithstanding these hostilities war was not yet formally declared, however, though such a declaration was naturally looked forward to as being inevitable in the near future. Early in 1755 a royal message acquainted the House of Commons that it was necessary from the state of affairs to increase the forces of the country. The intimation was met with ready assurances of support. The injuries that France had heaped upon the British colonists in America were universally resented, and the home country was eager to exact reparation, and prosecute the war with vigour, no portion of it being more zealous in this direction than Scotland.³

As a means of bringing the naval forces into a state of greater efficiency, bounties were offered to seamen who volunteered for service in the navy, and an active press was set on foot to entrap others in any way connected with shipping, who might be suitable for the naval service of the country but had no desire to enter it. In addition to the bounties offered by

³ It may be not uninteresting to recall the fact that 1755 was the year of the great earthquake at Lisbon, which caused the loss of some 35,000 lives and left the city a heap of ruins. It took place on the 1st November, and its effects were felt over an immense area, including England and Scotland. Loch Lomond and several others of the Scottish lakes were observed to be strangely agitated on the day on which it occurred, the agitation of Loch Lomond having lasted for over an hour in the forenoon, and the water in the loch having risen and fallen a perpendicular height of two and a half feet. The earthquake was the cause of the issue of a royal proclamation appointing a general fast to be held throughout the three kingdoms on 7th Feb. 1756, as an occasion of public humiliation for national sin and wickedness, and of acknowledgment of the goodness of the Almighty—"who hath protected and preserved us from imminent destruction, especially at the time when some neighbouring countries in alliance and friendship with us have been visited by a most dreadful and extensive earthquake." The British parliament voted £100,000 for the relief of the sufferers by the calamity, this contribution being sent to Portugal partly in the form of provisions and other necessary supplies.

¹ The incidents connected with this celebrated trial have been worked up by Mr. R. L. Stevenson in his novel *Catriona*.

² Sir Walter Scott in his introduction to *Rob Roy* has some interesting remarks on this episode.

government, many of the Scottish burghs, and even a number of noblemen and private citizens, advertised that they would give bounties to seamen who voluntarily came forward and entered themselves to serve on board the fleet. Edinburgh, for instance, offered a guinea and a half to every able seaman, and a guinea to every ordinary seaman, who presented himself before a magistrate as a volunteer for service in the navy; while twenty shillings were offered to any person who should make known the hiding-place of any seaman concealed in the city, so that he might be secured by the naval authorities. Glasgow, Aberdeen, Perth, Dundee, Montrose, Dumfries, Inverness, and other towns offered similar bounties, while, as an additional encouragement, some places engaged to advance money to the wives and families of such married sailors as joined the navy—the money to be repaid out of their wages. Bounties were also offered, both by towns and private persons, to men who were willing to join the land forces of the country. All this was not deemed sufficient, however, and early in 1756 a special act was passed for the speedy and effectual recruiting of the land forces and marines. By this measure justices of peace, magistrates of burghs, and certain other persons were empowered to act as commissioners, for the purpose of impressing for land or sea service all able-bodied men who did not follow any lawful calling or possess some lawful means of subsistence.

It is easy to see that powers such as were conferred by this act might readily be abused, and indeed impressment under any form has always been accompanied by much harshness and barbarity. But hitherto Scotland had had little experience of the iniquities of impressment. Before the Union no such thing as forcibly dragging a man away from his wife and family and sending him to serve abroad in the army or navy was ever heard of in Scotland; but now, under the pretext of their being without any lawful employment, or of being seamen—the parties having perhaps only occasionally engaged in fishing,—numbers of industrious peasants or labourers were torn from their homes, and sent to what they regarded as little better than exile or slavery. At Perth a party of soldiers was brought into the town, and upwards of forty young men, chiefly servants and apprentices, were seized and carried to the barracks, where the greater portion enlisted through fear. At Dundee the town was surrounded by a battalion of foot and a similar seizure made. In the vicinity of Edinburgh a church was surrounded during divine service and several of the congregation carried off, while throughout the country a number of

equally gross outrages were committed, the only favour allowed to pressed men in many instances being that of choosing the land or sea service. Several applications made to the Court of Session were ineffectual for procuring redress; the men who had enlisted were found to be soldiers under the act, and though proved to have been trepanned into the service, were gravely pronounced to be beyond the powers of liberation, but they might have recourse against the recruiting officers! Great exertions were, however, made by the country gentlemen to discourage those irregularities, and prevent at least the forcible enlistment of landmen, as a general dread had seized the country labourers, many of whom deserted their service and fled to the hills. Resolutions were adopted at the county meetings for raising the number of men required, first by apprehending all the sturdy beggars and such like idlers, and then balloting for any deficiency. In some cases criminals resting under sentence, and persons who had been put in jail but were not yet tried, were made to lend their aid against the enemies of their country.

In May, 1756, war was formally declared against France, and the struggle known as the Seven Years' War began. The scene of hostilities by land was partly in Europe, partly in India, and partly in North America, and the chief opponents on the one side were Britain and Prussia, on the other France, Austria, and Russia, and latterly Spain. At the beginning of the war the incompetent Duke of Newcastle (brother of the late premier, Henry Pelham) was at the head of the government, but by this time William Pitt, the elder, afterwards Earl of Chatham, had begun to show his remarkable abilities, and at an early stage of the war the administration of public affairs fell into his hands. Before this took place, however, the nation was deeply incensed by the loss of Minorca, which had been held by Britain since 1708, but was now (1756) taken by the French. Minorca had been left in a miserable state of defence, and probably having some knowledge of this, the French got ready a vast armament in the Mediterranean in order to pounce upon the island. When our ministers were informed that this French fleet would soon sail from Toulon they declared that it was a mere feint, intended to cover a descent upon the coast of England or Ireland; but as Minorca was prized next to Gibraltar, and as Pitt and the people began to cry out against this neglect, they at last despatched Admiral Byng to the Mediterranean with what he thought an insufficient fleet. Before his arrival the Duke of Richelieu had landed in Minorca with 16,000 men; and

La Gallissonnière was cruising off Port-Mahon with thirteen French ships of the line. Byng had only ten ships of the line, and these in not very good condition; nor were three which were added to his force in the Mediterranean, and which were of inferior strength, in better trim. With that despondency which is in itself an assurance of failure or defeat, Byng, on the 18th of May, approached Minorca and saw the British colours still flying over the fortress of St. Philip, though the French flag was seen on other points, and numerous bomb-batteries were playing upon the castle. After some manœuvres the two fleets were ranged in order of battle, and Byng threw out a signal to engage. His second in command, Rear-admiral West, bore down with his division, and, coming to close quarters, attacked the French with such spirit that he drove several of their ships out of the line, though his own ships suffered severely. But Byng would not advance, saying that he was determined to keep his line entire—that nothing was so dangerous as an irregular fight; and, notwithstanding the remonstrances of his own captain, he left West to be destroyed or fall back, and himself kept at such a wary distance that his own ship, a noble vessel of ninety guns, was scarcely brought into action at all. La Gallissonnière, who stood entirely on the defensive, and certainly had no inclination to continue the battle, edged away under easy sail to join the ships which West had beaten; and the next morning the French were altogether out of sight. La Gallissonnière, who, before Byng's appearance, had landed supplies and reinforcements for the besiegers, went back towards Toulon, claiming the honours of victory. Having thus failed in destroying the French ships, Byng next failed in helping the English garrison, though his instructions ordered him to use all possible means in his power for its relief. He called a council of war, in which he stated various considerations that led him to the conclusion that the fleet ought to make the best of its way back to Gibraltar. All his officers, and some colonels of regiments who had gone out with him from England, subscribed to this opinion, and Byng returned forthwith to the Rock. Governor Blakeney held out at Port-Mahon till the beginning of July, when he obtained honourable terms of capitulation. Admiral Hawke was sent out to take the command in the Mediterranean, and Byng was sent home under arrest. When he arrived at Portsmouth the people were with difficulty prevented from tearing him to pieces, and the same rage against him prevailed all over the kingdom. As a matter of course he was tried by a court-martial, which, after sitting for about

a month, pronounced that he had not done the utmost that he should have done against the enemy, that his offence amounted to negligence, for which under the twelfth article of war the penalty was death. He was strongly recommended to mercy, but the popular clamour had at least some influence in preventing this being granted, and he was shot on board the *Monarque*, in Portsmouth harbour, March 17, meeting his death without the least sign of fear.

It was in December, 1756, on the resignation of the Duke of Newcastle, that Pitt became first secretary of state and virtual prime-minister, under the Duke of Devonshire as nominal premier. By this time the famous Scottish regiment, afterwards so well known as the Black Watch or 42nd, had already acquired a kind of national reputation on account of gallantry displayed on the Continent. At present it was known as Lord John Murray's Regiment, from the name of its commander. The first battalion of it sailed from Plymouth early in 1756, and some seven hundred recruits for it followed shortly afterwards. The reports of the time state that when the Highlanders landed in America they were received in the kindest manner by all ranks and orders, but more especially by the Indians, who flocked to see them in great numbers from all quarters; and it is declared that, "from a surprising resemblance in the manner of their dress and the great similitude of their language, the Indians concluded they were anciently one and the same people, and most cordially received them as brethren."¹ Pitt, who had at once perceived the advantages to be derived from employing to a greater extent the kilted mountaineers, adopted without hesitation the most generous policy for securing their attachment in the future. Not many weeks after he was in office two Highland battalions were raised, and were officered by men who had served in the rebel army. One of these bodies of men (eight hundred in number) consisted almost entirely of Frasers, and had as its colonel Simon Fraser, late Master of Lovat, who, having studied law, had passed as an advocate, and was one of the counsel for the crown in the trial of James Stewart of Aucharn already noticed. Archibald Montgomery, brother of the Earl of Eglinton, had the command of the other.

Additional bodies of Highlanders were soon after enlisted in the army; battalion after battalion of Macdonalds, Camerons, Macleans, Macphersons, and others, belonging to clans formerly disaffected, were enrolled, and their chiefs, or connections of their chiefs, got com-

¹ *Scots Magazine* for 1756, p. 520.

missions, so that in the course of this war, which lasted till 1763, there are said to have been as many as 10,000 men contributed to the British army by the Highlands alone, while as many more were drawn from the rest of Scotland. The valorous achievements of these natives of Scotland were witnessed in America, on the continent of Europe, and in India, and the soundness of the great statesman's judgment in withdrawing from Scotland men who might have given trouble at home to fight the battles of the empire abroad, and thereby acquire glory for themselves and their country, was completely vindicated. The Black Watch or 42nd Regiment, we may mention, remained in America till 1767, having been augmented by a second battalion in 1758. It served not only on the American continent, but also in the West Indies, and was present at almost every engagement that took place in this quarter of the globe. The men distinguished themselves both by their bravery in the field and also by their good conduct when in barracks, as the Americans themselves publicly acknowledged when the regiment went home. Their bravery obtained them the honour of being made a "royal" regiment, and thus they returned to Britain as the Royal Highlanders, a title which officially belongs to them at the present day. When abroad their losses were so severe that not more than thirty of the privates who had left Europe with the regiment returned home.

The cabinet of which Pitt was a member was so heartily disliked by the king that Pitt had to leave office in April, 1757. He now became a popular idol, and addresses and gold boxes rained down upon him from all quarters. On this occasion some of the burghs of Scotland, Stirling in particular, presented him with an address, thanking him for his services to the state. It was soon seen that his presence in the cabinet was indispensable, and in June he was again in office as secretary of state, leader in the House of Commons, and virtually prime-minister, determined to prosecute the war with vigour and to a successful termination. Matters did not promise well, however, at first, and in particular before the end of the year Hanover was lost for a time by the capitulation of the Duke of Cumberland and the inglorious convention of Closter-Seven, already mentioned. In 1758 some advantages were gained, especially in North America, where the French were driven from several positions and the island of Cape Breton captured. The following year was a glorious one for Britain, not only on account of the battle of Minden in Prussia, where a combined force of British, Hessians, and Hanoverians defeated the French, but also for the capture of

Quebec, a victory which was speedily followed by the conquest of all Canada.

The capture of Quebec, Sept. 1759, is one of the most celebrated events in military history. The place is strong by nature, and was strongly fortified when General Wolfe commenced operations against it, being held at this time by a superior French force under General Montcalm. Wolfe's first attacks were unsuccessful, when he conceived the daring plan of scaling the steep cliffs leading up to the Plains of Abraham, an elevated plateau extending towards the back of the town, so as to attack it on the side where the fortifications were weakest. In the darkness of night his men were landed by boat-loads at a time, and without notice or alarm given. The first to be put ashore were some Highlanders, who began to climb the steep face of the rock, using their hands more than their feet, and grasping at every bush or bough, and every projection that could aid their ascent. The Highlanders were followed by the rest of the troops, and at last the French guard, hearing a rustling noise but seeing nothing, fired down the precipice at random. Their fire was returned equally at random, whereupon the French in terror at the extraordinary attack ran off. General Wolfe now stood on the Heights of Abraham, but his troops (amounting only to 5000 men) were greatly inferior in numbers to those of the enemy. At first the French could scarcely believe their eyes when they saw the British troops, but recovering from his surprise, Montcalm advanced against the daring foe, confident in his ability to crush them. The French came on with great boldness, but they opened fire too soon, whereas the British had been told to load with two bullets each and reserve their fire for close quarters. When the enemy were within some thirty yards of them they poured in a deadly discharge, following it up by an attack with the bayonet. The French were forced to retreat in disorder, and the retreat became a flight; but the brave Wolfe fell mortally wounded while leading on his men, consoled, however, before death closed his eyes, by the knowledge that the French were giving way in all directions. Montcalm also received a mortal wound while attempting to rally the French. Quebec capitulated five days after the battle.¹ In this action the Fraser

¹ The following graphic description of the battle is from a letter written by an officer in Wolfe's army, and published in the *Scots Magazine* for 1759.

"The French advanced with a very good countenance, and looked as if they were determined to fight in reality. Ours were drawn up in two lines and were ordered to keep up their fire and receive that of the French: which was accordingly done; and then our people got so near them as to make them feel our bullets and bayonets almost at the same time. The fire continued very hot indeed for about ten minutes, when the French and

Highlanders greatly distinguished themselves, though the conduct of all the troops was admirable. Among other successes gained in this war against the French were several in India (the battle of Wandewash, for instance), besides the great triumph by Clive at Plassey. The threats of invasion which France had thrown out were turned into fears for her own shores, upon which indeed descents were made by the British, while Admirals Boscawen and Hawke swept her fleets from the sea.

In the midst of such exploits it may seem almost ludicrous to refer to the doings of a petty French squadron, which in the year 1760 struck momentary alarm along the unprotected west of Scotland. M. Thurot, who, as captain of a privateer, had signalized himself by his extensive depredations on British merchant vessels, and the daring defence of his own vessel against two British frigates, was promoted by the French king to the command of a small flying squadron, and instructed to alarm the coast of Ireland by occasional descents, on purpose to distract the attention of the British from a larger armament intended for a descent on the English coast. This attempt was frustrated by the destruction of the French fleet off Belle-Isle, and Thurot, whose plans had been deranged, appeared in the month of February among the Western Islands. Being short of provisions he landed on Islay, but paid for all supplies that were furnished, and treated the people with the utmost politeness. Unwilling to return without attempting something, he landed and took Carrickfergus in Ireland, from which he levied a small contribution, but being intercepted by Captain Elliot with an equal force he was slain in the engagement, and three of his vessels were taken.

The alarm which he had created, the inability of the people to have defended themselves from so insignificant an armament, and the continued rumours of projected invasions from France, raised a universal cry in Scotland for a national militia, similar to that which had been established in England. Even before this there had been a movement in Scotland for the establishment of such a force, and in several of the congratulatory addresses laid before the king the

previous year on the occasion of the capture of Quebec, and of other successes against the French, the need of a militia for Scotland had been referred to. An influential committee had also been formed to promote the movement, and a plan prepared according to which the measure might be regulated. It is worthy of remark here, that while politicians were creating dissatisfaction in some of the counties of England by raising a force of militia, they were doing the same by refusing it to those of Scotland. Ere the commotion occasioned by the operations above mentioned had subsided, the subject was taken up by Mr. Oswald, Mr. Gilbert Elliot, and other northern representatives. Through their efforts leave was granted in the House of Commons to bring in a bill for the better ordering of the military forces in Scotland. It was presented by Mr. Elliot on the 24th of March, 1760, and the table was crowded with petitions entreating the legislature to grant the favour; but the motion for its committal was lost by a large majority, and while Scotchmen abroad were carrying the military renown of their country to its highest pitch, the petty jealousy of the English members prevented them from being intrusted with arms for their defence at home. The Duke of Argyle, who then chiefly directed Scottish affairs, was blamed as the cause of the failure, being for some reason or other opposed to the bill. The movement in favour of a militia was again set agoing in Scotland in 1762, when it was found that though a number of the counties and burghs were in favour of it, about an equal number seemed to be against the establishment of such a force, in the present circumstances of the country at least. Many of the parties opposed to it objected to it on the grounds that there was already a great scarcity of hands in the country for carrying on the necessary operations of agriculture, manufactures, and other occupations; and certainly large numbers of the young men of the country must have been called away from these callings to serve in the army and navy. The subject continued to be agitated from time to time, but a militia force was not established in Scotland till the end of the century, as will be afterwards mentioned.

In the last year of the king's reign an act was passed to continue the special enactments that had been passed after the late rebellion in regard to the punishment of high treason in the Highlands and the disarming of the country. There was a very common feeling in Scotland that fresh legislation on the subject was quite unnecessary, and the opinion of a writer in the *Scots Magazine* was generally held, that, "Considering the late behaviour of the people in the

Canadians turned tail. Then 450 Highlanders were let loose upon them with their broadswords, and made terrible havoc among the poor devils as far as the walls of the city; which they would have entered with the runaways had they not been called back. . . . Those breechless brave fellows are an honour to their country. I cannot do them justice in my description of them." Another officer tells us that "Ewan Cameron, a common Highlander, as I am credibly informed, had killed no less than nine Frenchmen, among whom were two officers, when his sword-arm was carried off by a shot. He immediately snatched up a bayonet and wounded several more, but an unlucky bullet penetrating his throat, levelled him with the ground!"

north and Highlands of Scotland and the share they had had in our glorious success during the present war, it must be confessed that they might have expected to be restored to the privileges enjoyed by the people in the other parts of the United Kingdom, rather than to have those invidious distinctions continued which the justice, by the lump, of former parliaments had brought upon them.

George II. died suddenly at Kensington on October 25th, 1760, and was succeeded by his grandson, who ascended the throne as George III. At his death the late king was in the seventy-seventh year of his age, and had reigned for thirty-four years. He was not unpopular with his British subjects on the whole, unless perhaps in the early part of his reign. His inherited predilection for Hanover had much to do with our being involved in the extensive warlike operations on the Continent, which were partly undertaken for its protection. During these continental entanglements almost every European government, with the exception of that of France, had been largely subsidized, and had all in turn pocketed the money and envied the power of Britain. In the earlier part of his reign the king was almost entirely guided in state affairs by the opinions of his consort, Queen Caroline, to whom he was sincerely attached, although his treatment of her was bad enough. He was honourable, just, and on the whole humane; but at times he showed more severity than might have been expected, especially in regard to the Scottish rebels, though in this case there was considerable justification for him. He was distinguished by no very remarkable talents, and had little or no taste for polite literature. But he founded the University of Göttingen in his own electorate of Hanover, was fond of music, and patronized Handel. In private life he was passionate but placable, and he was not a man to conciliate friendship, far less personal devotion. He was regular and methodical in habits, and extremely fond of money, yet he must have spent or given away large sums—Hanover probably absorbing the most of these—as he left little behind him. If England and its interests were of less importance in his mind than Hanover, Scotland, we have no doubt, can have had but a very small share of his thoughts, unless when the affair of the '45 forced this country upon his notice.

During the early part of his reign, up to 1742, Sir Robert Walpole (latterly Lord Orford) was the minister who guided the destinies of the British empire, as he had done before the accession of George II. Though unscrupulous in his dealings with politicians, and employing bribery

in the most open manner, he had always the interest of the country at heart. The chief ministers who succeeded him were Henry Pelham, the Duke of Newcastle, and William Pitt (Earl of Chatham), the last of whom held the reins of power at the close of the reign, though not formally prime-minister. The affairs of Scotland during this reign were carried on chiefly under the administration or advice of Archibald, third Duke of Argyle. He succeeded to the title of duke in 1743, on the death of his brother John, Duke of Argyle and Greenwich, having held previous to this time the title of Earl of Islay. Duke Archibald had been long connected with the public affairs of Scotland, having been appointed lord high treasurer of this country in 1705, at the age of twenty-three. He was one of the commissioners for negotiating the Union, and after it took place he sat as one of the representative peers in all the parliaments but one till his death. He assisted his brother in putting down the rebellion of 1715, and was wounded in the battle of Sheriffmuir. In 1725 he was appointed lord keeper of the privy seal in Scotland. He was subsequently intrusted with the task of checking the riotous proceedings excited by the imposition of the malt tax, and by his judicious measures soon succeeded in restoring order. In 1734 he was made keeper of the great seal, and held this office to the last. Sir Robert Walpole reposed great confidence in him, and under this statesman his influence in his native country was so great as to acquire for him the flattering title of "King of Scotland." The commerce and manufactures of Scotland and the internal improvement of the country generally were furthered by him, and he was also a friend to the higher education, being chancellor of the University of Aberdeen, and an honorary fellow of the Royal College of Physicians in Edinburgh. After Walpole's resignation and subsequent death his opinions in reference to Scottish measures were still regarded as having great weight, and he continued high in the esteem of all parties till his death in 1761. He was a man of varied accomplishments, and had collected one of the largest private libraries in Great Britain. His brother, the second duke, was a man of more brilliant abilities, but less consistent in his political conduct. He distinguished himself as a soldier under the Duke of Marlborough, but is best known through his share in suppressing the rebellion of 1715; probably, however, to the greater number of readers his name is most familiar from the prominent place he occupies in Scott's *Heart of Midlothian*.

CHAPTER VII.

REIGN OF GEORGE III. (1760-1800).

Accession of George III.—Position of the Earl of Bute—Seven Years' War concluded—Clamour against the Earl of Bute in which Wilkes figures—The Stamp Act and other measures obnoxious to the Americans—The great Douglas cause—Plans of the trustees for the forfeited estates—Some of these acquired by former owners—Unsatisfactory state of Scottish currency—Failure of newly-started banking company—Outbreak of war with the American colonists—Course of military operations—Losses and gains on both sides—France, Spain, and Holland join against Britain—Surrender of Cornwallis and end of the war—Scotland zealous in support of warlike measures—Highlanders sent to America—American privateers on the Scottish coasts—Volunteer regiments and fencibles embodied in Scotland—Body of Highland soldiers mutiny at Edinburgh—Other incidents of a similar kind—Paul Jones makes a descent on the coast of Kirkcubright—Captures British men-of-war—Doings of French privateers—Victories of Admirals Rodney, Parker, and Hood—Plan for a Scottish militia—General Elliott's defence of Gibraltar—Henry Dundas and his management of Scottish affairs—His measure restoring the forfeited estates burdened with the moneys due on them—Progress of Scottish agriculture and trade—Commercial crisis—Completion of Forth and Clyde Canal—Proposed reforms in the system of municipal government and parliamentary representation—Death of Prince Charles Stuart—Scottish episcopal clergy now recognize the House of Hanover—Bill for their relief—Outbreak of the French Revolution—Sympathy with the movement in England and Scotland—The excesses of the revolutionaries alienate many in this country while others palliate them—Formation of political clubs and associations—An outbreak in Birmingham against sympathizers with the revolution—The different parties in Scotland—Friends of the People and other political societies—Revolutionary movement in Scotland—Persons tried and punished for sedition—Scots Jacobin Clubs—Trial of Thomas Muir for sedition—The charges brought against him—His defence—Found guilty and sentenced to transportation—Trial of Thomas Fyssh Palmer—He is also found guilty and sent to Botany Bay—The revolutionary fervour still continues unabated—Other trials for sedition—Robert Watt tried and executed for high treason—War with France begins—British troops sent to the Low Countries—Ill success of the expedition—British attempt at Toulon fails—British naval victories—Spain and Holland unite with France—Attempted invasion of Ireland—Naval victory off Cape St. Vincent—Great naval victory of Admiral Duncan at Camperdown—Fencible and volunteer regiments raised in Scotland—Militia force at last raised in Scotland—It gives rise to disturbances—Measures devised in view of probable invasion—French force landed in Ireland—French expedition to Egypt commanded by Bonaparte—Nelson goes in pursuit and gains the victory of Aboukir—A British and Russian force sent to Holland—Sir Ralph Abercromby commands the land forces and repulses the French—The expedition unsuccessful under the command of the Duke of York—Union of Great Britain and Ireland.

George III., grandson of George II., received the crown under circumstances peculiarly auspicious. Victorious abroad, the nation was united at home under a minister whose transcendent genius seemed to annihilate opposition and command success. The new monarch was in the bloom of youth, being only twenty-two years of age, tall and manly, and of a frank, open countenance. He had been born and brought up in England, was decorous in conduct, and was believed to be possessed of fairly good abilities. On the day after his grandfather's death he was proclaimed king in London, and immediately after at Edinburgh, but not, as had previously been the case on such occasions, from the venerable cross, but from the balcony in front of the Royal Exchange, one of the new buildings for the sake of which the ancient structure had been most unnecessarily removed. A royal proclamation against vice and immorality was read from all the pulpits on the following Sunday, and a deputation from the Church of Scotland, consisting of five of the Edinburgh ministers, hastened to congratulate

the young monarch. No immediate change took place in the plans of government, or in the persons intrusted with conducting them; but the Earl of Bute, who had had the superintendence of the prince's education, was immediately introduced into the Privy Council, a step which alarmed the jealousy of the English courtiers with fears of a preponderance of Scottish influence. Meanwhile the king delighted the nation at large by identifying himself with his British subjects in his first speech to parliament, November 18th. "Born and educated in this country," said he, "I glory in the name of Briton;" and everything fortunate was anticipated from the reign of a native sovereign. On September, 1761, he married the Princess Charlotte of Mecklenburg, a lady similar to himself in character and tastes, who aided him in proving that the occupancy of a throne was not incompatible with the simplicity and regularity of an ordinary English household.

At his accession the Seven Years' War was still going on, and in 1761 Spain was added to the foes of Britain, very little to her own advan-

tage. Pitt advised that our new enemy should be at once attacked, but as his advice was not taken he resigned, and was succeeded by the Earl of Bute as chief minister. Negotiations for peace had for some time been carried on, and the war finally came to an end by the Treaty of Paris, February, 1763. The terms of the peace were by no means commensurate with the expectations of the people, or even with the unrivalled successes of the British arms; and the popular disappointment on this account, together with the earl's inexperience and certain blunders committed by him in regard to the internal administration, raised such a clamour against him and his country in the metropolis, and such a torrent of intemperate abuse from the press, that after a very short and turbulent premiership he resigned his unenviable office. The feeling against the premier was greatly fostered by the attacks of the notorious John Wilkes, in his weekly paper *The North Briton*. Wilkes's enmity was stirred up by the refusal of the minister to confer upon him a lucrative post under government. Wilkes professed to believe that the "arbitrary principles of Scottish tyranny were spreading through the kingdom, and infecting the very vitals of the constitution;" and that the liberty of the country was in danger wherever Scottish influence had power to exert itself. He had as a worthy colleague in his scurrilities the profligate satirist and renegade clergyman Charles Churchill, who ridiculed the Scots in his *Prophecy of Famine*, and was himself held up to public contempt in a caricature by Hogarth.

George Grenville, the Marquis of Rockingham, and the Duke of Grafton held the premiership successively in the period from 1763 to 1770, but in 1766-68 Pitt—now Earl of Chatham—was really at the head of affairs, though the Duke of Grafton was nominally prime-minister. During Grenville's tenure of office the fatal Stamp Act was passed (1765) by which a duty was to be raised from our colonists in North America on stamps required to be affixed to certain classes of documents. The Americans, many of whose forefathers had left their native land to avoid tyrannic enactments, rose almost to a man against the act, which was repealed indeed the following year, though the good done by this step was counteracted by the passing of another act declaring the powers of parliament over the colonies to be supreme, and thus asserting the right to tax them. In 1767 another ill-judged step was taken in the passing of an act for imposing duties in America on tea, glass, paper, and painters' colours. The ill-feeling of the colonists was re-awakened into fresh vigour, riots took place,

and associations were formed, the members of which refrained from and discouraged the use of the taxed articles. In 1770 Lord North became prime-minister in room of the Duke of Grafton, and his name is more closely identified than that of any other with the loss of the American colonies, though in his policy he was strongly supported by the king himself. Lord Chatham in the House of Lords thundered against the tyrannical course adopted towards the colonists, and many other politicians spoke to the same tenor, but in vain. In 1770 Lord North got the other duties taken off, but that on tea was still retained, and the resentment in America kept gradually rising.

Few events worthy of notice took place in Scotland meanwhile. A great lawsuit, however, the famous "Douglas cause," may here be mentioned, since, although entirely a private affair, it excited much interest, and led almost the whole of the people of Scotland to take up the attitude of partisans on one side or the other. At a former period the arbitrament of the sword might have been called in to decide the contest in which the Duke of Hamilton sought to obtain for himself the valuable estates of the first and last Duke of Douglas. Archibald, Duke of Douglas, died 21st July 1761, and his nephew, Archibald Stewart, son of Lady Jane Douglas, the only sister of the deceased nobleman, and of her husband, Sir John Stewart of Grandtully, was served heir to his estates. Owing to certain circumstances and considerations Lady Jane had been privately married, and the birth of her son took place in a lodging-house at Paris when she was fifty years old. For a time the late Duke of Douglas had been led to believe that his nephew was a spurious child, and had executed a settlement of his whole real estate upon the Duke of Hamilton. Latterly, however, he had come to the conclusion that the boy was his true heir, had cancelled his settlements in favour of the Duke of Hamilton, and had nominated his nephew Archibald his heir of entail. The Duke of Hamilton at first claimed the estates as heir male of the family, but not succeeding in this he sought to set aside the boy said to be Lady Jane's son as not being really her offspring. The cause, after lasting five years, was decided in his favour by the Court of Session, but on being taken to the House of Lords the decision was given against the duke. When the Court of Session had given its decision (in 1767) the result was so distasteful to a section of the Scottish public that the life of the president of the court was threatened. When the Lords had reversed this decision (in 1769) the delight of the populace was unbounded.

Edinburgh and its suburbs were illuminated, and a number of the lower class of people expressed their unruly satisfaction by smashing the windows of the judges who had taken the unpopular view of the case, as well as those of the friends of the Duke of Hamilton, or of persons who refused to illuminate. So far did these lawless proceedings go that the military had to be called out. Public manifestations of satisfaction with the result of the long litigation took place in other parts of the country, in which probably no lawsuit has ever excited so much general interest. The expense of the litigation was said to have exceeded one hundred thousand pounds.

At the return of peace in 1763 the trustees for the forfeited estates in the north were desirous that a certain number of discharged soldiers, sailors, and marines should settle upon them either as labourers and tradesmen or as fishermen; and they projected villages and stations, which the short interval free of hostilities did not allow to be fully established. They offered the sailors, if unmarried, a bounty of £2 sterling each, and a boat suited for the herring or the cod fishery to every eight men; and to married men a dwelling-house and three acres of ground rent free for seven years. Soldiers were to have similar allowances, and in lieu of a boat they were to have a bounty of three pounds per man. Some of the larger landed proprietors offered even higher encouragements, and appear to have been successful to a considerable extent, till the introduction of new improvements rendered them less careful about attaching inhabitants to the soil; and a spirit of emigration was excited among the people by more tempting prospects abroad. About the same time a transference of property highly gratifying to Scottish feeling took place. Several of the estates forfeited in 1715 had been sold by the commissioners to the York Building Company, a commercial association that attempted to open mines, and otherwise to develop their Scottish property to their own profit. From various causes, however, the company became bankrupt, and the properties were again brought to judicial sale at Edinburgh in 1764. The estates thus sold were those belonging to the Panmure, Southesk, and Marischal families, and the heirs of the former owners were now enabled to buy them back at the upset prices, no person bidding against them.

About this period there were many complaints in regard to the unsatisfactory state of the currency in Scotland, there being a great scarcity of silver and gold and a superabundance of paper money. The banks had greatly increased in

number, though some of the new ones were very insignificant concerns, and they were accustomed to issue notes with an optional clause of payment on demand, or six months after with legal interest. Notes for sums as small as five shillings were common, and private notes for smaller sums were also in circulation. The evil was threatening even to increase, when an act was passed (1765) forbidding the issue of notes under one pound in value or otherwise than payable on demand. After this silver gradually became sufficiently plentiful again. In 1769 a promising banking company was started, with its head-quarters at Ayr, under the designation of Douglas, Heron, & Co. A number of noblemen and gentlemen were partners in the concern, at their head being the Dukes of Buccleugh and Queensberry, the Earls of Dumfries and March, Mr. Douglas of Douglas, Mr. Patrick Heron of Heron, and others. Too generous and sanguine, they accommodated landlords, farmers, and tradesmen with a liberality beyond the line of caution and prudence, and sent almost immediately into circulation a quantity of paper above what they had the ready means of honouring. After carrying on business for only about three years, on the occurrence of a panic in the commercial world, they were under the necessity of stopping payment (June, 1772), and of winding up their business the following year. The partners now discovered that besides their capital they had lost nearly three hundred thousand pounds, and as they were individually responsible many were entirely ruined, and a good deal of distress was caused in the districts in which the business of the bank was chiefly carried on.

Meanwhile events were hastening on towards war with our colonies in America, though the measures of Lord North were strongly opposed by the Earl of Chatham in the House of Lords, and by Burke and Fox in the Commons. A Declaration of Rights was drawn up by the colonists in 1774, and next year hostilities actually commenced. The course which the war took may be briefly sketched as follows. A small British force (part of General Gage's troops) was sent from Boston, on 18th April, to destroy a quantity of military stores belonging to the Americans, and deposited at Concord, a task which they effected; but on their return they were attacked by the colonists in some force near Lexington, and forced to retreat, leaving behind them 273 killed and wounded. Before the end of the month the British governor and army were closely hemmed in in Boston by a provincial force of 20,000 men. Elsewhere the colonists acted with spirit; the important northern fortresses of Ticonderoga and Crown

Point were seized, and their cannon and ammunition proved of great service in the struggle. A continental congress assembled in May at Philadelphia, and took measures to raise an army and equip a navy. George Washington was unanimously chosen as commander-in-chief, and to furnish him with the sinews of war bills of credit to the amount of \$2,000,000 were issued, for the redemption of which the faith of the united colonies was pledged. On 17th June, 1775, the British troops at Boston, under Generals Gage, Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, attacked the intrenched position of the colonists on Bunker Hill, which commanded Boston harbour, and captured it, but at a loss of 1054 killed and wounded; the American loss did not exceed 450 in killed, wounded, and prisoners, so that they soon came to look upon the action as a victory. After Washington had spent some time in getting his troops into proper order he regularly beleaguered Boston till 17th March, 1776, when the British evacuated the town, and sailed for Halifax, carrying away many loyal families. Early in the same winter an expedition was sent into Canada by the colonists, who believed the inhabitants of that province favourable to their cause; but after taking Montreal, and unsuccessfully assaulting Quebec, the remains of the expedition abandoned the British territory in June, 1776. On 7th June Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, brought before Congress a resolution declaring that "the united colonies are, and ought to be, free and independent states; that their political connection with Great Britain is, and ought to be, dissolved." This resolution was passed after an animated debate by nine of the thirteen existing colonies; and Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, and others were selected to draft a Declaration of Independence, which was written by Jefferson and adopted 4th July by the votes of the thirteen colonies, which thus became the United States of America.

The British government had now begun to see that the opposition was not the ordinary popular outbreak which they supposed it to be, and many additional troops were sent from England, including a considerable number of German mercenaries, mostly from Hesse-Cassel. Fresh operations now began by a battle on Long Island, New York, 27th August, 1776, in which Washington was defeated by General Howe with heavy loss. He retreated with a disorganized army beyond the Delaware, hoping to save Philadelphia. He was rather listlessly followed by the British, who took unopposed the principal towns of New Jersey as they advanced, but allowed themselves to be surprised at Trenton (25th December) and at

Princeton (3rd January, 1777). Meanwhile Congress had not been idle; it formed articles of confederation between the states (which were ratified by all except Maryland in 1778-79), and sent Franklin and Silas Dean to France to solicit recognition and aid. Formal recognition was withheld, but money and material were privately sent, and volunteers, such as Lafayette, Pulaski, Kosciusko, Baron Steuben, and Baron Kalb, crossed the Atlantic to fight for the republican cause.

The next campaign again opened disastrously for the Americans. Washington, in order to defend Philadelphia, then the capital, was obliged to give battle on the Brandywine, 11th September, 1777, to a much superior force under Howe and Lord Cornwallis, and was completely defeated, and the British entered Philadelphia without further opposition. Fortune, however, smiled upon the Americans in the north. General Burgoyne, with an army of 7000 British and German troops, accompanied by numerous bands of Canadians and Indians, marched from Canada to effect a junction with the British on the Hudson, and to cut off New England from the rest of the confederacy. He was met by General Gates at Stillwater, near Saratoga, where two toughly-contested actions took place (19th September and 7th October), on the whole favourable to the Americans. Having but three days' provisions, he was compelled to capitulate on the 17th October.

This event induced the French openly to enter the struggle in the spring of next year (1778), and subsequently Spain and Holland joined in the war against England, and aided the Americans. Britain sent fresh armies and fleets to crush the rebellion; but although they gained several victories, it was obvious that the subjugation of the Americans was not yet within sight, and there was a growing desire in Britain for peace with the colonies. At last the surrender of the British general Lord Cornwallis with an army of 7000 men at Yorktown, 19th October, 1781, gave fresh strength to this feeling, and virtually terminated the war. After defeating General Gates at Camden in August 1780, Lord Cornwallis had concentrated his army round Yorktown, at the mouth of the Chesapeake. There he was blockaded by Washington, aided by French troops, and a French fleet under De Grasse. He held out against superior numbers till his ammunition was expended, and was then forced to capitulate. The Americans owed this success chiefly to the French, and notwithstanding the result they would have had great difficulty in continuing the war. But in Britain the feeling in favour of peace was now prevalent, and the same feeling was shared by France and

Spain. The war ended with the Peace of Versailles, and from 3rd September, 1783, Great Britain formally recognized the independence of the United States.

A large majority of the people of England, there can be no doubt, supported Lord North in his unfortunate measures respecting America, and a still larger considered it treason, or little better, to listen to any proposal of granting the colonists independence. The public sentiment of Scotland was similar, and at an early period of the war Edinburgh and other places offered bounties (as in the last war), over and above the royal bounties, to seamen who should voluntarily enter themselves to serve in the navy. Money was also subscribed for the relief of the soldiers in America, and on behalf of the widows and orphans of those who had fallen in the war. Recruiting went on briskly, both in the Lowlands and Highlands, and the 42nd or Lord John Murray's Regiment, numbering 1000 men, and the 71st or Fraser's, of 2000, were soon at the seat of war. In America itself a regiment of Highlanders was actually raised from among the numerous emigrants who had by this time settled there.

Before long Scotland was more directly involved in the hostilities of the period, privateers from the American side of the Atlantic having begun to cruise in the neighbourhood of the Scottish shores, and to prey upon the shipping of the country. Several of these for a time carried on their operations in or near the Clyde estuary, and armed vessels were fitted out at Greenock to attack them, while the people of Ayr raised from among their number a force of volunteers to defend their good town. Many ships were also taken and rifled on the east side of Scotland, and about the Orkneys and Shetland Isles, a number of these being burned after capture. In some cases the Americans induced men belonging to the captured ships to take service with them. In response to representations from Scotland men-of-war were soon sent to cruise off both the east and the west coasts for the protection of the merchant ships.

As the war advanced, and when General Burgoyne's surrender to the Americans at Saratoga raised doubts as to the issue of the contest, renewed exertion were made to augment the British forces with a view to the speedy and successful termination of the war. In these efforts Scotland took an active part, and indeed even went beyond England in this respect. In the end of 1777 the Duke of Hamilton and the Duke of Athole each offered to raise a regiment on his own estates, which offers, as well as similar offers made by other noblemen and gentlemen, were readily accepted. The cities

and burghs took a corresponding course, Glasgow being the first of these to come forward with the offer of a regiment "to be employed in such a manner as your majesty shall be pleased to direct," and with the prayer added in the address to the king on the matter that God would be pleased "to put a speedy end to the delusion of the rebels, who, under the sacred name of Liberty, are exercising every act of tyranny." The town-council, the trades'-house, and the various corporations, as well as other bodies and private individuals, subscribed liberally for this object, and £10,000 was soon promised. Edinburgh immediately followed the lead of Glasgow, and the two civic regiments of volunteers were soon embodied. Seven other corps were also raised in Scotland by the middle of the year (1778), all of these consisting of Highlanders. Almost every town of any consequence offered bounties to those willing to join the various regiments, some of them specially selecting one corps as recipients of their generosity, others another. There was talk also of a militia, but instead of this several corps of fencibles were raised, for the internal protection of the country, being liable to serve in any part of Scotland, but not to march out of it except in case of the invasion of England. Three bodies of fencibles were at first raised, the South, the North, and the West Fencibles, these corps being respectively under the command of the Duke of Buccleuch, the Duke of Gordon, and Lord Frederick Campbell. A general recruiting act was also passed, under which able-bodied idle and disorderly persons not engaged in any lawful trade or employment, and having no visible means of subsistence, were liable to be impressed.

Ready as the Highlanders had shown themselves to join the army, the principle of clanship, if not broken, was now to some extent weakened. They could not now be induced to follow the banner of their clan without inquiry, but had learned, like their lowland neighbours, to bargain for their services. To the disgrace of the agents employed, if not of the government for which they acted, these bargains were, in several instances, shamefully infringed; and the shrewd uneducated Highlanders, taught to dread deception, were thus exposed to the arts of designing men, and upon more than one occasion excited to mutiny. For example, the men of the Earl of Seaforth's Highland Regiment, in September, 1778, having been brought to the capital for embarkation at Leith (the place of destination being Guernsey), refused to embark unless their arrears of pay and the bounty they had been promised were paid; and notwithstanding the entreaty of their

officers, although some five hundred were prevailed to go on board the transports, about the same number retired to Arthur's Seat, with pipes playing and their plaids fixed on poles for colours. There they remained for several days, plentifully supplied with provisions by the people of Edinburgh, and visited by persons of all ranks. A number of other troops were soon collected, including dragoons, fencibles, and men of the Glasgow regiment, and it appeared that the mutineers would rather risk a hostile encounter than embark; but, by the good offices of Lord Dunmore, Lord Macdonald, and others, and after assurances from Sir Adolphus Oughton, commander-in-chief in Scotland, and General Skene (second in command), they were induced to leave the hill and embark. This was not done, however, till a bond or agreement had been signed, promising that all past offences should be condoned, their demands as to pay and arrears satisfied, and that they should not be handed over to the East India Company, as they had been groundlessly led to believe. This regiment helped to repel the landing of a French force in Jersey the following year, and in January, 1781, in company with other troops, aided in compelling a body of eight hundred French who had landed at St. Helier's to lay down their arms. A mutiny of a party of about fifty Highlanders, recruited for the 42nd and 71st Regiments, took place at Leith in somewhat similar circumstances the following year. They had been brought there to be put on board transports, but a report having been spread that they were to be draughted into one or other of the lowland corps, they refused to go on board. About two hundred men of the Southern fencibles having been ordered to carry them prisoners to Edinburgh Castle, the deluded Highlanders resisted, and had recourse to their arms, and they were not overpowered till twelve of them had been killed. Early in 1783, at the conclusion of the war, the 77th Regiment, or Athole Highlanders, who were lying at Portsmouth under orders to embark for the East Indies, refused to go on board, alleging that arrears of pay were due, and that they had enlisted on the express condition of three years' service or till the conclusion of the war. For a time matters bore a very threatening aspect, but the authorities soon saw that they were in the wrong, and a royal proclamation was issued declaring that all who had served for three years were entitled to be immediately discharged.

We have already seen that, as a result of the war with the colonies in America, the merchant ships of Scotland in many cases fell a prey to American privateers. To these were added

the men-of-war and privateers of France when that country had sided with the colonists against Britain. Of course it must not be supposed that the British war-ships and privateers were not equally active, and that their captures were not even more numerous. In 1778 a descent was made upon the west coast of Scotland by the somewhat notorious Paul Jones, himself a native of Kirkcudbrightshire, who, after having been engaged in the slave-trade, and in smuggling between the Isle of Man and the coast of the Solway, had gone to America and obtained command of a vessel carrying eighteen guns. Having arrived in the Irish Sea, he all but succeeded in setting fire to a large number of ships in Whitehaven harbour. He then landed a party at St. Mary's Isle, near the head of Kirkcudbright Bay, the residence of the Earl of Selkirk, with the intention of taking this nobleman prisoner and holding him to ransom. His lordship was luckily absent, however, and the party retired without doing any damage, but taking the family plate with them.¹ The next exploit of Jones was to take the British sloop of war *Drake*, which came out of Belfast Lough to meet him, and had to strike after an action that lasted an hour, being considerably weaker than her antagonist. Jones then made his way to Brest, and was able to return in command of a small squadron flying the American flag, but chiefly manned by Frenchmen. After causing an alarm at several points on the Irish coast he rounded the north of Scotland and sailed southwards. On the 16th of September, 1779, his ships were seen steering up the Firth of Forth, with the intention, as was supposed, of burning the shipping at Leith and levying contributions on Leith and Edinburgh. As the place was entirely defenceless, the utmost consternation prevailed in the Scottish capital, but before any mischief was done, and when the unwelcome visitors were within a short distance of Leith, a fierce gale sprang up and carried them out to sea. Not long afterwards Jones fell in with a number of merchantmen from the Baltic, under the convoy of two British men-of-war, the *Serapis* and the *Countess of Scarborough*. Both of these he took after a desperate engagement, his own vessel—the *Bonhomme-Richard*—being so severely damaged that she soon after sunk. His ships in this action consisted of a two-decked vessel, two frigates, and a brig.

On several subsequent occasions the coast towns of Scotland were thrown into considerable alarm by the near approach of hostile

¹The plate was taken contrary to Jones's wishes, and was afterwards returned by him. Jones, whose real name was John Paul, was the son of a gardener, who is said to have been at one time employed at St. Mary's Isle.

vessels, which, though they did not effect a landing, ventured oftener than once to cut out ships that had taken refuge in Scottish ports or roadsteads. In the middle of 1781 a French privateer, after chasing two vessels into Dunbar and firing one or two shots into the town, came farther north and lay at a short distance off Arbroath, threatening to bombard it if a ransom of £30,000 were not paid. After some parleying the citizens refused, and dared the enemy to do their worst. Upon this the privateer directed a brisk cannonade upon the town for about an hour, but then weighed anchor and sailed away without having done much material damage. After the capture of two ships at Aberdeen from under the fire of a battery, the unwelcome intruder disappeared.

By this time the Spaniards and the Dutch had been added to the foes of Britain—the former in 1779, the latter in 1780—and for a brief time our naval supremacy was threatened. In 1780, however, Admiral Rodney defeated a Spanish fleet off Cape St. Vincent, with the capture of eight ships, while next year Admiral Hyde Parker defeated the Dutch fleet and drove it to the Texel. In this same year (1781) the French and Spaniards were able to collect in the English Channel a stronger combined fleet than any Britain could muster there at that time, though they did not effect anything of importance. In 1782 their ships were also in great force in the Channel. In this year, however, a great naval victory over the French was gained in the West Indies by Admiral Rodney and Admiral Hood. Generally speaking, the navy of our country was sufficiently powerful to keep the enemy's cruisers well in check, and, unless from the increase of taxes and the general interruption of trade, Scotland suffered comparatively little from the war during the remainder of its continuance.

Shortly before the war came to an end several plans were brought forward for raising a militia or similar force in Scotland, large enough to give the country full confidence against fears of an invasion. Hitherto, as we have seen, such proposals had been coldly received by government, and as recently as 1779, when a number of noblemen and gentlemen of Dumfriesshire had offered to raise ten volunteer companies for the internal defence of the country, the offer had been declined. They had been thanked indeed for their zeal, but were told that additional troops were not required in Scotland, though four regiments of fencibles, distributed in companies and half-companies at different points, were all the internal defence Scotland then had. Now, however, the government was in a more gracious mood, or saw that an addition to

the defence of the country was necessary, and a plan for providing this was transmitted by the Earl of Shelburne to the sheriffs and magistrates of Scotland, in order that suggestions regarding it might be sent back. This scheme not being considered satisfactory, a number of the Scottish noblemen and gentlemen, with the Earl of Glencairn at their head, took the matter in hand and drew up a scheme of their own. According to this a militia force of not less than 12,500 men was to be raised in Scotland, but preliminaries of peace with America were signed at the close of the year (1782), and nothing was done.

Among individual Scotsmen who added lustre to the national name in the military operations of this period may be mentioned General Elliott, who had served with distinction in the last war, and now covered himself with glory by his ever-memorable defence of Gibraltar, during the famous siege and blockade that lasted from 1779 to 1783. When it appeared likely, that Spain would co-operate with France in hostility to Britain, Elliott was sent to put the defences of the Rock in proper order and be prepared for an attack, and thus he was quite ready for his assailants. After the siege had lasted some time a desperate assault on the fortress was made, both by sea and land. A fleet of forty-four ships of the line, ten floating batteries, various smaller vessels, and a great many gun-boats and mortar-boats kept up a tremendous fire of shot and shell, being seconded by the batteries on the land side of the fortress. The floating batteries were specially constructed at great expense, and were deemed proof against red-hot shot; but this belief was found to be far from justified, as they were all set on fire and destroyed. The attack ended in complete failure, and great loss to the allied French and Spanish. General Elliott, on his return to England, was received with great honour, and as a reward for his conduct of the defence was made a Knight of the Bath and raised to the peerage as Baron Heathfield of Gibraltar. In India also Scotsmen highly distinguished themselves about the period of which we are treating, among the most prominent names in this part of the world being that of Sir Hector Monro. A Scotsman of this period of whom his country has little reason to be proud was the crack-brained Lord George Gordon, originator of the dreadful "Gordon Riots," or "No-popery Riots," with which London was afflicted in 1780, though rioting on a small scale had taken place in Scotland the year previously (see chapter on the history of religion).

On the accession to power of William Pitt, towards the end of 1783, not long after peace

was definitely concluded, Henry Dundas, member of a prominent Scottish family, was entrusted with the entire management of Scottish affairs. He had already been lord-advocate for Scotland and keeper of the Scottish signet, and at this time was member of parliament for Midlothian, as he subsequently was for the city of Edinburgh. His chief appointment under Pitt was as treasurer of the navy, and he had also a great part in the management of Indian affairs as well as those of Scotland. Whatever difference of opinion may exist with regard to his political actions in general, the attention which he uniformly paid to the interests of Scotland, and the zeal with which he urged every scheme that tended to promote her industries and commerce for a long series of years, entitle his memory to the affectionate respect of his country. His efforts began with his real entrance into power, when the general election of 1784 gave Pitt a decided majority, and his first act was to introduce a bill for restoring to the families that had formerly possessed them the estates forfeited by those who had joined in the rebellion of 1745.

He introduced this bill on the 2nd of August, 1784, and in bringing it forward he referred to the services which the Highlanders had rendered in the recent wars in various quarters of the world, and to the fact that it was the Earl of Chatham who had called them forth from the state of humiliation in which the results of the rebellion had left them. As appropriate to the occasion he quoted the earl's own words: "I am above all local prejudice, and care not whether a man had been rocked in the cradle on this or on the other side of the Tweed. I sought only for merit, and I found it in the mountains of the north. I there found a hardy race of men able to do their country service, but labouring under a proscription. I called them forth to her aid and sent them to fight her battles. They did not disappoint my expectations, for their fidelity could be equalled only by their valour, which signalized their own and their country's renown all over the world." These words were at once a eulogium on the deceased statesman's penetration and a testimony to the value of the services which the speaker wished to reward. The measure was warmly supported by Fox, and passed the House of Commons unanimously. In the House of Peers it was opposed by Chancellor Thurlow, who was unwilling to lessen the legal penalty of treason, but it was passed with but little difficulty. The estates, however, were not restored free and improved, but were burdened with the repayment of certain sums paid by the public on account of the debts which rested on them at the time of their forfeiture,

these sums having now to be paid by the parties into whose possession the estates were to fall. The total sum accruing to the public treasury in this way was £90,214. The largest individual sum due was on the Perth or Drummond estate, amounting to fully £52,000. From the total amount thus available a sum of £15,000 was allotted for finishing the building in Edinburgh erected to contain the public registers of Scotland, and £50,000 for completing the canal between the Forth and Clyde. The measure of restoration was very popular in Scotland, probably more on account of the spirit of which it was the outcome than of the absolute importance or magnitude of the transaction itself. The net return from the estates to the public revenue at the time of their restoration was only £4000 per annum. We may here mention that the £50,000 was afterwards repaid by the owners of the canal, and the money was then lent half to the proprietors of the Crinan Canal and half for enlarging and improving the harbour of Leith. In 1806 a report stated that the funds in hand amounted to about £49,000, and a fresh scheme for the employment of this sum was then agreed to, Scottish harbours and fisheries and the courts of justice in Edinburgh being now the objects of expenditure.

The next few years were uneventful so far as Scotland was concerned, but were marked by quiet progress in various directions. The improvement in agricultural economy was now becoming marked, this being brought about largely through the efforts and example of such zealous agricultural reformers as George Dempster of Dunnichen, long a prominent Scottish parliamentary representative, and the well-known Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster, to whom the country owes the great Statistical Account of Scotland. With regard to the commerce of the country, it appears from the official register of imports and exports that from 1782, the last year of the American war, to 1792, the foreign trade of the country as a whole had nearly, if not altogether, been doubled, an increase in prosperity of which Scotland enjoyed its own fair share. This is evident not only from the rapid expansion of the towns, the increase in the Scottish shipping, and the multiplication of the comforts of life, but also from the energy and success with which every mercantile crisis was surmounted. Such was especially the case in the alarming commercial disaster of 1792. After two years of unexampled prosperity, a sudden shock was felt that caused a panic over the whole empire; and in 1793 the number of bankruptcies in Britain more than doubled that of any preceding year, many of them having also occurred in houses of the

oldest standing and highest credit. Of the country banks in England more than three hundred were shaken, and upwards of a hundred stopped. The evil necessarily extended to Scotland, where bills received from the purchasers of goods sent to England could no longer as heretofore be discounted in the ordinary course of business. Accordingly the Scottish banks had ceased to discount to any extent; and in Glasgow, Paisley, and the places connected with them in different parts of Scotland, there were about 160,000 men, women, and children, dependent upon the manufacturers, reduced to utter poverty by the change, and many of them altogether discharged from their employments. To restore public credit an advance of public money in the shape of exchequer bills was granted by government to the amount of more than two millions sterling, of which Glasgow received £319,730 (nearly a third of the amount allotted to London), Leith £25,750, Paisley £31,000, Dundee £16,000, and Edinburgh, Perth, and Banff £4000 each. Of this money the whole sum advanced, as well as the interest, was afterwards repaid to the uttermost farthing. Confidence was restored by this expedient, and mercantile credit became stronger than ever. During the whole crisis the distress was stated to have been much less in Scotland than in England, an advantage that was attributed to the greater stability of the banking system in the former country. Even at the worst period of this depression the exports of Scotland had decreased in value by little more than one tenth, while the entire tonnage of shipping, instead of lessening, had continued to increase.

An important event connected with Scottish commerce at this period was the completion of the Forth and Clyde Canal. An undertaking of this kind, by which direct communication across the country was to be opened by means of an artificial waterway between the Forth and the Clyde, had been proposed as early as the reign of Charles II., but the expense of such a work (estimated at £500,000) caused the project for the time to be given up. It was not, however, utterly lost sight of, but was more or less hopefully contemplated till 1768, when a company was incorporated for the purpose of carrying it out. The work was then begun in good earnest, and continued till 1775, when the want of funds suspended further operations. So successful, however, was the portion of the work already accomplished that vessels could now reach Glasgow from the east coast by means of the canal, and but for the heavy toll which the impoverished company was obliged to impose, the canal would have come into general use. These facts were stated

in 1779, and an urgent appeal made to government to aid in completing the undertaking, by which navigation between the east and west coast would be so much facilitated, and the dangers of the voyage round the northern extremity of Scotland avoided. It was not, however, till 1784 that the appeal was successful, and the works, in consequence of government assistance (the nature of which has been already stated), being resumed with fresh vigour, the union of the two firths was completed on July 28th, 1790. This union of the Clyde and Forth was commemorated with something of the pomp and ceremony of a great alliance, in which members of some reigning family are the parties; and in token of the connection now established, a hoghead of water drawn from the Forth was launched into the Clyde. The first sea vessel that had the honour of passing through the Forth and Clyde Canal was the *Experiment*, in May, 1791, and by the route now opened the voyage from Dundee to Liverpool was made in four days.

A reform in the vicious system of municipal government that had long been established in the royal burghs was earnestly urged for a number of years about this time. According to this system the municipal affairs of these towns were managed by "close" corporations, self-elected bodies, with the appointment of whose members the general body of citizens had nothing whatever to do. Meeting after meeting was held in regard to this question, and in 1789 a bill was brought before parliament by Mr. Sheridan for the purpose of effecting the desired reform, but Mr. Dundas was opposed to the bill, and it was thrown out. Mr. Sheridan continued to interest himself in the matter in the years following, and in 1792 there was a long debate in the House of Commons following his motion, "that the several petitions, papers, and accounts presented to the House in the last parliament, relative to the internal government of royal burghs of Scotland, be referred to the consideration of a committee." The motion was, however, negatived by a considerable majority. Mr. Dundas's opposition to the proposed burgh reforms brought upon him much unpopularity. He was burnt in effigy at several towns, and the attempt to do him the same honour in Edinburgh led to rather serious rioting. A general parliamentary reform was also looked forward to by many people, and Pitt had brought in a bill for such a measure, but this and all similar reforms were effectually checked for many years to come by the events which the French revolution brought in its train.

In 1788, as mentioned in a previous page,

the death of the young Pretender took place, an event which in the circumstances now existing had hardly more than a merely sentimental interest for Scotland and England. Following on Prince Charles's decease, and in direct connection therewith, the Protestant nonjuring bishops and Episcopalian clergy in Scotland resolved to give an open and public proof of their allegiance to the present government by praying in express words for his Majesty King George and the Royal Family. The king was pleased to command that intimation should be given of his satisfaction at the step taken by the Episcopalian clergy, as showing that all his subjects of every profession were now alike united in their attachment to the royal person and family. This led a few years after (in 1792) to the passing of a bill for the relief of the ministers and laity of the Episcopal communion in Scotland, a church which, having been highly favoured by the Stuarts, had as a body remained true to this dynasty, and had regarded the house of Hanover as consisting of intruders and usurpers, their leanings being manifested in no unequivocal fashion in the rebellions of 1715 and 1745. They had thus drawn down penalties upon their heads, the chief of which were that any pastor officiating without having qualified himself by taking the oaths required by law, or who refused to pray for the royal family as directed, should be subject for the first offence to imprisonment for six months, and for the second to imprisonment for life; while no more than five persons were to assemble for public worship, or four in addition to the members of the family if the worship were in a private house. In spite of these enactments, which, however, were not fully enforced, the Episcopalian clergy of Scotland, and the greater part of the laity, remained consistent nonjurors till 1788, when the death of the Pretender freed them from their difficulty. To be sure Cardinal York was still alive, but being a priest he might be regarded as having forfeited the position of king, and their allegiance might now be conscientiously transferred to George III.

While the French rulers were openly aiding our American colonists in emancipating themselves from the sway of the mother country, and thereby gratifying the hereditary hostility of Frenchmen towards Great Britain, they little guessed how fearfully this interference would recoil upon their own heads. The claims of the American colonists helped to open the eyes of the French people generally to a perception of those political rights which their own government had withheld from them for centuries. The result of the Transatlantic struggle, wherein their countrymen had borne a not undistin-

guished part, seemed to show how easily the French might achieve for themselves the same political privileges that they had so effectively toiled to procure for mere aliens and strangers; while the establishment of the new republic, with its equal rights, its simple and economic government, its promise of future greatness and prosperity, presented an alluring picture that made the contrast of their own condition only the more irksome and intolerable.

When the French Revolution actually did break out in 1789 it not unnaturally attracted a large amount of sympathy both in England and in Scotland. In the first instance it was a struggle for liberty, a struggle in which our country could take a deep and noble interest; and, therefore, while all the factious and discontented—and in Britain their name was legion—were delighted with the upheaval in France, and looked forward to a similar movement at home, there were many also among the wise and the good who hailed the advent of the revolution as the beginning of a political millennium. It was the effort of a great people to vindicate their liberties; and when the Bastille was destroyed the tidings were hailed in England as if a new and glorious era of freedom had burst upon the world. But the godless and reckless proceedings with which the further movements of the revolution were pervaded made the thoughtful pause and look forward to the future with dismay. This universal spoliation of the Church and the propertied classes, these indiscriminate massacres, were not the kind of deeds by which the liberties of the United States and of England had been won. Still, however, there remained enough of sympathy with France in our island to fill the reflective mind with apprehension. The excesses of the revolutionaries were for a time denied, and, when too flagrant to be denied, were palliated or excused. The idea of such a country becoming free—a country that even in its worst estate had been the model and leader of the nations in much that was great and praiseworthy—was too beautiful and alluring to be easily given up. Even in the British Senate, therefore, the highest talent and the purest patriotism advocated the cause of the French Revolution; and Fox, at the head of his party, proclaimed it “the most stupendous and glorious edifice of liberty which had been erected on the foundation of human integrity in any time or country.” Many even of the higher classes, who in the event of a revolution had everything to lose, were so eager to disseminate the new doctrines of liberty and equality, that they caused cheap editions for the common people of Paine's *Rights of Man* to be

printed and distributed over the country; while the attempts of the government to suppress this work only advertised it at every door and made it more regularly read.

But the most dangerous movement of all was the formation of political clubs in imitation of those of Paris, in which the wildest events of the revolution had been planned and its worst agents prepared for the excesses that were perpetrated. Such were now organized in the principal cities of England; and, under various titles adopted from the revolutionary phraseology, they imitated in their discussions the example of their foreign teachers, affiliated themselves with the French clubs, corresponded with the Convention, and even lauded the worst excesses of Paris, the massacres of September not excepted. It would have been strange if such demonstrations had not been followed by actions, and accordingly a popular outbreak occurred in England so early as 1791. It was begun, however, not by the revolutionists, but by their opponents—by those who were adverse to their principles. A meeting was convoked at Birmingham, of about eighty persons, to commemorate the French Revolution, and the day appointed was July 14, the same day on which the Bastille had been taken by storm two years before. But as several Unitarians and other dissenters attended this meeting, the high church zeal as well as the loyalty of the town was inflamed, and a riot was begun by an ignorant mob, which, under the watchword of "Church and King," plundered and burned several dwelling-houses and chapels, including the Unitarian chapel and the residence of the celebrated Priestley. For three days the uproar continued, and the rioters were only dispersed on the tardy arrival of the military. As if in contrast, however, to a French outbreak, not a life was taken by the mob, and but little personal violence was offered.

While the established state of things was thus menaced in England by political clubs and French tendencies, it might have been thought that Scotland would have shown more sobriety both in speech and action. A people so cautious as the Scots, so strict in religious belief, and so staid and decorous in general behaviour, must surely have recoiled at the mad excesses as well as at the loudly avowed atheism and infidelity of France. Such indeed was the case with the bulk of the nation, who, if they did not stand aloof as calm and unprejudiced spectators, yet were never led to encourage any movement that did not proceed on strictly constitutional lines. Naturally the discussion of political matters in all their aspects was everywhere stimulated, and many associations were formed purely for

this purpose. One party were swayed by the sentiments of Burke, as expressed in his pamphlet against the French Revolution, with those taking the opposite side. Thomas Paine's views found acceptance. The more moderate spirits were eager for parliamentary reform, which was certainly much needed, and had long been spoken of. At a meeting of the Dundee society of the Friends of the Constitution, for example, resolutions were adopted to the effect that a reform in the very inadequate representation of the people, and a more limited duration of parliaments, should be striven for entirely by constitutional means, and the meeting "disclaimed with abhorrence every design of injuring or overturning the British constitution." Numerous societies were united to form a body designated the Friends of the People, and having its head-quarters at Edinburgh. This association also claimed to be purely constitutional in its aims and methods, its chief aims being an equal representation in parliament and the frequent election of parliamentary representatives. Among petitions to parliament praying for a reform was one from these Friends of the People, but parliament was not as yet prepared to pass such a measure, and Pitt in particular objected to them on the ground that they tended either to raise discontent without pointing out any practical remedy, or else pointed to the "dangerous system of universal representation."

Though moderation generally prevailed the more extreme views were held by a party of some influence in Scotland, and there were even political societies whose aim was the overthrow of the government. Nay, at the meetings of such associations the language uttered seems to have often been still more violent than at similar meetings in England. Perhaps it was that having broken loose from religious restraints of peculiar strictness these advocates of revolution were but the more disposed to hurry into the opposite extreme. At any rate such speeches were delivered and resolutions passed in some cases that the civil authorities deemed it time to interfere, and in the beginning of 1793 a series of trials commenced, by which the revolutionary spirit in the north was treated with a somewhat despotic hand. The first affair of this kind was in the case of James Tytler, an Edinburgh chemist, who was charged with publishing an address "to the people and their friends," in which he told them that they were robbed and enslaved, and advised them to pay no more taxes until universal suffrage was conceded. This was dangerous language for the time, and Tytler having failed to appear in court his bail was forfeited and himself out-

lawed. A few days after James Anderson and Malcolm Craig, journeymen printers, and John Morton, printer's apprentice, were brought before the High Court of Justiciary, on a charge of sedition. They were accused of going into the castle of Edinburgh, where they attempted to seduce a corporal and some soldiers from their allegiance by telling them that their pay was too scanty, and that they would be paid higher wages if they joined an association of "Friends of the People," or a "club for equality and freedom"; and it was alleged that in the castle they drank as a toast, "George the Third and last, and damnation to all crowned heads!" The three were found guilty and sentenced to nine months' imprisonment, after which they were to give security for their good behaviour for three years. Other trials followed, in which most of the culprits were booksellers or printers and publishers, who were charged with publishing seditious libels against the government, and tracts inciting the people to rebellion, and with forming and frequenting clubs whose textbooks were Paine's *Rights of Man* and other such inflammatory productions. One or two of the accused failed to appear and were outlawed, the others were punished with a short term of imprisonment.

In spite of these warnings the revolutionary contagion continued to spread, and the "Scots Jacobin Clubs," as they were called, which assembled in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and other important towns, held such language and proposed such measures as shocked the ears of their sober countrymen, and awoke a spirit of repression and retaliation. Counter-associations were therefore formed, in which a loyalty as furious as the republicanism of their enemies became the order of the day; so that it almost seemed as if the doctrine of the divine right of kings was not yet quite extinct. But something more was deemed necessary than mere speeches reprobating revolutionary language and sentiments, and the Crown lawyers prepared for action by selecting for prosecution those deemed to be the more distinguished leaders of what was regarded as a movement subversive of all good government. Such were soon found in the persons of Thomas Muir, a young member of the Faculty of Advocates, and the Rev. Thomas Fyssh Palmer, a native of England, who had been for some time settled in Scotland, and was now a Unitarian preacher at Dundee.

The trial of Muir for seditious practices took place before the High Court at Edinburgh on 30th and 31st August, 1793, and various charges were brought against him. In particular that at the meetings of certain socie-

ties he had delivered seditious harangues endeavouring to represent the government of the country as oppressive and tyrannical, and the legislature as venal and corrupt, vilifying also the monarchical element of the constitution; that he had advised persons to purchase and peruse various seditious works and pamphlets, in particular the works of Thomas Paine; and that at a meeting held at Edinburgh, calling itself "The Convention of Delegates of the Associated Friends of the People," he had read and commended a seditious paper addressed to these so called delegates by the Society of United Irishmen at Dublin. It was also urged against him that he was a fugitive from justice, for on being summoned before the sheriff-depute of the county of Edinburgh on January 2nd, 1793, soon after the meeting of the above-mentioned convention, he had absconded, being conscious of his guilt, and had failed to appear before the court of justiciary on the day appointed, being consequently outlawed. It was declared also that nearly five months after having been proclaimed "fugitive" by the court, he had returned to this country in a clandestine manner, and had been apprehended at Portpatrick, when a copy of an Address from the Society of United Irishmen, and other suspicious papers, were found in his possession; and that during the interval he had not only been in Ireland but also in France, even after the declaration of war between the latter country and Britain, and that he had lived on friendly terms with some of the chief leaders of the French Revolution.

Muir's defence and answers to these charges would have been available at any other time than the present. He proved that his departure from Scotland was not a private absconding from justice, but a journey publicly announced; that he had afterwards appeared openly in London and attended public meetings; that by the advice of friends he had repaired to Paris before the execution of Louis XVI. to attempt to avert that crime, as an outrage upon the cause of liberty; and that he had been prevented from quitting France sooner than he had done by an embargo laid on all vessels, so that he was obliged to embark in a neutral American ship that landed him in Ireland. He showed also that during his short stay in that country he had taken no share in its political disturbances, and had returned openly to Scotland to abide a public trial. In regard to circulating Paine's works, he submitted that even if he had done so these had never been condemned by a court of law in Scotland. As for the charges of sedition brought against him, he declared that the society to which he belonged had no plan

or intention of subverting the existing government, and that their only design was to effect a reformation in the House of Commons by constitutional means. This defence he gave with eloquence and spirit, and the witnesses he produced in his favour testified that he had often moderated the intemperate language used at the political clubs and meetings, and had been the advocate of monarchical government and denouncer of equality as a doctrine unfitted for Great Britain—in fact, that reform and not revolution was the remedy which he sought for the country. They also testified that in his addresses to the people at the club meetings he had insisted upon the necessity of good order and self-reformation, before they attempted to make others better; and had impressed upon them the duty of reading wholesome books of history and general literature to make themselves wiser and better, and of encouraging others to do the same. But his defence was unavailing. Even at the best he had been guilty of much imprudence, and that too at a season when imprudence might have led to serious crime. Of this the lord-advocate took advantage, and in pleading against the panel, whom he compared to a “demon of mischief,” and stigmatized as “the pest of Scotland,” he endeavoured to extract from this alleged moderation a more conclusive proof of his guilt. The coarse and brutal Lord Braxfield, who was the lord justice-clerk, summed up the evidence with a strong bias against the accused, and the result was that Muir was pronounced guilty by the unanimous voice of the jury, and was sentenced to transportation for fourteen years.

As for the Rev. Thomas Fysshe Palmer, whose trial came on before the circuit court of justice at Perth on September 12, although he had neither been a fugitive from justice, nor a resident in France or Ireland, nor yet a supporter of the mad schemes of the Society of United Irishmen, still he was already foredoomed with the previously condemned Muir, as having been the friend and correspondent of the latter. This unfortunate man, the member of a respectable family in Bedfordshire, had been educated at Cambridge for the English Church, and had obtained a living, but was afterwards converted to Unitarianism by the writings of Dr. Priestley. He then came to Scotland, of all countries the most opposed to his adopted creed, took charge of a small congregation of Unitarians in Montrose, and afterwards of another in Dundee, and was noted as a zealous preacher of Unitarian doctrines in the towns of Forfarshire and in Edinburgh. The crime of which he was accused on his trial was

of publishing a seditious hand-bill, containing an address to their fellow-citizens by the “Friends of Liberty” at Dundee. This was for the time a somewhat inflammatory manifesto, breathing hatred against the existing government, complaining of a wicked ministry and a compliant parliament, and calling upon the people to join in defence of their “perishing liberty and the recovery of their long lost rights.” It appeared, however, that Palmer had only revised and corrected, and not written this address, which was the production of a young weaver in Dundee; and that in his editorial supervision he had struck out several of the most violent sentences and softened others. An attempt was also made by Palmer’s counsel to obtain the acquittal of his client on the plea of insanity. But the judges and juries of the day were too deeply alarmed to allow even the intemperance of a crazy brain to be an apology for sedition, and therefore he was unanimously declared guilty, and sentenced to transportation for seven years. He and Muir, after a short imprisonment, were conveyed to the hulks at Woolwich previous to transportation to Botany Bay, and their case was the subject of debate in the House of Commons, as to whether their sentences should be revised on the plea of being too excessive and severe. But the motion failed not only in the House of Commons but also in the House of Lords, and the prisoners were left to their fate. They were taken to Botany Bay, from which Muir soon escaped in an American vessel, and a few years after died at Bordeaux. Palmer served out his sentence, and after various adventures died in the East Indies.

It had been hoped that the trials of Muir and Palmer, and the severe sentences passed upon them, would have inspired caution at least, if not terror in the hearts of their associates, and other hot-headed admirers of republican institutions. But the contrary was the case, for the Jacobin clubs of Scotland became more numerous and their proceedings more thoroughgoing than before. The chief association in Edinburgh, called the Convention, was still more closely assimilated to the assembly of the same name in France, with this striking difference, however, that its sittings were opened and closed with prayer. Its places of meeting had new names imposed upon them of a revolutionary character; the members gave the “honours of the sitting,” as in France, to strangers who sought to fraternize with them; and discarding and repudiating all ranks from prince to gentlemen, they would have no title but “citizen” prefixed to each name indifferently. The revolutionaries instituted primary

and provincial assemblies, divided the country into departments (as in France), and had their official journals in which their proceedings were to be recorded. Thus the Convention went on until December (1793), when the magistrates of Edinburgh resolved to arrest its proceedings; and on the 5th the lord-provost, with a sufficient attendance, entered the place of meeting and ordered the members to disperse. This they declined to do, until the provost himself pulled their president out of the chair. They then adjourned to another place of meeting, and declared their sittings permanent; but here also they were invaded the following day by the sheriff-substitute and magistrates of Edinburgh, attended by a strong body of constables, and after a slight resistance the Convention dispersed. A proclamation was issued, declaring that persons assuming the name of the British Convention, if they persisted in holding meetings within the city or county, would be apprehended as disorderly persons and dealt with accordingly; and some of them were soon apprehended and summoned before the court of judicature. In the following month (January, 1794) Skirving, the secretary of the Convention, and Margarot, a delegate from London, were tried and sentenced to fourteen years' transportation; and in March, Gerrald, another English delegate who had been active in the Edinburgh Convention, was tried, convicted, and sentenced to the same punishment. The convicts were carried to New South Wales, where Skirving and Gerrald soon after died; Margarot, however, lived to return.¹ Several other trials for sedition took place in some of the years immediately following. In particular one Mealmaker, belonging to Dundee, was tried early in 1798 for his proceedings in connection with the Society of United Scotsmen, and for circulating seditious and inflammatory papers tending to rouse hostility to the king and constitution. He was found guilty and sentenced to fourteen years' transportation.

In these revolutionary trials transportation was not the severest punishment inflicted. Before a special commission, which sat at Edinburgh on August 14, 1794, Robert Watt, a tradesman in embarrassed circumstances, was tried upon a more serious charge than sedition, being accused of eighteen overt acts of high

treason. The chief of these were that he had plotted to seize the castle of Edinburgh by force and warlike weapons, and that he had issued proclamations for the raising of money to purchase arms for the overthrow of the government and the establishment of a republic in Great Britain. As appeared on the trial, his plot was most miserable and shallow; for, according to the testimony of his brother conspirators, who now bore witness against him, he had not been able to muster more than fifty pike-heads. And yet with these he proposed to storm the castle, seize the persons of the judges, and obtain possession of all the banking-houses in Edinburgh! Watt, in the first instance, had been employed by the authorities as a spy upon those who were believed to be engaged in revolutionary schemes, and had attended their meetings as a friend of the cause, only with the intention of betraying them; afterwards, either considering himself insufficiently rewarded, or thinking the other side more promising, he had thrown himself really into the ranks of those he had intended to betray, in hopes of being repaid by the spoils of a revolution. Being sentenced to the uttermost punishment of treason, he was dragged on a hurdle to the west end of the Luckenbooths, and there, after being hanged on the gibbet, his body was taken down and beheaded by the executioner, the head being held up before the crowd with the declaration usual on such occasions, "This is the head of a traitor!"

By this time war had begun with the French Republic, that long struggle which, with a brief intermission, lasted for two-and-twenty years. Scotland had again to send out her sons to fight the battles of the British empire, and before the struggle was over, many thousands that in other circumstances might have devoted their energies to further the peaceful progress of their native land, had left their bones on foreign fields. The general history of this great conflict—in which at one time Britain stood alone against almost the whole of Europe—does not require to be here narrated even in outline, but some of the events belonging to it, and more especially those in which Scotland was more or less directly concerned, will fall to be touched on.

The war broke out early in 1793, and one of the first proceedings of the British government was to send a force of 20,000 men to the Low Countries, under the command of the Duke of York, to co-operate with the allied Austrians and Prussians, already for some time engaged in hostilities with the French. An engagement took place soon after, in which the allies were victorious, their success having been due in a large measure to the aid lent by the British

¹ In 1844 a monument was erected on the Calton Hill in honour of Muir and Palmer and the other political sufferers. Lord Cockburn in his posthumous *Examination of the Trials for Sedition in Scotland* (1838), gives it as his verdict, that of those thus found guilty of sedition Muir alone was innocent; but he declares that they did not get a fair and impartial trial, and condemns the judges in the severest terms. In his *Life of Lord Jeffrey*, Cockburn mentions that Jeffrey, who was present at Muir's trial, "never mentioned it without horror."

troops. Soon after Valenciennes and Condé were taken from the French, and the victors, following up their successes, might have marched to Paris, and there, if they had chosen, dictated the restoration of the French monarchy. The allied sovereigns, however, began to pursue their own separate plans of aggrandizement, utterly regardless of the French royalists whom they came to assist, or the principles for which they had entered the field; and before long they were attacked and routed in detail, and driven across the French border. So far as concerns the Duke of York, though personally brave enough, he had no great talent as a commander, and the army under him was gradually driven back by the French. In 1794 the British were defeated at Tournai, and their whole forces would probably have been destroyed but for the exertions of the brave Scottish general, Sir Ralph Abercromby, and General Fox. Though reinforced by 10,000 men the retrograde movement of the duke continued, the army retired from Holland into Westphalia, and in 1795 embarked at Bremen and returned to England. Holland was overrun by the French and converted into a country hostile to Britain.

A somewhat similar result followed the attempt at Toulon (in 1793). This town was occupied by a considerable body of British, Spanish, and Italian troops, who were landed to support the royalists of the place in opposition to the French republican government. The town held out bravely for a time, till a young officer named Napoleon Bonaparte arrived to take charge of the artillery of the assailants. From that moment the fate of Toulon was sealed, and the British and their allies were obliged to save themselves by sea. Lord Hood, who was in command of the British fleet and forces, carried off as many French vessels as he could, destroyed others, and rescued a great number of royalists from republican vengeance. These failures to accomplish anything by land were to some extent compensated by successes gained by means of our fleets. On the 1st of June, 1794, a naval victory was gained over the French that tended materially to influence the future fortunes of the war. In this engagement Lord Howe, being then in command of the Channel fleet, attacked twenty-six French ships of the line off Ushant with a similar number of vessels, and completely defeated them, the enemy losing seven ships, while the others managed to escape into Brest.

The successes of the French were so great that the coalition formed against them was soon broken up, and their only opponents left were Britain and Austria. The great campaign of Napoleon in Italy, in 1796, overthrew the power

of the Austrians there, and placed him before the world as the greatest general of the time, while he was also the foremost man in France. An addition to the strength of France was now also gained by the accession of Spain, which joined the French alliance early in 1796, so that our fleets had to reckon with those of France, Spain, and Holland combined. Schemes for the invasion of Britain were now entertained by our enemies, and fleets were collected at Brest, at Cadiz, and at the Texel with this object in view. In 1796 an attempted invasion of Ireland was indeed made, the French being encouraged to this by the numerous malcontents in that unhappy island, who thus hoped to free themselves from British rule. A well-disciplined army, commanded by Hoche, one of the best generals of the French republic, was embarked for this expedition, and Britain was menaced with a very serious danger. But a storm arose and the hostile squadron was dispersed, the ships indeed finding it a matter of great difficulty to return to the shelter of Brest harbour.

Early in 1797 anxiety regarding the probability of an invasion was greatly lessened by a great naval victory gained over the Spaniards. On February 14th Sir John Jervis and his second in command, Commodore Nelson, with a fleet of fifteen sail of the line, attacked the Spanish fleet of twenty-seven sail of the line and ten frigates off Cape St. Vincent, the south-west extremity of Portugal. Notwithstanding the odds against them the British completely defeated their opponents, and captured several of their largest vessels. Nelson and Collingwood both distinguished themselves on this glorious day, as well as Admiral Jervis, who was rewarded with the title of Earl St. Vincent. Soon after this the naval glory of Britain was menaced with a dreadful eclipse for a brief period through the mutinies at Spithead and the Nore, but the danger soon passed away, and ere long an event took place that showed that no abiding effect for evil had been left on the spirit of the British seamen, or on the prestige of the British navy. This event was the naval victory of Camperdown over the Dutch fleet, a victory which was particularly gratifying to the people of Scotland, since the hero of the day, Admiral Duncan, was one of their own countrymen. He was a member of a well-known Forfarshire family, and was not only a brave and skilful seaman, but also modest and kindly in a high degree; while, we may also mention, he was one of the tallest and handsomest men in the British navy. The Dutch fleet had been intended to convey an army of thirty thousand troops for the invasion of Ireland, but it had

been detained so long by adverse winds that at last the intention had been given up, though the fleet was sent to sea, to show apparently that it was ready to encounter any British naval force that might be sent to meet it. It was encountered on October 11th (1797) by Admiral Duncan's fleet near the Dutch coast, off the village of Camperdown, and a long and bloody engagement took place, in which the Dutch fought with all the dogged courage that had so long made them the most formidable of England's enemies at sea, nor did they yield until they had inflicted upon their conquerors a loss in killed and wounded almost equal to their own. The Dutch had fifteen line-of-battle ships and some frigates at the beginning of the action, and they lost eight of their larger vessels and several of the smaller; the forces on both sides were about equal. The news of the victory stirred up great enthusiasm everywhere, being accepted as a proof that the recent mutiny had had no permanent effects, and that British seamen were as sound at heart as ever. The gallant admiral was immediately raised to the peerage as Viscount Duncan of Camperdown and Baron Duncan of Lundie. The city of London presented him with a handsome and valuable sword, and other places accorded him honours of various kinds. Edinburgh, in which city he had a residence, had a great military procession in his honour, and presented him with the thanks of the city in an elegant gold casket.

Early in 1793 seven regiments of fencibles or troops for local defence were raised in Scotland, their respective head-quarters being at Glasgow, Stirling, Perth, Linlithgow, Aberdeen, Inverness, and Forres. A number of corps of volunteers were also enrolled not long after—including cavalry and artillery as well as infantry—the action of the government in regard to the war being warmly supported throughout the country generally, and the gravity of the struggle that had been entered upon soon becoming apparent.¹ Scottish shipping suffered somewhat from the naval cruisers and privateers of the French and Dutch, but the energetic measures taken to bring the British fleet up to the required strength and into a state of due efficiency soon reduced such losses to a very unimportant figure. When the alarm of invasion made it appear probable that the regular troops stationed in garrison in Scotland would have to be removed elsewhere, the volunteers were ready and eager to offer to supply their place,

the Royal Edinburgh volunteers, numbering 700 men, being among the first with such a proposal, declaring themselves prepared to take charge of Edinburgh Castle, and perform the duties falling to be performed by the regiments stationed in that fortress.

In 1797 an act was at last passed for raising a militia force in Scotland, the total number of men to be levied being settled at 6000. Those liable to serve were to be men between the ages of nineteen and twenty-three, and from the total of these the requisite number was to be obtained by ballot. Persons refusing to serve or to provide a substitute were to forfeit the sum of ten pounds and be liable to future ballots. We have already seen that the previous refusal to give Scotland a militia had been considered a grievance of which the country had just reason to complain, therefore it is somewhat surprising to find that when the new act came to be put in force it met with considerable opposition. Somewhat serious riots indeed took place in various parts of Scotland, and a number of persons had to be punished before the agitation calmed down, which soon happened. The measure seems at first to have been misunderstood, and to have been designedly misrepresented in some quarters, though in reality it could not have borne very harshly on the country at large, since in the average not many more than six men from each parish had to be called on to serve, and in no case were they to be sent out of Scotland. It soon became common in the various localities to raise a fund by subscription for the purpose of providing substitutes for those who might find it inconvenient to serve personally if drawn for the militia. By an act passed in 1802 the Scotch militia was assimilated to that of England. The men were now to be selected by ballot from all between the ages of 18 and 45, the number raised was to be 8000, and they were to be enrolled for five years. In 1803, when war had broken out again with France, and the short-lived peace of Amiens had come to an end, the force was augmented to 11,000. Before the end of the century the volunteer movement had been taken up with much enthusiasm, and in 1803 Scotland possessed a force of over 50,000 citizen soldiers belonging to the various branches of the military service. We may mention here also that in 1812 an act was passed for the raising of a local militia in each county, the men not to be called on to serve outside of the county to which they respectively belonged.

As illustrative of the feeling of anxiety and insecurity that generally prevailed towards the close of the century, it may be mentioned that

¹ It may be interesting to recall the names of two of Scotland's greatest sons who were among the volunteers of this period, namely Robert Burns and Walter Scott, the former at Dumfries the latter at Edinburgh. Mr. Secretary Dundas was also a volunteer.

Sir John Sinclair drew up a plan by which the farmers throughout the country were to co-operate in providing carts and wagons for the rapid conveyance of troops to any point at which their presence might be necessary. This plan seems to have met with considerable acceptance, in Scotland at any rate, since the farmers of Midlothian subscribed in three days carts sufficient to convey 5000 men. Recommendations were also sent out by the military authorities as to the removal of live stock and other possessions from such parts of the country as might become liable to inroads of the enemy, and an elaborate scheme of action in view of a possible invasion was issued by Mr. Secretary Dundas in 1798. Not only were the people of the maritime counties to save their property and annoy the enemy by removing their live stock and other goods, but property was even to be destroyed, if need be, to prevent it falling into the enemy's hands, and compensation was to be made to the owners. The nobility, gentry, and yeomanry were also recommended to associate for the purpose of supplying wagons, carts, and horses for the military service, as well as flour, wheat, oats, hay, straw, and fuel in case of an invasion. Infirm persons, women, and children, were also to be removed out of harm's way. Places of rendezvous were to be fixed on beforehand, to which persons of all descriptions, whether connected with the armed forces or not, were to repair on signals of alarm being given. The embodiment of additional corps of volunteers or armed associations was encouraged, and to emphasize the gravity of the situation Mr. Dundas pointed out that, "should the enemy in the prosecution of their avowed designs against this country succeed in escaping the vigilance of our superior navy, and the final issue of this great contest remain ultimately to be decided by the valour and spirit of our land forces, that issue will very much depend on the precautions which I have now stated being executed with punctuality, and in the strictest concert with the officers commanding his majesty's forces in the several military districts to which these counties belong." No invasion of England or Scotland was effected, but during the Irish rebellion of 1798 the French were successful in landing a small force in Ireland to co-operate with the rebels there. These invaders were soon forced to surrender, and a squadron conveying additional troops and stores from France, consisting of a ship of the line and eight frigates, was met by a British squadron, and the ships belonging to it were nearly all taken, the hopes of the French and the rebels being thus completely blasted. The French had altogether

suffered severely at sea in this war, their total loss of war vessels up to December, 1798, being 351, besides 539 privateers.

So far, then, the British, as we have seen, while strikingly unsuccessful in their land operations against the French, had gained brilliant successes at sea, and before the close of the century this discrepancy in result was to receive further remarkable illustration by two additional instances. Having crowned their country with glory at home, the French rulers now conceived a great foreign enterprise, which was to be intrusted in its execution to Napoleon. This was nothing less than the conquest of Egypt, an achievement by which France would obtain the command of the Mediterranean and ready access to India, where a French empire might be founded on the expulsion of the British. Egypt, indeed, belonged to the Porte, with which France was at peace; but the violation of a neutral or even a friendly territory had during the war been a thing of little account with the French Directory. Bonaparte, whose greatness was beginning to fill the Directory with dread, was naturally selected to conduct this important enterprise—a duty which he gladly accepted, as it fully gratified his oriental imagination, and had been for some time a favourite scheme of his own. An army of 30,000 veteran soldiers having been embarked at Toulon set sail on a favourable opportunity, and having taken possession of Malta by the way, reached Alexandria in July, 1798. The Mamelukes, the military rulers of the country, although brave, were unable to resist successfully their disciplined invaders, and after a fruitless attempt, that has been called the Battle of the Pyramids, they fled into the interior, while Bonaparte entering Cairo assumed the government, and endeavoured to conciliate the natives to his rule.

The expedition had been kept as far as possible a secret, but before it reached Egypt Nelson had been on the outlook for it, and had arrived at Alexandria in pursuit. Not finding the French ships there he recrossed the Mediterranean to Sicily, and after learning with certainty the purpose of the enemy, he once more returned to Alexandria, where he found the French fleet anchored in the Bay of Aboukir, on August 1. The French ships were skilfully drawn up in order of battle, being protected by gunboats and land batteries, while they were stationed so near the shore that it was thought impossible that the British could get between them and the land. But Nelson quickly undeceived them. He knew that where a French ship could swing there was room for a British ship to anchor, and accordingly the battle began

by the bold manœuvre by which a portion of his fleet cast anchor inside that of the French, who thus saw some two-thirds of their ships enveloped by a superior force of their enemies. The result was something more than a victory; in the language of Nelson it was a *conquest* in favour of the British. Of their thirteen line-of-battle ships the French lost eleven. Two ships that escaped with two frigates were afterwards captured by the British at sea. Nelson's fleet was similar in numbers, but considerably inferior in weight of metal as well as in numbers of men. Such was the battle of Aboukir or of the Nile, the immediate result of which was that Bonaparte was isolated from France, and shut up by a victorious fleet in a country whose people were everywhere in arms to oppose him. But he still pursued his dreams of conquest, and having marched victoriously from Egypt into Syria, sat down to besiege the fortress of Acre. Here, however, he had not reckoned upon the Turks receiving aid from Sir Sydney Smith and a party of British seamen and marines, and the result was that the French were foiled in every attack, and after a siege of sixty days were obliged to return with severe loss. Bonaparte now saw that the creation of an eastern empire was hopeless for the present at least, and he returned to France, where he was soon after appointed First Consul, with almost absolute power.

The battle of Aboukir, while it filled Britain from one end to the other with transports of joy and triumph, was attended with important consequences in Europe. Up to this period France had been so successful, that the fruits of her victories were not only an extended frontier but a position of proud pre-eminence among the nations of the Continent. Britain, the most formidable enemy of France, was at this time occupied by an Irish rebellion, as well as burdened by debts which her liberal subsidies to the foreign powers had occasioned, and might be thought to be in no condition to wage a single-handed conflict against such a powerful antagonist. In this state of matters the victory of the Nile, inflicting such a blow upon the power of France, re-echoed over Europe, and roused the humbled nations to a fresh effort against their common enemy, in which Britain was again ready to assist. Accordingly it was arranged with the Emperor Paul that a Russian force should co-operate with the British in an attack on the French in Holland, and an army of 30,000 men, of whom 17,000 were Russian and the rest British, was collected for the expedition. On the 13th of August, 1799, General Sir Ralph Abercromby, and the first

division of 12,000 troops, embarked in transports and in the squadron of Admiral Mitchell, who was to join the fleet of Admiral Lord Duncan, then cruising in the North Sea. Under Sir Ralph was another distinguished Scottish soldier, afterwards better known by the title of Sir John Moore. These two had also been associated together, it may be mentioned, in the suppression of the Irish rebellion the preceding year, as well as previously in the West Indies. The enterprise began very hopefully. The British troops were disembarked with some resistance, and occupied the Helder and the adjacent fortress. The Dutch fleet surrendered, nominally giving in its allegiance to the Prince of Orange as Stadtholder of Holland. General Brune, with a mixed army of French and Dutch 25,000 strong, attempted to dislodge Abercromby, who was left for a month in a somewhat critical position; but his inferior force stood its ground manfully, and Brune was repulsed with considerable loss. At last, on the 13th of September, another and stronger division of the Anglo-Russian army arrived, bringing unfortunately with it the Duke of York as commander-in-chief of the whole. From this moment nothing went well, and, after fighting several battles honourable to the troops but by no means so to their commander, his royal highness was fain to conclude a convention by which it was agreed that the British and Russians should be allowed to re-embark without molestation; and that, as the price of that favour, 8000 prisoners of war, French and Dutch, now detained in England, should be set at liberty. Abercromby was disgusted with the failure, and when the ministry, gratified at the capture of the Dutch fleet, offered him a peerage and a title connected with the locality in which these events had taken place, he indignantly refused it, not wishing his name to be thus associated with what he regarded as disgrace.

In the year 1799 the parliament of Great Britain passed a bill providing for the legislative union of Ireland with the other two kingdoms, ruled by a single parliament since 1707. The necessity of this measure had been sufficiently demonstrated by the Irish rebellion of the former year if no other considerations regarding the matter had made their weight felt. In the next year, the last of the eighteenth century, the Irish legislature passed a bill for the same purpose, and all proceedings relative to this great national measure being concluded in the month of June, the Act of Union received the royal assent on the 2d of July. The first imperial parliament met on January 22d, 1801.

CHAPTER VIII.

HISTORY OF RELIGION IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

Position of the Church of Scotland after the Union—Danger threatened through Jacobite intrigues—Its loyalty to the government—Acts of assembly at this period—The Episcopalians—Case of Mr. Green-shields—His imprisonment for using the liturgy—His sentence reversed—Toleration to the Episcopalians granted—Restrictions imposed by the Act of Toleration—Patronage restored—Past history of patronage—Devotedness of the Scots to the popular election of ministers—Hopes of the Jacobites from the restoration of patronage—Dutiful letter of the General Assembly to the queen—Loyalty of the Presbyterians—Professor Simson charged with teaching heretical tenets—His trial—Trial of the presbytery of Auchterarder for introducing new dogmas—The trial occasions the *Marrow* controversy—The *Marrow* doctrines condemned—A strong feeling against their condemnation—The church troubled and divided by the controversy—Professor Simson accused of teaching Arianism—Brought to trial and sentenced to perpetual suspension—Protest of Boston against the sentence—Effects of the restoration of patronage—Collision between patronage and the popular call—Compromises attempted by the assembly—Opposition of Ebenezer Erskine—Supports the popular rights in the election of ministers—He is tried by the General Assembly—Erskine and his coadjutors suspended and afterwards deposed—They retire and form a separate presbytery of their own—Acts passed in vain by the assembly to recall the dissentients—The Seceders publish their “Judicial Testimony”—Growth and progress of the Secession—Its ministers finally cut off from the church—The revival in Cambuslang and Kilsyth—Peaceful events that succeed in the church—The Secession divides itself into two parties—Movement for the augmentation of small livings—The conflict about patronage renewed—The compulsory settlement of Torphichen—The presbytery of Linlithgow censured for refusing to induct—Disputed settlement at Inverkeithing—The presbytery of Dunfermline refuses to induct presentee—They are compelled to submit—One of the dissentients punished by deposition—He founds the Relief Presbytery—Establishment of a national poor-rate—The Moderates in full ascendancy with Principal Robertson for their leader—Their settlement of an unacceptable minister in the parish of Nigg—The parishioners retire and build a chapel for themselves—Fresh departures from the church occasion an overture on schism—The overture discussed in the General Assembly—Arguments urged in favour of patronage—Compulsory settlement of a minister at Eaglesham—The members of presbytery resisted and mobbed—Similar settlement at Shotts—Case of the parish of St. Ninians—Unwillingness of the parishioners to receive the presentee—Solemn appeal addressed to him to desist—Patronage entirely established—Its effect in increasing secessions from the church—Preaching of erroneous doctrine becomes prevalent—Looseness of discipline against clerical delinquencies—Fashion and the philosophical style of preaching in vogue—Repeal of the penal statutes against Roman Catholics proposed—Riots in consequence in Edinburgh and Glasgow—The attempt abandoned—Robertson resigns the leadership of the General Assembly—Character and effects of his administration—Causes of his resignation—He is succeeded by Dr. Hill—The opposition to patronage renewed—Plan of compromise suggested by Professor Hardy—Petitions of synods for the alleviation of patronage—The assembly’s commission no longer instructed to petition for the abolition of patronage—Attempt of Mrs. Buchan to found a sect—Complaints against “New-Light” preaching—Its nature—Dr. McGill of Ayr accused of Socinianism—Prevalence of Socinian doctrines among the New-Light preachers—Check given to them by the French revolution—Awakening of a missionary spirit in Scotland—Missions opposed by the Moderate party—The missionary overtures rejected—Demand for chapels of ease—Opposed by the Moderate party—Rise of Independency—The Haldanes—Act of the General Assembly against admitting preachers not ordained by the church.

When the union of the two kingdoms was effected it was feared by the friends, and hoped by the enemies of the Church of Scotland, that its days were numbered. Hitherto, as an open antagonist to the Anglican Church, it had stood watchfully on its guard, and when opposition arrived it had overcome it either by heroic resistance or martyr endurance. But by the Union a more dangerous form of eversion would be introduced, a slow but sure process of sapping and mining, under which it would gradually and silently fall. Scotland must necessarily follow the lead of England; she would adopt its more perfect form of civilization; and the assimilation of her church to that of England would inevitably follow. The calculation was both correct and wise according to the principles of worldly wisdom, and even the period of its realization was sometimes confidently predicted. But how different has been the result! After nearly two hundred years, during which Scotland has been otherwise so totally changed, her national Presbyterianism is still as active and as strong as ever. Modifications in its form and character, indeed, there have been; but these are nothing more than the natural expressions of the old form of life under the higher state of improvement which the nineteenth century has

accomplished. The national church still remains, and Scotland is still a Presbyterian country.

After the two kingdoms had been united the chief danger was the attempt of a French invasion for the restoration of the Stuarts, an attempt in which France confidently relied on the co-operation of the Scottish Prelatists and the nobles who adhered to their cause. But the Presbyterian spirit of the people was aroused by the danger, and in 1708, when the alarm of a hostile French landing was at the greatest, a fast was proclaimed, and the people held themselves in readiness for the national defence. After the fear of invasion was dispelled by the return of the French fleet to its harbour the General Assembly met on the 17th of April, and the queen's letter expressed the satisfaction she had felt at the readiness and zeal they had displayed on the late occasion, and assured them of her firm resolution to maintain the Church of Scotland in all its rights and privileges; and in their reply they declared they had an equal detestation "of the counsels of Versailles and the pretensions of St. Germain's." Several of this assembly's acts are highly illustrative of the state of the church and religious condition of the people at this period. One was for the suppression of schism and disorder in the church, which had reference to the contentions between the Presbyterian ministers and the Prelatic curates, many of whom had been admitted into the church by the conciliatory policy of King William, and between the Established Church and the Cameronians, who still kept themselves together as a separate people. Another was concerning the behaviour of the congregation during divine worship, in which people were forbid to bow to each other, or engage in conversation while the public religious service was going on. It would appear from this that the devotional exercises of the church were of small account in the eyes of the people compared with the sermon. To promote these devotional services another act enjoined the presbyteries to provide such schoolmasters in every parish as should be capable of teaching the psalm-tunes in singing the praises of God. Another act was for promoting the better attendance of members on the General Assembly. While railways were yet unknown, and even stage-coaches in their infancy, the honour of being elected a representative in the General Assembly was not always a coveted or desirable one: in many cases it was rather like the appointment by which a citizen is compelled to serve on a jury to the neglect of his profitable business and personal comfort. It was no light sacrifice for a minister to leave his studies or his warm comfortable

manse and mount his horse for a journey to Edinburgh where the way was long and the roads rough and dangerous. It appears by another act that penny weddings and their excesses were still prevalent evils which the church could neither abolish nor regulate.¹

The chief enemies with whom the Church of Scotland had to contend were the Episcopalians, who, though no longer in the ascendant, were still a powerful and influential body in the country. Imposed upon the kingdom by James VI., and patronized by his successors, they still remained the steadfast adherents of the Stuarts; and the disqualifications to which they had been subjected since the Revolution only the more endeared to them the Stuart dynasty and made them anxious for its return. Hitherto, indeed, they had been more Scottish than English in the form of their Episcopacy, as they used no liturgy, the attempt of Laud in 1637 having been attended with too disastrous a failure to encourage a repetition of the experiment. But now that they were brought nearer to their brethren of England by the Union they hoped to strengthen themselves by a full conformity and the adoption of the obnoxious prayer book. The attempt was made by James Greenshields, a Scotchman, and the son of a curate who had been "rabbed" at the Revolution. Returning from Ireland, where he had officiated as a curate for thirteen years, to his native country, and being invited to open a place of worship in Edinburgh where the liturgy should be used, he made the trial in the Canongate, for which he was excluded from his chapel by the magistrates. He repeated the attempt in a small building which he had rented at the Cross; but from this also he was displaced in consequence of a complaint made to the dean of guild. Resolved not to be baffled, he hired another building and made a third attempt, for which he was summoned before the presbytery of Edinburgh, and there, while justifying his conduct, he denied their authority. In consequence of this they prohibited him from exercising his clerical office, and remitted the execution of their sentence to the magistrates, who, in consequence of his refusal to obey it, sent him to the public prison. Greenshields then presented an appeal to the Court of Session, who rejected it, but upon an untenable ground: they declared that his ordination, having been received from a deprived bishop, was not valid. It was an awkward argument in the supreme court of a Presbyterian country. Had not the Covenanting ministers been thus deprived in 1660, and yet had continued their func-

¹ Acts of the General Assembly in 1708.

tions in defiance of this civil sentence? And was not their recusancy now considered just and their proceedings held valid? They had furnished Greenshields with a weapon against themselves, and he triumphantly carried his appeal to the House of Lords.¹ The Lords were reluctant to interfere or pronounce judgment, and this feeling was increased by the more important case of Dr. Sacheverell, and the public agitation it had produced. This clerical demagogue had preached before the lord mayor of London and the city council on the anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot, and in a sermon full of sound and fury had declaimed against the Revolution, against toleration to the dissenters, against the present government, and declared both church and state to be in danger; and when impeached before the House of Lords had served as a rallying-point to the Tories in his behalf, while the public voice clamoured for his acquittal. Even the sentence at last pronounced upon Sacheverell, by which he was restrained from preaching for three years, and his sermons publicly burnt by the common hangman, was received by his party as a triumph, on account of the popularity which his trial had obtained for their cause; and within a few weeks after the Whigs were displaced and the Tories came into office. Under these favourable circumstances for Greenshields his case was taken into consideration by the Lords in April, 1711, who reversed the sentence of the Court of Session, and imposed a fine upon the magistrates of Edinburgh. In the abstract it was a just and impartial decision, but the motives that inspired it were anything but just. It was hoped by the Jacobite legislators who awarded it that it would kindle such discontent in Scotland as to alienate the national feelings from the government, and prepare the way for rebellion and the restoration of the Pretender.²

Emboldened by their success in the case of Greenshields, the northern Episcopalians increased their demands, which were now for full toleration; and their desire was so favourably regarded by the Tory party now in power, that twelve new peers were hastily created to ensure success to the proposal. Thus prepared to bear down all opposition, a bill was brought into the House of Commons in January, 1712, "to prevent the disturbance of Episcopal communions in Scotland, in the exercise of their religious worship; and for repealing an act of the Scottish parliament, entitled 'An Act against Irregular Baptisms and Marriages.'" We have already

noticed, in another part of our history, the opposition given to the bill by the commissioners of the General Assembly, and how they were defeated. The bill for toleration passed both houses, and became the law of the land. We have also noticed the oppressive restrictions upon the Presbyterians with which this Act of Toleration was accompanied—restrictions that were calculated to weaken the Scottish Church by the introduction of division and contention. In this the Jacobites were but too successful, and the taking of the abjuration oath in this qualified form alienated congregations from their ministers, and became the ground for future dissent. By another clause of the bill all except Presbyterians were exempted from the jurisdiction of the church courts. Excommunication was no longer to be attended with civil pains and penalties, and magistrates were prohibited from enforcing the sentences of the church courts. The church could only inflict spiritual censures, and was left to its own power to administer them and carry them into effect. It was well, indeed, that this power with which the Church of Scotland had been invested should be broken; but not the less must we condemn the irritating and mischievous purpose for which it was carried into effect. The Toleration Act, however just and necessary in itself, and productive of future benefits, was designed in the first instance only to goad the people into rebellion and facilitate the political devices of those who framed it. Unless we take into account the characters of the leading statesmen of the day, the rabid contentions of the Whigs and Tories as they alternately predominated, and the unscrupulous manner in which the rival parties snatched up weapons from the altar itself to wage their unrighteous conflicts, we shall be unable to understand the history of our church at this period, and the influences by which it was directed.³

After the passing of the Toleration Act, that for the restoration of patronage speedily succeeded; and, to make it if possible more offensive, it was hurried through parliament with a haste that precluded opposition or deliberation. The right of the people to elect their own minister had been claimed so early as the Reformation, and was recognized in the *First Book of Discipline*; and, amidst the succeeding conflicts between the church and the state, the rise or fall of patronage had indicated which of the two powers was for the time in the ascendant. When Prelacy prevailed the minister was admitted by the presentation of the king or the

¹ *The True State of the Case of the Rev. Mr. Greenshields*, &c., London, 1710.

² *Stephen's History*; *Somerville's History*; *Carstairs Papers*; *Lockhart Papers*.

³ *Lockhart Papers*; *Burnet's History of his Own Times*; *Boston's Memoirs*; *Hay's Memoirs*; *Wodrow's Analecta*.

lay patron, but when Presbyterianism predominated the voice of the people was the essential element of his admission. In 1649, when Presbyterianism was all but predominant, the long contest seemed to be closed by the decision of parliament that patronage should be conclusively abolished. It was there declared to be a tyranny upon the souls of the people; that it was a Popish custom which had no warrant in Scripture; and presbyteries were authorized to settle ministers "on the call, or with the consent of the congregation, on whom none was to be intruded against their will." This success, however, was followed by as striking a reaction; the days of the Restoration came, and not only patronage was restored but Episcopacy established, while the ministers of the popular choice, as well as the congregations who had elected them, were driven from their homes and compelled to flee to the mountains. But when the Restoration was succeeded by the Revolution, and the country freed for ever from the persecuting Stuarts, the old Presbyterian order was restored, and patronage again abolished. It was enacted by parliament that when a vacancy in any church occurred, a fit person chosen by the elders and heritors was to be presented to the choice of the congregation, and that if the latter refused to elect him they were to give in their reasons of dissent to the presbytery, by whom the matter was to be finally determined. To requite the patrons for the renunciation of their hereditary rights they were to receive from the parish six hundred merks, on the payment of which they were to sign a formal renunciation of the patronage. They were also entitled to receive all the vacant teinds of the parish to which no other could prove a right. Such was the condition of the law of patronage when the Church of Scotland itself, in all its privileges, was comprehended in the Act of Security which formed one of the chief conditions of the Union.

From this short sketch it will be perceived how tenacious the Scots had been in the election of their own ministers, and what a value they set upon the privilege. Here, then, was the ground upon which to assail them. Nothing would so effectually disgust them with the present government, nothing so completely drive them into the arms of the Pretender, or a war for the repeal of the Union, as an attack upon the principle on which they had shown themselves so sensitive. Accordingly the bill was hastily passed through both houses, and on the 22d of April was confirmed by the royal assent. It was well, however, for the peace of the country and the Protestant succession that this aim of the Jacobites was frustrated. Even more than this the people of Scotland would endure before

they would consent to the restoration of a Popish sovereign, and on the 1st of May, when the General Assembly met, its language, though sorrowful, was respectful and pacific. Accordingly, when the royal letter assured them that, lest any late occurrences might have excited their "fears and jealousies," her majesty had taken this opportunity of assuring them of her firm purpose "to maintain the Church of Scotland as established by law," they re-echoed in their answer, "The late occurrences which your majesty is pleased to take notice of have, we must acknowledge, possessed us with fears and jealousies." There was gentle sarcasm in their acquiescence, but another part of their address was more unmistakable. "We do in all humble duty," they said, "beg leave to put your majesty further in mind of the things which were laid before your majesty by the commission of the last General Assembly as grievous and prejudicial to this church; and, indeed, the late occurrences that have happened do so nearly affect our well-settled and secured church establishment, that we cannot possibly be silent. That the inconveniences and troubles that we thence apprehend may never be found amongst us is our most serious wish. But since your majesty, in your most gracious letter to this assembly, hath been pleased not only to assure us of your firm purpose to maintain the Church of Scotland as established by law, but also that you will employ your utmost care to protect us and redress our just complaints, we most humbly beg leave to acquaint your majesty that we have instructed and empowered the commission appointed by this assembly to advert carefully to all good opportunities, and to use all proper means and methods whereby these our grievances may be properly repressed."¹ In this temperate reply may be recognized the guidance of the courtly and prudent Carstairs. The moderation of the assembly disappointed the hopes of the Jacobites and changed their expected victory into a defeat. This, also, they were compelled to feel in the events that ensued upon the death of Queen Anne. When George I. succeeded to the throne, and the Earl of Mar raised the standard of rebellion, the cause of the Pretender could only rally the Roman Catholics and Episcopalians for its support, while the Presbyterians were unanimous for the established government and the Protestant succession of the house of Hanover.

Hitherto it had been a peculiarity in the Church of Scotland that she had been kept free from heresy and schism. Whatever differences or dissensions might occur, either about ecclesias-

¹ Acts of Assembly, 1712.

tical polity or theological belief, had been confined within her own walls, and the peculiar organization of her church-courts, as James VI. had shrewdly remarked, was sufficient to check a dissent or heresy in the bud. As an opposed and persecuted church, also, she had reaped the natural benefit of this hostility, and the incessant war against her from without had compelled unanimity within. But when the siege was raised and the conflict at an end, and when the power of the church-courts to check or punish was circumscribed, the usual reaction commenced in the form of daring and dissentient speculations not only upon the government of the church but its established creed. The first manifestation of this kind, which was nothing less than a charge of heresy, occurred in the case of John Simson, professor of divinity in the University of Glasgow. It was rumoured in 1741 that this authorized teacher of theology was delivering lectures tainted with Arminian and Pelagian opinions; and, to increase the danger, he was allowed to go on unchecked by his brethren of the presbytery of Glasgow, with whom he was a favourite. The matter was brought before the synod of Lothian and Tweeddale by Mr. Webster, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, and carried to the General Assembly which met in 1714, and again in 1715, when a committee of thirty ministers and six elders was appointed to investigate the charges. The rebellion, however, interrupted the process, so that it was not till two years after that the committee brought in their report. From their statement it appeared that Simson had really taught Arminian and Pelagian tenets; on the other hand, however, that he alleged he had quoted them only for the purpose of refuting them, and that he adhered to every article of the Confession of Faith. But, in spite of his declaration, his printed answers and several other documents showed that his expressions were unguarded and his opinions not strictly orthodox. Indeed, as the case stood, there was sufficient matter to condemn him, but here the assembly was at a stand; some of the members had sat at his feet as pupils, and many in the assembly were infected with the same opinions. Their sentence was in accordance with their private feelings and the opinions they had begun to entertain, and was as lenient as could be desired. He was gently rebuked, not so much for heresy as for indiscretion; his expressions in teaching had been too equivocal, his condemnation of the false opinions too lenient, and he was prohibited from using such language for the future. Great was the alarm of the more orthodox portion of the church at this unwonted lenity. Its chief tribunal had

become corrupt, and a heretic had been dismissed unpunished.¹

The same assembly that had overlooked the fault of Simson, judged it fit to punish the strictness of the presbytery of Auchterarder, which, during the war of the Covenant, had been signalized by its superior zeal. William Craig, a young man, had applied to it for license as a preacher; but although he sustained the usual trials, the presbytery in its zeal for the truth, and alarm at the heresies of Simson and his coadjutors, which were everywhere talked of, had appointed a searching ordeal, under which the young aspirant was found wanting. This was a series of questions embodied in the form of a belief. One of these articles was, "I believe that it is not sound and orthodox to teach that we must forsake sin in order to our coming to Christ, and instating us in covenant with God." Although Craig had signed their formula, afterwards derisively called the "Auchterarder Creed," he had wavered in his answers, betraying, as his judges alleged, both ignorance and weakness, in consequence of which the presbytery refused him an extract of his license. He appealed to the assembly, and laid before it this question, or rather article, to which his answers had been the most unsatisfactory. A fierce debate upon the article ensued, which was condemned as unsound and most detestable, and the offending presbytery was summoned before the commission, to explain what they meant by propounding such a dogma. It appeared, however, that the presbytery, in its zeal against Arminianism, which had now entered into the Scottish Church, had been guilty of nothing worse than rashness, and that their offence only consisted of misapprehended words. They meant that in coming to Christ, we come with all our sins that we may be pardoned and purified, otherwise our coming would be unnecessary. This was different from its apparent meaning, that it was unnecessary to abandon sin in order to become a Christian. A new subject of controversy derived from the Arminianism of Holland had now entered into the Scottish Church, of which the question was, "Is the gospel a new law promising salvation upon certain terms? And if so, what were these terms?" Some were for faith alone as sufficient, others for faith and repentance, while some, who thought this not enough, added to faith and repentance a sincere although imperfect obedience. Those who thus believed were called Neonomians, while those who recognized faith alone as sufficient were termed Antinomians.

¹ Wodrow's Correspondence; Acts of Assembly; Hetherington's *History of the Church of Scotland*.

The extreme solicitude of the Auchterarder presbytery to vindicate the efficacy of the atonement of Christ, had led them into those unwarrantable expressions of which their adversaries now laid hold.¹

The case of Auchterarder was merely the commencement of a contest which has been distinguished in the history of the Scottish Church by the title of the "Marrow Controversy." This strange term originated in the following circumstance. While the debate was going on between the two parties in the General Assembly, the Rev. Thomas Boston, a popular controversialist and well-known author of the *Fourfold State*, happened to mention to the Rev. Mr. Drummond of Crieff, who sat next to him, a book in which the present subject was clearly and conclusively handled: it was entitled the *Marrow of Modern Divinity*, written by Mr. Edward Fisher, a student of Brasenose College, Oxford, and published in 1646. A copy of this little book having been brought to Simprin by an English soldier in the time of the civil wars, had been accidentally found in the house of a cottager by Mr. Boston, while minister of that parish, and its perusal had enlightened and confirmed him upon the difficult points now at issue. Mr. Drummond procured a copy of the work, which was then scarce, and was so convinced of its fitness to instruct and convince, that he and Boston resolved to republish it, which they did in 1718, with a commendatory preface written by Mr. Hog of Carnock. This work, once so widely diffused and well known in Scotland, but which has now fallen out of notice, was written in the form of a dialogue, in which the principal errors both of Neonomians and Antinomians were impersonated and refuted, and the right relation between the covenant of grace and that of works illustrated by Evangelista, a sound minister of the gospel.

The republication of the *Marrow of Modern Divinity* was sufficient to provoke the indignation of the leading men of the church, whose opinions were now more or less infected with Arminianism, and a controversy commenced which for several years constituted the chief history of our national church. In 1719 Mr. Hog of Carnock found it necessary to vindicate the work he had reissued, by publishing "An Explanation of the Passages excepted against in the *Marrow of Modern Divinity*;" but no sooner had this explanation appeared, than the doctrines of the *Marrow* were attacked in a sermon preached before the synod of Fife by Principal Haddow of St. Andrews. He pub-

lished his sermon by request of the synod, and this was followed by a reply from Hog. The assembly, when it met in May, made no express allusion to the *Marrow*, which had kindled the debate that now divided the church into open warfare; but, in the instructions given to its commission, it did something still more significant: it directed them "to inquire into the publishing and spreading of books and pamphlets tending to the diffusing of the condemned proposition of Auchterarder, and promoting a system of opinions relative thereto, which are inconsistent with our Confession of Faith; and that the recommenders of such books and pamphlets, or the errors therein contained, be called before them, to answer for their conduct in such recommendations." This inquisitorial authority was not likely to remain a dead letter; and while the commission appointed a committee at Edinburgh for the examination of the men who propagated the *Marrow* heresy, they appointed a sub-committee at St. Andrews for the trial of the heretical book. Before the ecclesiastical court in Edinburgh four ministers were summoned, but as their answers were judged satisfactory, no further proceedings were adopted. It was different, however, with the sub-committee of St. Andrews, under the direction of Principal Haddow, and from the *Marrow of Modern Divinity* certain heretical doctrines were extracted, and laid before the assembly in 1720. These were: That assurance was of the nature of faith; that the atonement was universal; that holiness was not necessary to salvation; that the fear of punishment and the hope of reward were not allowed to be the motives of a believer's obedience; and that the believer is not under the law as a rule of faith. Besides these, six Antinomian paradoxes, maintained from the distinction drawn between the law of works and the law of Christ, were charged against the *Marrow*. They were: that "A believer is not under the law, but is altogether delivered from it." "The Lord can see no sin in a believer." "The Lord is not angry with a believer for his sins." "A believer hath no cause, neither to confess his sins, nor to crave pardon at the hand of God for them, neither to fast nor mourn, nor humble himself before the Lord for them." In vain was it shown that these obnoxious propositions were composed of sentences detached from their context, a process by which any theological work, however sound, might be judged heretical; in vain was a fair reading and careful investigation of the work demanded which would show that such interpretations were partial and erroneous. The report of the St. Andrews committee was received, and after a short debate the assembly con-

¹ Wodrow's *Correspondence*; Acts of Assembly.

demned the *Marrow of Modern Divinity*, prohibited all ministers to commend the book either by preaching, writing, or printing, and required them to warn and exhort their people not to read it or to use it. From this decision only four members of the assembly dissented.¹

Although the assembly had thus been all but unanimous, the country at large was not satisfied. The acquaintanceship of the people with the national theology made them perceive a discordance between the Confession of Faith and the decision of the highest church court, and their natural shrewdness enabled them to see that the trial had been unfairly managed. Twelve ministers, also, who most enjoyed their confidence as able theologians and men sound in the faith, were opposed to the sentence. Among these were Boston, the most popular of theological and controversial writers, and Ralph and Ebenezer Erskine, afterwards the fathers of the Secession. The twelve endeavoured to get the sentence repealed at the next assembly which met in 1721, and drew up a representation to that effect; but in consequence of the royal commissioner having taken ill their business was referred to the assembly's commission. There the subject, instead of being settled, was drifted to and fro in a storm of theological disputation until the next meeting of the assembly in 1722, when the commission gave in their report. It was unfavourable to the dissentient twelve, whose written representation they denounced, and represented its authors as worthy of censure. This stirred up the *Marrow* controversy anew, which occupied a great part of the assembly's time; but at length the commission's statement, with a few modifications, was sustained by an overwhelming majority. The twelve offenders were sentenced to be admonished and rebuked, which was accordingly done. They received the punishment as martyrs are wont to do when they are condemned for their adherence to the truth, and after enduring the infliction they entered a formal protest against its injustice. In ordinary cases such a sentence would have been followed by suspension or deprivation, and the lenity of the assembly was an unusual feature in the proceedings of ecclesiastical tribunals. But during the interval since the commencement of the controversy the cause of the *Marrow* had been gaining ground, and a more severe sentence might have brought the affair to a crisis and occasioned a dangerous schism. His majesty's letter, also, and the commissioner in private had counselled moderation, and warned them to abstain from any proceed-

ings that might cause a division in the church. The *Marrow of Modern Divinity* as a ground of public or formal controversy was thus disposed of, but not so the doctrines contained in it; these continued to be preached, discussed, and recommended more publicly than ever, until they ripened into that strict orthodoxy and produced those secessions which soon afterwards distinguished the Scottish Church. Even when the very name of the book was lost sight of and forgotten, the spirit it had kindled was permanent and working with a restless vitality. Little did the peaceful gentleman-commoner of Brasenose College who penned the work, or the Cromwellian soldier who chanced to carry a copy of it into Scotland, anticipate what effects it was to produce in that alien land and upon generations yet unborn.²

The church had not long rested after its late conflict when a new and still more dangerous subject of alarm called it into action. Arianism had of late been making progress in England, where it had been introduced by Dr. Samuel Clarke, and his treatise entitled the *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*, a work characterized by great learning and ability, had subverted the faith of many who had hitherto received the Nicene creed without demur. It was impossible that the controversy which this occasioned should remain unknown in Scotland, and Professor Simson was one of the first to catch the infection. We have seen him already tried for teaching Arminianism, and how he escaped a merited punishment by explanation and apology. But his love of inquiry and facile disposition had not only carried him into the controversy, but secured his belief, and in 1726 a rumour was prevalent that in his lectures to the theological students of Glasgow he was inculcating downright Arianism. An inquiry was established, but the professor's explanations were judged unsatisfactory, and when his pupils were examined their recollections or notes of his lectures upon such metaphysical distinctions as the subject involved could scarcely be received as grounds for satisfactory conviction. The subject was brought before the assembly in 1727; but the question of the professor's guilt was not decided; he was in the meantime, however, suspended from teaching until a decision should be obtained from the next assembly in 1728. But even when that period arrived no satisfactory conclusion was attained. During a long discussion of several days, Simson continued to deny, to explain, and equivocate until he had retracted every heretical dogma, and stood forth as or-

¹ Boston's *Memoirs*; Wodrow *Correspondence*, vol. ii.; *Christian Instructor* for 1830-31.

² Acts of Assembly; Boston's *Memoirs*; Struther's *History of the Church of Scotland*; Hetherington; Cunningham's *Church History of Scotland*.

thodox in sentiment and language as the most zealous of his accusers. But thus he had done before when he was charged with teaching Arminianism, and the assembly had become better aware of the nature of the man with whom they had to deal, and it was declared by many of the members that they ought to consider not merely what the professor declared to be his belief, but what had been proved against him. Even at the best, if no longer a heretic, he had lately been one, and his present recantation was suspicious. A few proposed that he should be excommunicated, while a greater number were divided upon a milder sentence, some for suspension, and others for deposition. In this difficulty the temporary interdict which prohibited him to teach was continued until next assembly, and in the meantime his case was transmitted to all the presbyteries for their consideration. Their verdict upon it was various. Some thought that Simson deserved pity, while others declared that he merited none. Several opined that his retractions were satisfactory, while to others they appeared to be dishonest shuffling. And had he not thus retracted in 1717, and afterwards lapsed into still deeper errors; and had he not crowned all by a denial of one of the principal articles of the Christian faith!

Under this diversity of opinion the General Assembly, which met in May, 1729, proceeded to final judgment. The impression of Simson's guilt was general; but the opinion of its amount, and the punishment it had merited, was various. The more lenient of his judges, or such as feared that their own time of reckoning might come, were for making his suspension from office perpetual, so that he might still retain his salary, while others insisted upon his absolute deposition both from salary and office. Simson again recanted his offences, and after much debate, in which the whole subject was debated anew, the milder sentence carried the day. His temporary suspension was made perpetual, and he was still allowed to draw his salary. This lenient decision was received with profound silence, none daring to oppose it except Thomas Boston, who then for the last time sat in that assembly. He rose amidst the universal stillness and said: "I find myself under a necessity of declaring my dissent from the decision of the assembly, as I think the censure inflicted by it is not adequate to the offence given. I cannot help thinking that the cause of Jesus Christ, as to the great and essential point of his Supreme Deity, has been at the bar of this assembly requiring justice; and as I am shortly to answer at His bar for all I do or say, I dare not give my assent to the decision of this act. On the contrary, I feel myself obliged on this occasion

to offer a protest against it, and therefore in my own name, and in the name of all who shall adhere to me, and if none will, for myself alone, I crave leave to enter my protest against the decision of the act." No one, however, seconded this protest, and Boston, by the expositions of the moderator, was persuaded not to have it entered in the assembly's records. After this trial the heretical and trimming professor sunk into unnoticed obscurity, and his case faded from public remembrance.¹

As yet, indeed, the indications of the evil resulting from the restoration of patronage had been few and far between, and patrons found few temptations to exercise their rights in opposition to the popular choice, when vacant parishes were more numerous than ministers to supply them. But this was a deficiency which was every year becoming less, and in many cases the patrons being Episcopalians and Jacobites had no scruple in using their influence to the hurt of Presbyterianism. Hitherto a call from the people was regarded as more essential than the presentation of the patron, and the latter was thought to be invalid if the former was wanting. But the question now raised was, What constitutes a call? While one party contended that it was enough if signed only by the heritors and elders, the other maintained that it should proceed from all the heads of families belonging to the congregation. A subject so important was sufficient to divide the church into two contending factions whose variance it was impossible to reconcile, and inductions into vacant parishes were occurring in which sometimes the one party and sometimes the other prevailed, but always accompanied with contention. Sometimes, when the General Assembly ordered a minister to be inducted who was not acceptable to the people, the presbytery refused to induct him upon the plea of conscience. The congregation, they said, would not follow such a pastor; his labours among them would be worse than useless; and by inducting him they would be guilty of imposing a hireling upon a flock which he could not feed. And how was the assembly to deal with such presbyteries consistently with its authority and character? They could not decently use compulsion against such conscientious scruples, nor yet could they decently yield to them. In this extremity the assembly devised a middle course, which was perhaps worse than either. They appointed a committee of their own number, or of ministers belonging to the synod within which the vacant parish lay, together with any ministers of the presbytery who would concur with

¹ Wodrow's Correspondence; Boston's *Memoirs*, appendix.

them in the act, to induct the obnoxious presen-tee, let the parishioners disclaim him as they might. In this way the assembly hoped to satisfy the consciences of the scrupulous, vindicate their own authority, and enforce the rights of patronage as now by law established. But this awkward compromise was regarded as an arbitrary and unconstitutional measure, and the proceedings of such committees in the compulsory induction of ministers became so unpopular that they were called "riding committees," in consequence of their dragoon-like character and the unscrupulous violence with which they were wont to override the objections and appeals of the people.¹

Finding that these plans were ineffectual to still the popular discontent, the General Assembly in 1731 devised another, which, instead of healing the evil, produced that important schism called the Secession. An overture had been presented that in all cases where the planting of parishes devolved upon presbyteries they should proceed to induct upon a call from the heritors, being Protestants, and the elders; and in obedience to the terms of the Barrier Act this overture was transmitted to all the presbyteries for their consideration previous to its settlement in the next assembly. But this was accompanied with a notification that though no returns should be made upon it the overture should nevertheless be laid before the assembly, either to be established or rejected. At the meeting of the assembly in the following year (1732) it was found that eighteen presbyteries approved of the whole overture and twelve assented to it with certain alterations. But thirty-one were against it, and eighteen had made no return. It was argued by the patronage party that the twelve being added to the eighteen made thirty presbyteries who approved of the overture, and that the silent presbyteries being added would swell the numbers to a majority of forty-eight who were in favour of it. To this unfair arithmetic it was objected by the other party that only eighteen were for the overture and thirty-one against it, while those who had made no returns must count for nothing. In this opposition Ebenezer Erskine, one of the chief *Marrow* men, was particularly conspicuous. An advocate for popular election in its fullest extent, he inveighed against the right being exclusively limited to the heritors and elders. "What difference," he exclaimed, "does a piece of land make between man and man in the affairs of Christ's kingdom, which is not of this world? Are we not commanded in the Word to do nothing by partiality? whereas here is the most

manifest partiality in the world. We must have the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, or the privilege of His church, 'without respect of persons;' whereas by this act we show respect to the man with the gold ring and the gay clothing beyond the man with vile raiment and poor attire." But in spite of opposition the overture was passed, and a general indignation followed. It was a personal right, a right belonging to every Christian man that was invaded, and the popular preachers who could find no free utterance for their sentiments in the assembly indemnified themselves in the pulpit for this restraint by their vehement sermons against patronage. And in these denunciations no preacher was more zealous or of higher account than Ebenezer Erskine. On the first Sabbath after his return to his charge in Stirling he preached a sermon in which the rights of Christian congregations were vindicated and the decision of the assembly unsparingly condemned. But this was not his only pulpit attack upon patronage and its supporters. Being moderator of the synod of Perth and Stirling in the preceding year, he had preached at its opening such a sermon as could not be overlooked, and for this the synod had adjudged him to be censured. Erskine appealed from this sentence of the synod to the next assembly in 1733, and his appeal was seconded by several ministers and elders.²

Matters were now advancing at such a pace that neither party could concede, and the ominous question was to be brought to a disastrous issue at the assembly of 1733. The friends of patronage had the case of Stark as well as Erskine to dispose of, and the former was first called. He had been appointed to the parish of Kinross against the will of a majority both of the parishioners and the presbytery, and he had been inducted into the charge by a riding committee. In consequence of this the ministers had refused to enrol him as a member of their court, and the parishioners had repaired to the adjoining parishes to receive the sacrament. The assembly had taken up the case in 1732, and decreed that the presbytery should put Stark's name upon their roll and prohibit his people from communicating in other churches; but neither of these orders was obeyed. Resolved to establish him in all his ministerial rights, the present assembly decreed that the offending presbytery should be rebuked for contumacy, that they should recognize Mr. Stark as a minister of the gospel and their brother, and that they should not admit any of his people to church ordinances without his consent.³ Having thus indicated the spirit in which

¹ Cunningham's *Church History of Scotland*.

² Struthers's *History of Scotland*; Thomson's *History of the Secession Church*.

³ Acts of Assembly.

they meant to proceed, Ebenezer Erskine was next summoned to appear. He complied, and read a paper at their bar, in which he justified his proceedings both by the principles of the gospel and the laws of the church; but although his arguments were unanswerable, they were also unavailing, and it was decided that his synodical sermon, being offensive in language and subversive of the peace of the church, he should be rebuked. Against this sentence he laid a written protest upon the table, and immediately retired with his three adherents, Alexander Moncrieff, minister of Abernethy, William Wilson, minister of Perth, and James Fisher, minister of Aberdalgie. Regarding this constitutional act as an additional defiance to their authority, the assembly summoned the recusants to return to their bar; but although they complied, they refused to retract the words they had spoken or withdraw their protest. They were suspended until November, but in spite of the sentence they still continued in the exercise of their ministerial duties; and this brought the affair to a crisis. The only question now was their deposition; but here the assembly's commission hesitated for a moment—what would be the general feeling of the church at such a process? what would be the consequences of ejecting four ministers who regarded their tie to the church as indissoluble, and who declared their resolution to continue their public duties as if no such sentence had passed? An organized secession would be certain to follow; and in the state of public feeling how widely it might extend! But such misgivings, if they occurred, were only for a moment, and the four were deposed. Still the sentence was so modified as to leave an opening for their return. It merely loosed them from their respective charges, and declared them to be no longer ministers of the church. After protesting that they were obliged to make a secession from the church until it had seen its sins and mistakes and amended them, and appealing “to the first free, faithful, and reforming General Assembly of the Church of Scotland,” the four brethren departed, and on the 6th of December, 1733, constituted themselves into a separate presbytery.¹

These fathers of the Scottish Secession, by virtue of their sentence, were still enabled to retain their charges, and there they continued to exercise their ministerial functions, but abstaining for a time from any acts of jurisdiction on their own authority. Even in this gentle form, however, the aspect of dissent was alarming, and the ruling party in the church endeavoured to

retrace their steps and recall these outstanding brethren into the fold by professions of repentance and deeds of conciliation. In the assembly of 1734 they repealed the act prohibiting protests which they had established in 1730, and that for planting vacant churches which they had enacted in 1732, which had formed the chief causes of the secession; and they passed an act declaring that ministerial freedom was not to be considered as in any way impaired by the late decisions. They also empowered the synod of Perth to reconsider the case of the dissentient ministers for the purpose of having them restored to the church without reference to former proceedings. They even sent a deputation to London to solicit the repeal of the act reimposing patronage which had been established in the reign of Queen Anne, and being unsuccessful they renewed the application in the following year. And this was not all. In 1736 an act was passed condemning patronage, and declaring that it had been a principle in the Scottish Church since the Reformation that no minister should be intruded into a parish against the will of the people, and that all presbyteries should have regard to that principle in the planting of vacant churches.² That “first free, faithful, and reforming General Assembly” to which the four ministers had appealed seemed already to be evoked at their call. But it was now too late. Confident in their growing numbers, and flattered by the popular sympathy, they refused to yield even when the obstacles to their return were removed. Such was especially the case with Ebenezer Erskine, the leader of the party, who seemed to feel that it was better to be sole hierarch of a village than a cardinal of Rome, with a pontiff over him; and these conciliatory advances, he declared, were merely a stop to deformation instead of a positive reform. The Seceders, accordingly, impugned these overtures to peace and reconciliation, and made the breach wider as well as more distinct by publishing in 1736 their “Judicial Testimony.” It was, with few exceptions, a repetition of the testimony of the Covenanters—a falling back upon the “good old times,” and a protest against the innovations and advancing spirit of the age. Prelacy had not been denounced by the church as a thing accursed. The Covenants had not been renewed. A union other than a covenant union had been made with England, and its Episcopacy had been established by the treaty. Heterodoxy was taught in our colleges, and the *Marrow of Modern Divinity* had been condemned. Night assemblies and balls were tolerated, pictures of Jesus Christ in some places were publicly set up, which was idolatrous, and the solemn command, “Thou shalt not suffer

¹ Acts of Assembly; Thomson's *History of the Secession*; Gib's *Display of the Secession Testimony*, vol. i.

² Acts of Assembly

a witch to live," had fallen into disuse. These were some of their strongest objections to a return to the National Church, and the reformation they contemplated would have stereotyped Scotland into the character and form of the seventeenth century, with all its excellences and all its manifold faults. It was well for the successors of these men of the "Judicial Testimony" that the strong current of modern improvement has silently but irresistibly drifted them onward amidst the universal change.

In 1737 the Secession was strengthened by the addition of four ministers; these were Ralph Erskine, a brother of Ebenezer, and minister of Dunfermline, Thomas Muir of Orwell, Thomas Nairn of Abbotshall, and James Thomson of Burntisland, so that they now began to call themselves the Associate Synod. Not only were they still left undisturbed in their charges, but gently entreated by the church to return, and in 1738 an act was passed in the assembly to that effect. After stating the hostility of the Secession ministers, and the violent manner in which it was expressed in their sermons, it was added: "Yet this assembly, choosing rather still to treat them in the spirit of meekness, brotherly love, and forbearance, did, and hereby do, enjoin all the ministers of this church as they shall have access, and especially the ministers of the synods and presbyteries within which these seceding brethren reside, to be at all pains, by conferences and other gentle means of persuasion, to reclaim and reduce them to their duty and the communion of this church." But this the dissentient ministers requited in 1739 by an "Act of the Associate Presbytery, finding and declaring that the present judicatories of the church are not lawful nor rightly constituted courts of Christ; and declining all authority, power, and jurisdiction that the said judicatories may claim to themselves over the said presbytery." The door that had so long been kept open must now be closed, and those who refused to return to the church must be cut off from it. For eight years they had continued to hold their offices and draw their stipends from an establishment against which they bitterly preached, and for the overthrow of which their labour was incessant. And sadly and reluctantly was this duty performed by the General Assembly in 1740, when sentence of deposition was passed upon the seceding ministers. It was pronounced on the 15th of May, and purposely delayed till the afternoon of the term day that the ejected might be entitled to draw their stipends for the preceding half year. It was a merciful qualification of the sentence, by which the ministers were saved from poverty until arrangements could be made for their sup-

port by their congregations, who retired with them.¹

The next important event that followed the Secession was the remarkable revival which occurred at various places, but especially Cambuslang and Kilsyth, in 1742. The commencement was at Cambuslang, of which parish the Rev. Mr. McCulloch was minister, a pious man of average abilities, and not remarkable for especial talent as a preacher. During the previous year he had been earnest in preaching the doctrines of regeneration and justification by faith, and an unwonted seriousness as well as a deep interest in these important subjects was manifested throughout the parish. At the request of his parishioners he commenced a weekly lecture in addition to his Sabbath services, and his manse began to be crowded with inquirers anxious about their souls. At length, in the course of one of his evening lectures in the month of February (1742), he happened to exclaim, in the words of Isaiah, "Who hath believed our report, and to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed?" when, as if the signal had been given, the long-suppressed feelings of the congregation broke forth; some wept aloud in sorrow for their sins, and others cried in terror of the judgment to come. At every lecture such scenes now became frequent, and the strong religious feelings of the awakened were manifested by convulsive movements, in which all self-government seemed to be lost; some writhed in agony; blood gushed from the noses of others; while several stamped with their feet, clapped their hands, and smote upon their breasts. All were pervaded with the one great question, "What shall we do to be saved?"—a question that generally ended in the triumphant cry, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation!" The tidings of this strange movement brought not only crowds from far and near, but also some of the principal ministers of Scotland to Cambuslang; and while some recognized in it the finger of God, others were perplexed, and feared that it might be a delusion. In the beginning of May a similar revival occurred at Kilsyth, and with similar manifestations. It was impossible, however, that such intensity could be lasting; a reaction speedily followed, and Kilsyth and Cambuslang returned to their wonted everyday tranquillity. But whence had so strange a visitation come? It was stigmatized as a popular frenzy by the infidel and scoffer, and was deplored as an outburst of fanatical delusion by many of the wise and the good.

¹ Acts of Assembly; Acts and Testimony of the Associate Synod.

None showed more hostility to the revival than the new Seceders and the old Cameronians, whose sectarian exclusiveness and pride were wounded by the display. It was impossible, they thought, that any good thing could come out of the Erastian and apostate establishment, and instead of being a Pentecostal interposition, they alleged that it was the work of the devil disguised as an angel of light. Others, less harsh in their judgment, supposed that the whole might be accounted for on merely physiological principles. The question is still an open one, and incidents have occurred in our own day to revive it. All that can be satisfactorily answered in the present instance is, that while hundreds of the Cambuslang and Kilsyth converts maintained a steadfast consistency to the end, a greater number relapsed into indifference, and became more unimpressible than ever.¹

For several years the history of the church was so tranquil that the chief events may be dismissed with a brief notice. In 1744 the fund for the support of the widows of ministers, devised by that able financier Dr. Webster of Edinburgh, after being passed through the assembly was confirmed by parliament, and came into active operation. In the same year, also, the General Assembly passed an act against smuggling, which had now risen to such a height that tea was surreptitiously introduced into the country as well as brandy, and was deemed by many the worse evil of the two. The rebellion which followed, while it tended to display the loyalty of Presbyterianism to the Hanoverian succession, was unfavourably contrasted with Scottish Episcopalianism, which was wholly on the side of the Pretender; but for this the Episcopalians had to pay a heavy reckoning, by the additional penalties and restrictions which the government laid upon them. The years 1746-47 were chiefly distinguished by the breaking up of the Seceders into two hostile sects in consequence of the burgess oath. On being made a burgess the citizen was required to swear that "he professed and allowed within his heart the true religion presently professed within the realm, and allowed by the laws thereof." But could this be honestly taken by a Seceder? The question was raised among themselves, and while one party were convinced that they could take it, as the true religion meant no other than their own, the other party confined themselves to the meaning of those by whom the oath was administered, which was, the religion established by law. The question

was brought before the Associate Synod, discordant debates and angry pamphlets followed, and all ended in an open rupture, the one party known as Burghers and the other as Anti-burghers, forming separate churches, while each claimed to be the true Associate Synod.

In 1749-50 an application was made by the church for the augmentation of the small livings, and on drawing up a table of the stipends of the clergy for the purpose, it appeared that of eight hundred parishes of Scotland more than two hundred were under £50 per annum. Considering the change of living this was little better than the old state of things, and the evil was aggravated by the fact that, while only £50,000 paid all the stipends in Scotland, upwards of £60,000 worth of tiends remained in the hands of the landed proprietors. The reasonable demand of the church on this occasion awoke a fierce opposition among the holders of the church lands, and the aristocracy were arrayed against the clergy, as they had been in the days of John Knox and the Regent Morton. It was in vain for the ministers to plead their poverty and the inadequate measure of their support; they were tauntingly reminded by their opponents of their duty to be living examples as well as teachers of frugality and moderation, and that this they could best accomplish upon livings of apostolic amount. The assembly sent a deputation, with Dr. Patrick Cuming, the moderator, at their head, to plead the cause of the ministers before the king, but the heritors threatened in retaliation to make the yoke of patronage more oppressive than ever. This was a menace that daunted the boldest, and the deputation retired from the conflict.²

The subject of patronage now became the chief consideration of the church, as well as the main source of its annoyance. From 1712 to 1730 the rights of the patron were seldom exercised against the will of the people, but from 1730 to 1750 the popular call was less regarded, and the will of the patrons brought more into open action. But the act of 1712 had established the principle of patronage, and the time, sooner or later, was certain to come in which it would claim its dues and enforce them with an iron hand. The commencement of this change was in 1751, in a settlement at Torphichen. To this charge a Mr. Watson had been appointed three years earlier; but, being unacceptable to the parishioners, the presbytery refused to induct him. The assembly interposed and commanded the presbytery to proceed with his ordination; but, as only five or six

¹ *Life of Whitefield; Robe's Narrative; Struthers' History of Scotland; Original Statistical Account of Scotland, in article "Cambuslang."*

² *Morren's Annals of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland; Struthers' History of Scotland.*

parishioners had subscribed the call, the presbytery of Linlithgow once and again refused to comply with the assembly's order. In this case what was to be done? The presbytery for their non-compliance pleaded conscience, while the General Assembly insisted upon its right as the superior court, to which the other ought to be subordinate, and that if they could not conscientiously obey they ought to abandon the Established Church. It was considered a hard alternative, more especially when it was remembered that the assembly could spare the consciences of the presbytery by employing a committee of their own to effect the unwelcome induction. But the assembly, as if armed with papal infallibility, had resolved that now and henceforth implicit obedience should fulfil her commands, and that no punishment short of expulsion should be left to the recusant. In this debate two young members were especially noticed; one was John Home, minister of Athelstaneford, and afterwards author of the tragedy of *Douglas*; the other was William Robertson, minister of Gladsmuir, soon to become the leader of the Moderate party in the church, and to aggrandize both the party and the office by his high literary reputation and standing. Although the ministers of the presbytery of Linlithgow were neither compelled to secede nor obey, their punishment was an indication of the new rule that had commenced in the church; by the vote of a great majority they were punished by a rebuke; and, as their compliance was hopeless, the obnoxious presentee was inducted into the parish of Torphichen by a "riding committee." It is worthy of remark that this was the last committee of the kind used on such occasions, and that in the list of its members are to be found the names of Hugh Blair, John Home, and William Robertson.

This case of disputed settlement was not the only one of the kind awaiting the decision of the assembly. Mr. Andrew Richardson had been presented to the parish of Inverkeithing; but, being unacceptable to the parish, the presbytery of Dunfermline had delayed his settlement. The assembly's commission ordered the presbytery to proceed without delay to his induction, and, in consequence of their continued refusal, the case was brought before the assembly in 1752. The great question at issue was, "How far the members of inferior judicatories are bound to give effect to the sentences of superior courts in opposition to the dictates of their own private judgment and conscience"—the decision of which was to determine whether the Moderate or the popular party was henceforth to rule the church. The eloquence of Robertson was again exerted in favour of the

assembly's authority; the case was decided against the presbytery, who were commanded to proceed with Richardson's ordination; and, to make the punishment extend more widely over the recusants, not less than five of their number were to form a quorum, although three were usually found sufficient. But a great majority of the presbytery still held out, and six of their boldest presented to the assembly a written vindication of their conduct. It stated the well-known facts, that the law of patronage had always been odious to the people, that it was contrary to the Act of Settlement at the Union, and that in 1736 presbyteries had been prohibited to intrude ministers upon parishes contrary to the will of the people. And what were they to do in this dilemma of either disobeying the superior courts or violating the established laws and rights of the church? Their objections were overruled or disregarded, and it was resolved to depose one of the disobedient presbyters as a warning to the rest. The victim selected was the Rev. Thomas Gillespie of Carnock, who, on receiving sentence, said, "I desire to receive the sentence of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland pronounced against me with real concern and awful impressions of the divine conduct in it; but I rejoice that to me it is given, in behalf of Christ, not only to believe on him, but also to suffer for his sake."¹ By this deed of the Moderate party a new secession in the church signalized the commencement of their reign. This was the Relief Church, of which the founder and father of the first presbytery was Gillespie. In this course of compulsory settlements the Moderates had endeavoured to secure the patrons of livings by enforcing their presentations with the power of the highest ecclesiastical court, by which they also succeeded in establishing their own power and predominance; but, in requital for this, their proceedings originated an evil which the country has never ceased to deplore. Hitherto there had been no legal assessment for the support of the poor; and the voluntary contributions at the church-doors had been found sufficient for the relief of real poverty, as well as for checking that which was pretended, or was occasioned by indolence and idleness. But in 1755 it was found that the secessions from the Established Church had diminished the usual contributions, so that the claimants could not be supported without extraneous supplies; and hence the establishment of a national poor-rate, a calamity worse than the abolition of patronage, and which minister and patron had soon such

¹ Morren's *Annals of the Assembly*; Hetherington; Cunningham.

cause to regret. That the coming changes of society would have rendered such an assessment imperative is certain; but the probability is, that it would neither have arrived so soon, nor yet have gone on in such a rapidly increasing ratio, had the rights of the church been left inviolate.¹

Blind to such consequences the ruling party, having now acquired a giant's strength, was disposed to use it like a giant; and in all disputed cases the orders of the General Assembly were to induct, whatever might be the opposition of the parish. Of this arbitrary rule a specimen was afforded in 1756. A vacancy had occurred in the parish of Nigg, in Ross-shire, to which Mr. Grant, a man not only reported unsound in doctrine, but of equivocal moral character, was presented. The parishioners being opposed to him, the presbytery hesitated; but, awed by the example of the case of Gillespie, four of the ministers repaired to the church on the dreary task of inducting the presentee. But they found the church empty; not a parishioner appeared; and when they would have commenced the day's proceedings a man suddenly arrived, who had been charged to tell them, "That if they should settle a man to the walls of that kirk the blood of the parish of Nigg would be required at their hands." The presbytery recoiled in dismay, and, instead of proceeding further, reported the case to the assembly. But that court was indignant, and, after rebuking them for their cowardice, sent them back to complete their task, at the same time ordering the minister who was most opposed to the settlement to preside at its performance. The parishioners of Nigg left the empty walls of the church to the minister, and built a meeting-house for themselves, where they had a pastor of their own choice.²

The effects of such departures were soon felt and complained of. While patronage was thus compulsory, a congregation had no remedy but to retire to the Secession or Relief, and there remain until a better day for the church had arrived. The privilege of having a minister of their own election completely outweighed the sacrifices they made for his support, or even the necessity of standing aloof from the church of their fathers, and being regarded as outcasts or apostates; and a hundred and twenty meeting-houses erected within the short space of thirty years evinced the strength of the principle and the rapidity of its progress. Where was this to end? An overture on schism was brought before the assembly in 1765, in which it was represented that these meeting-houses contained a hundred thousand worshippers who had for-

merly belonged to the establishment, and that in the largest and wealthiest towns this spirit of dissent was the most prevalent. As the evil was thought to arise from the abuse of patronage, it was proposed that the assembly should consider what methods were necessary to rectify it, and that a committee should be appointed to correspond with presbyteries and with gentlemen of property upon the subject. This overture was discussed by the assembly in 1766, in an earnest debate that lasted from ten o'clock in the morning until nine at night. By the Moderate party it was stated that patronage was the law of the land, and that the civil magistrate was commissioned to enforce it. Schism was not an evil, or if so, it was a necessary evil; it had always existed, and would always exist in the church. And why lay the blame upon patronage? It should rather be imputed to those who stirred up the popular discontent, and taught the people that they had a divine right to elect their own ministers. And what were the benefits of popular election as opposed to those of patronage? The patron was better able to choose a suitable minister than the illiterate peasantry, who preferred sound to sense, and cared little for the literary qualifications of the candidate. And in popular elections, would not greater contentions arise about rival candidates than any that had originated in patronage? Let the church but be careful about the men whom it licensed, and unworthy nominations by patrons would be prevented. These were the arguments of justification and apology which were repeated in favour of patronage to the date of its final abolition; and they were met by the opposite party with those facts and statements which, though then disregarded, have triumphed at last. When the debate had ended and the votes were taken, eighty-five were found to be in favour of the overture, while ninety-nine were against it.³ So large a minority was a convincing proof that the contest against patronage would again be renewed and that it would finally prove successful.

The Moderate party having thus succeeded, followed up their success with an arrogance that irritated the people and swelled the ranks of dissent; and the cases of violent settlements which ensued form a melancholy feature in the history of the period. Of this description was one which occurred in the parish of Eaglesham in April, 1767. Mr. Clerk, who was especially obnoxious to the people, had received a presentation to the living from the Earl of Eglinton, and the presbytery of Glasgow, with Principal Leachman of the university, went to 'ordain

¹ Rev. Sir Henry Moncrieff's *Life of Erskine*.

² Morren's *Annals of the Assembly*.

³ Morren's *Annals of the Assembly*.

him. But on reaching the village they found the church guarded by a crowd armed with sticks and stones; and when they attempted to enter it they were driven back by volleys of missiles, and bespattered from head to foot with mud. The reverend intruders fled to a house, where they resolved to proceed with the ordination; but here an unforeseen difficulty arose: although several clergymen were present, only two belonged to the presbytery of Glasgow, the rest having either withheld their attendance through fear, or taken to flight during the riot. As the ordination could not take place without a church-court, the next thought of the ministers was a quiet retreat; but in proceeding to their carriages they were assailed with angry yells, and when their horses were put to full speed they were pursued by the mob, whose shouts rang in their ears long after they had distanced pursuit. This, however, was only an unavailing outbreak, and two months after, Mr. Clerk was minister of Eaglesham.¹ Another case, which might have been attended with more serious effects, occurred in the parish of Shotts. The presentee of the Duke of Hamilton, who was patron, was a certain Mr. Wells; but although he was nominated in 1762, the aversion of the parishioners was so strong that the presbytery were afraid to settle him; and a long litigation ensued, which was terminated in 1768, by the decision that he should be ordained minister of Shotts. By express command of the General Assembly the presbytery met to ordain him, but found both church and churchyard so strongly guarded by a mob that entrance into either was impossible, and in this case they had no alternative but to retire, leaving the duty unfulfilled. They were afterwards encouraged by the sheriff of the county to return, with the assurance that they would be supported in the work of ordination by a sufficient party of foot and dragoons under his orders; but this risk of mingling human blood with such a sacred service did not suit the presbytery, and they ordained the minister, not in the church of Shotts, but the safe and quiet town of Hamilton.²

But a more solemn testimony against patronage was delivered in the church of St. Ninians, to which Mr. Thomson, minister of Gargunnock, had received a presentation. He was so undesirable to the people that his call was signed only by a few Episcopalians, who were not likely to avail themselves of his clerical services, and certain non-resident heritors equally indifferent. On the other hand, the opposition to

his admission was so express and overwhelming that the presbytery would not venture to induct him, and the parish remained without a regular pastor until a litigation in the church-courts on the subject, which lasted seven years, was brought to a close. This was in 1773, when the assembly not only issued a command for his ordination, but that every member of the presbytery should also be present. So odious, however, was the deed, that some of them ventured to disobey, at the risk of censure or deposition. The presbytery, which met at St. Ninians for the purpose, had Mr. Findlay, minister of Dollar, for its moderator; but it was observed that in his prayer with which he opened the services he asked no blessing upon the purpose for which they had assembled. When this was ended, instead of putting the usual questions to the presentee, who was standing before him, he addressed him with the following solemn adjuration, while the multitude present listened in breathless silence: "We have met this day, in obedience to the General Assembly, to admit you minister of St. Ninians. There has been a formidable opposition made against you by six hundred heads of families, sixty heritors, and all the elders of the parish except one. This opposition has continued for seven years by your own obstinacy; and if you should this day be admitted, you can have no pastoral relation to the souls of this parish; you will never be regarded as the shepherd to go before the sheep; they will know you not, and they will never follow you. You will draw misery and contempt upon yourself, you will be despised, you will be hated, you will be insulted and maltreated. One of the most eloquent and learned ministers of this church told me lately that he would go twenty miles to see you deposed; and I do assure you that I and twenty thousand more, friends to our church, would do the same. What happiness can you propose to yourself in this mad, this desperate attempt of yours, without the concurrence of the people, and without the least prospect of usefulness in this parish? Your admission into it can only be regarded as a sinecure, and you yourself as *stipend-lifter* of St. Ninians, for you can have no further relation to this parish. Now, sir, I conjure you by the mercies of God, give up this presentation; I conjure you, for the sake of the great number of souls of St. Ninians, who are like sheep going astray without a shepherd to lead them, and who will never hear you, will never submit to you, give it up; I conjure you, by that peace of mind which you would wish in a dying hour, and that awful and impartial account which in a little you must give to God, of your own soul, and of the souls of this parish

¹ Appendix to parliamentary report on patronage, pp. 137-142.

² *Idem*, p. 154.

at the tribunal of the Lord Jesus Christ—*give it up!*” The thunderstruck audience turned their eyes upon the unhappy man ready to devour his answer, who only replied, “Sir, for what you have now said may God forgive you: proceed to obey your superiors.” Finding him thus confirmed in his purpose, Mr. Findlay, omitting all the other customary forms, thus concluded the service of ordination in a slow, mournful voice: “I, as moderator of the presbytery of Stirling, admit you, Mr. David Thomson, to be minister of the parish of St. Ninians, in the true sense and spirit of the late sentence of the General Assembly, and you are hereby admitted accordingly.”¹

This was one of the last of a long series of struggles with which the exercise of patronage had been opposed. The Moderate party, under the able administration of their leader, Dr. Robertson, had triumphed, and the people, finding it useless to resist, either acquiesced in indignant silence or joined the Secession, which was every day waxing more powerful. In 1773 it was confidently stated that there were at least one hundred and ninety congregations of Seceders. Nor were the proceedings of the party in power at all calculated to arrest these defections from the Established Church. The ministers, being introduced in defiance to the popular will, seemed to feel themselves independent of the popular esteem; and thus not only errors were preached from the pulpit subversive of the doctrines of the church, but practices exhibited in the lives of many of the clergy opposed to every principle of morality and common decency. And still there was no remedy. The people might complain that their minister in his instructions was at variance with the established standard; that, in fact, he preached Arminianism, Arianism, Unitarianism; but they were generally met with the scornful answer, “Who made you judges in such deep questions? Are you the taught to sit in judgment upon your teachers?” Nor was the case greatly amended when, instead of some latent heresy, which is so difficult of detection or proof, the charge against the clerical offender was some odious practice or flagitious crime, which every code of morals or class of society alike condemned. As soon as such a charge against a clergyman was brought into a church-court the accusation was regarded as a signal of popular rebellion, and the partial judges were more solicitous to subdue the insurgents than bring the offender to justice. It might be criminal enough for a minister to be guilty of such immoralities; but to accuse or depose a minister was still

greater offence. Such was the principle on which his trial was generally conducted, and under which his conviction was all but impossible. But it sometimes happened that the criminality was too public to be concealed and too enormous to be passed over; that any attempt to screen or absolve him would publicly make his judges partakers in his crime, and subject them to universal reproach. But even here his condemnation was one of partiality and mercy. The “weak erring brother,” instead of being formally deposed, was persuaded to retire from his charge with the greater part of his stipend, leaving his place to be occupied by an assistant. Such is a brief view of the clerical trials of the period. Evidence that would have been conclusive in any other court was browbeaten, dismissed, or overlooked; and, when in spite of these obstacles conviction was obtained, the offender’s punishment was an escape from justice rather than a merited retribution.

A passing allusion has already been made to the style of preaching which was now in vogue among the ministers of the Moderate party. The same spirit that made them impatient of the restraints of the church’s polity made them also disinclined to the articles of its creed, and they were impatient to break loose into a new style of preaching and new topics of illustration. It was time, indeed, that they should abandon the old fashion of sermonizing, with its bewildering arrangement of divisions and subdivisions, and the stereotyped themes which always formed the substance of a discourse let the text be what it might. A revolution was passing upon the intellectual character of Scotland, and it was necessary that the pulpit should correspond to the movement. But it was forgotten by these innovators that while the range of science and literature is unlimited, the doctrines of religion are fixed by an express standard, and that these must remain the same whatever change may be adopted in their modes of illustration and teaching. A new style, therefore, derived from the literature of the period, inculcated doctrines fashioned upon its revived philosophy, and simple congregations were astonished to find the religious language of their fathers disregarded for a nomenclature that was unintelligible and strange to their ears. They were told from the pulpit of the “fitness of things,” of the “beauty of virtue,” of a “high pitch of moral excellence,” and other such phraseology in lieu of the well-known terms of the gospel, and it was natural for them to suspect that such phrases were the exponents of opinions which Paul and the apostles had never inculcated.² It was the hurry

¹ *Scots Magazine*, vol. xxxv.; *Weekly Magazine*.

² *Witherspoon’s Characteristics*.

of a transition to something better, which is too often commenced by the hot-headed and inexperienced, and the beginnings of which generally overshoot the mark. But this new and redundant verbiage was by no means the worst of the evil. The doctrines of revelation were frequently denied or overlooked in favour of the morals of Seneca or Epictetus, the philosophy of Hume, Kames, and Hutcheson, and the theology of Clarke and Berkeley. In this way every belief but the right one was reached, and the teaching of the pulpit ranged from the lightest tint of Arminian doctrines down to the darkness of positive infidelity. It was well that while so large a portion of the clergy of Scotland might thus be characterized, the people refused to follow their guidance. The good old spirit that had made the land free in spite of its nobles, and both Protestant and Presbyterian in spite of kings, courts, and governments, was still alive; and amidst the prevalent apostasy the bulk of the people adhered to the history of the reforming and covenanting times, and the theological writings of these periods, under which they remained wiser than all their teachers, and able to give a reason for the faith they cherished.

A partial interruption to this monotonous state of things occurred in consequence of the repeal of the penal statutes against the Roman Catholics. In 1777 the measure had been effected in Ireland, and it was thought in 1778 that the same exemption might be extended to the Catholics of England. Different parties were at one upon the subject, and the bill brought into parliament for Catholic Relief was passed through both houses by overwhelming majorities. As it was feared that this toleration might be extended to Scotland the country took the alarm, and over its whole extent the repeal was opposed by every church, class, rank, and occupation. The strength of this opposition was manifested by seventy-nine church-courts, two counties, forty-one burghs, twenty-four towns, eighty-four parishes, fifty-five corporations, and seventy-one private societies, who announced in addresses, declarations, and resolutions their hostility to the repeal of the laws against Papists in Scotland. So early as 1778 an overture had been brought before the General Assembly to petition parliament against the bill; but although the overture was rejected through the influence of Dr. Robertson and the friends of government, the public excitement was too great to put up with such moderation. On the 2d of February, 1789, the mob of Edinburgh took the matter in hand in their old violent fashion by assembling in crowds on the streets, hooting Dr. Robertson and his friends, burning a Catholic chapel in Leith Wynd, and demolishing the fur-

niture of the bishop. A similar rising took place in Glasgow, in which the shop of a Papist was broken open and despoiled of its goods. This, however, was the utmost of open violence, and it presented a favourable contrast to the tremendous No Popery riot which occurred in London on the following year. It is also worthy of notice that the orthodox party who supported the overture did not insist that the Papists should be persecuted, but only that they should not be intrusted with political power so long as they belonged to a church whose authority was paramount to every other obligation. This state of matters alarmed Robertson and his party, and by their representations government was induced to withdraw the bill.¹

After this the distinguished principal of the University of Edinburgh resigned the leadership of the church, which he had held for twenty years, and the assembly of 1780 was the last in which he ever sat. During the long period of his rule, into which his high talents and great capacity for the management of a "fierce democracy" had inducted him, his administration was like that of Pericles in Athens, and the Scottish Church was distinguished not only by the peaceful and orderly nature of its general proceedings, but by the superior elegance and accomplishments of its clergy. But these advantages were dearly purchased by the price exacted in return; and, for a peace and prosperity that were superficial and transitory, the church was obliged to sacrifice her spiritual independence, and renounce the principles to which she had hitherto adhered with a martyr's spirit through good and through evil report. He held that the government of the church should be subservient to that of the state, and that in every collision of authority the former was bound to yield; and hence the zeal with which he supported patronage, and endeavoured to reduce the proceedings of the church-courts to the form and spirit of those of common law. It was not till he had fully succeeded in these attempts, and when his authority was the most completely established, that he abdicated his ecclesiastical throne and retired into private life. It was like the abrupt but voluntary retirement of Diocletian or Charles V., and men wondered at this extraordinary act of self-denial when his health was unbroken and his mind in full vigour. But it might be that the principal already recognized the effects of his administration in a church rent in twain, and the prospect which this afforded of new internal conflicts more violent and more perilous than any that had yet

¹ *Scotland's Opposition to the Popish Bill*, Svo, Edin.; *Scots Magazine*; *Stewart's Life of Principal Robertson*.

preceded. What else could be expected from the secessions that had originated in his rule and were hourly growing into such portentous magnitude? But the great subject of his immediate apprehension was the impatience of creeds and confessions which had now arisen among his party, and which they were desirous to abrogate. In their impatience to escape from old authorities and restrictions, and their desire to expatiate over new fields of theological inquiry, they complained of being tied down by formulas, and applied to him for their abolition. But for such a daring and dangerous step he was not prepared, and to avoid the importunities of his friends he saw no remedy but to resign. He even ventured to predict that the signing of these church formulas would be the great question of the succeeding generation,¹ and has not this already been in part realized? The agitation has commenced, and who can tell where it will terminate!

On the retirement of Principal Robertson, Dr. George Hill, professor of Greek in St. Andrews, and one of the ministers of that city, was now recognized as the leader of the Moderate party; but though he possessed great political tact and powers that were available for debate, he had neither the talents nor the high literary prestige of his predecessor. His residence also at St. Andrews instead of Edinburgh, the headquarters of the church, tended to impair his efficiency in the new office that had devolved upon him. The retirement of Robertson inspired the popular party with fresh courage, and their renewal of the war against patronage formed the leading feature in the history of the church for several years. The chief question was now about the call of the people in inducting a minister into a pastoral charge—a call which was considered from the time of the Reformation to be the most essential element in the proceeding, but which the patronage of a later age had reduced to little more than an empty form. Robertson, however, had tolerated it under this character, and it was retained as a symbol of departed liberty, and of a right which the people had formerly possessed. It is unnecessary, however, to notice how dangerous such symbols are in cherishing popular discontent, and how unexpectedly, under favourable circumstances, they may be revived into vital action. It was now against the call, as a necessary accompaniment of the patron's presentation, that the Moderates were to contend, and the conflict originated in the induction of several presentees who had no call whatever from the parishioners; they knew that it would be treated

only as an empty form, and had accordingly refused to subscribe it. But the case of these parishes was taken up by the synods of Dumfries, Perth, and Stirling, Ayr and Glasgow, who overtured the assembly in 1781 upon the subject; and when their appeal was rejected they returned to the charge in 1782, being joined by the synods of Fife, Galloway, Lothian, and Tweeddale.² This was not only a formidable combination in itself, but in the support which it derived from the enemy's camp, for in the last-mentioned year Dr. Thomas Hardy, afterwards professor of church history, and one of the ministers of Edinburgh, had published a pamphlet inculcating peace between the two parties by mutual concession and accommodation. The gist of this production was to denounce patronage as a positive evil, and so opposed to the spirit of the people that in the end either the act of Queen Anne or the Church of Scotland must go down. But as patronage was still the law he proposed that the church should unite in petitioning parliament for its repeal, and the choice of a minister to be committed to the patron, a delegate from the heritors, and a delegate from the kirk-session.³ The pamphlet was admired by both parties; but the premature death of its author prevented any further development of his scheme, and it was soon forgotten. Still, not baffled by repeated rejections, the synods of Perth and Stirling, Glasgow and Ayr, returned to the bar of the assembly in 1784 with their petition praying for the consideration of patronage with a view to its alleviation. But the debate which followed so greatly irritated the Moderate party that the appeal of the synods was rejected as "inexpedient, ill founded, and dangerous to the peace and welfare of the church." But even worse than this followed. After the imposition of patronage in 1712 the General Assembly had authorized its successive commissions to apply at every convenient season for its repeal, and this order had been retained during the whole of Dr. Robertson's administration, being regarded as nothing more than a harmless and empty form. But it was now thought dangerous as the memorial of past rights and an incentive to fresh resistance, and the irritated Moderates struck out this wonted clause in the assembly's instructions to the commission. Patronage was no longer to be denounced as an evil, nor the church to petition for its abrogation.⁴

² Hetherington's *History of the Church of Scotland*; Cunningham's *Church History of Scotland*.

³ This pamphlet was published under the title of "The Principles of Moderation, Addressed to the Clergy of the Popular Interest in the Church of Scotland." By Thomas Hardy, Minister of Ballingry.

⁴ Hetherington.

¹ Stewart's *Life of Robertson*, appendix.

While these conflicts were waged by a minority in the church for the religious rights of the people, and terminated in disastrous defeat, an attempt was made to found not merely a new sect but a new religion. Scotland, however, was a soil the least adapted for such a plant, and the only instance of the kind that had occurred was that of John Gibb in 1681, which terminated almost as soon as it had commenced. The originator of the present attempt was Mrs. Elspeth Buchan, daughter of an innkeeper, and wife of a workman in a pottery, who had been originally an Episcopalian, and afterwards joined the church of her husband, who was a Burgher Seceder. Having a mind of the true Joanna Southcott stamp she began to identify herself with certain personages mentioned in Scripture, and her revelations having gathered round her a few followers in Irvine, where she resided, the chief of whom was Mr. Whyte, a Relief minister, who abandoned his charge and became her chief apostle, her people began to assume the form of a regular congregation. But their blasphemies became intolerable, the townsfolks of Irvine expelled them, and Mrs. Buchan, with her priest, Whyte, and her sect of forty-six persons, among whom were several men of character and substance, emigrated to Dumfriesshire, and settled at a farmhouse, which they hired for their headquarters; and here they lived in unrestrained intercourse, having not only their property but their wives in common. They also began to proselytize in the neighbourhood, and several joined them, allured by such a licentious mode of life and the inducements which it held out to idleness. But Mrs. Buchan kept the public purse, of which she was very penurious: she imposed severe restrictions upon her followers: and as her authority was unlimited, she inflicted harsh punishments upon the rebellious. Among other strange revelations she assured them that they would be transported to heaven without tasting of death, and actually led them to the top of a hill where their celestial ascent was to take place. But when they found themselves still subject to the law of gravitation she persuaded them that it was only the weight of the flesh that impeded them, and that nothing was necessary but a forty days' fast, to etherealize them for the journey. The experiment was adopted, but before the process was carried to a fatal extremity the magistrates interposed. Hunger and disappointment, however, had opened the eyes of several, and they withdrew from this strange communion. During this course of wild fanaticism the revelations of "Lady Buchan," or, as she was more irreverently called, "Lucky Buchan," were various and incoherent; at one time she gave out that she

was the third person of the Trinity; at another, that she was the woman spoken of in the Apocalypse, who was clothed with the sun, having the moon under her feet; and that the man-child of whom she had been delivered, and who was to rule the nations with a rod of iron, was her well-beloved mouthpiece and interpreter, Mr. Hugh Whyte. The persecution which drove the Buchanites from Irvine also expelled them from Dumfriesshire: they finally settled at a place called Auchengibbert in Galloway; and here the wretched impostor, whose aberrations were evidently the result of that methodical madness which can make dupes of wiser people, went the way of all the earth. A deceiver to the end, she gave out in her dying moments that she was the veritable Virgin Mary, that she had been wandering about since our Saviour's days, and at last had made a brief sojourn in Scotland; and that, instead of dying, she would only sleep for a little, and soon reappear, to conduct her followers to the New Jerusalem. Instead of consigning the body to the earth, they built it up with its coffin in a corner of the wall of their barn, hoping that she would rise again; and it was only after a period of disappointment, and in consequence of the peremptory interference of a magistrate, that they consented to the humiliation of an ordinary funeral.¹ It was a circumscribed and short-lived delusion that numbered only its units, while Joanna Southcott's or Thom of Coventry's dupes could be counted by the thousand.

A particular title by which the moderation of the present period was characterized was that of the "New Light," a term familiar to the readers of Burns, and still retained in some of the rural districts of Scotland. It was applied to the preaching of those ministers who, instead of confining themselves to the established style of theology, diverged into new forms and doctrines, in consequence of which, while some of them inculcated only a negative Christianity, others had advanced into downright Socinianism. Hence had arisen their hostility to the Confession of Faith, their reluctance to sign it, and their tumultuary demand for its abrogation. But Dr. Robertson, as we have seen, was too cautious to comply with a demand that would have flung the church loose from its moorings and broken it up into a heap of discordant sects and opinions. Many of the heritors had also announced, that in the event of such an abrogation they would consider the demands of the church for their support as no longer obligatory. As yet, also, the Socinian doctrines had been confined to ser-

¹ *Scots Magazine*, 1784; *Gentl. Mag.* 1791; *Train's Buchanites from First to Last*.

mons in the pulpit, where heresy can be least detected and most easily explained away. But, too simple to conceal these heretical tendencies and too rash to restrain them within safe limits, Dr. McGill, one of the ministers of Ayr, published a work in 1786, entitled *A Practical Essay on the Death of Jesus Christ*, in which the esoteric principles of his party were brought into broad and startling daylight. This production was of such a Socinian tendency that the church could not safely consign it to its own native dulness and mediocrity. It taught that the punishment of the guilty could not with justice be exacted of Christ, who was innocent; that his death, instead of an atonement, was an act of obedience; that the repentance of the sinner was the best atonement for sin, and good works the best foundation for hope. The case of McGill was taken up by the presbytery, and after a long litigation transferred to the synod of Glasgow and Ayr in 1790. On being tried before this court the offender retracted, explained, and craved forgiveness, while the members of the synod, many of whom were as culpable as himself, were anxious that he should be absolved. His apologies were accordingly admitted, his explanations sustained, and he was allowed to return unpunished to his charge.¹

While the vitality of religion was thus becoming so inert, not only in Scotland but over Britain at large, that it seemed as if nothing less than a mighty earthquake could rouse the nation from its apathy, that warning came at last—a shock of such tremendous power that the world leapt up at its coming and received its message with awe. It was the French revolution, that great event of such political ruin, subversion, and restoration as to change the whole aspect of society, and the effects of which for good and for evil are still continuing their mysterious course. It commenced, also, in that spirit and with those expressions which had entered into the corrupted Christianity of the day—justice, mercy, and universal philanthropy under the rule of that divine Being who is Father of all, and who, by whatever variety of form or creed, can be approached and worshipped by all. It was a magnificent promise, under which every creed was ready to unite and all men to fraternize, and its first effects tended to confirm that general indifference to the diversities of religious belief, and conviction of the worthlessness of all religious belief whatever, contrasted with that universal love which was so soon to convert the whole human race into one great happy family of brethren. But the *fata morgana* soon

faded away, and there was nothing in its place but a sea of blood. The effects of the French revolution, its atheism and revolting inhumanities, its massacres and wars, were received as warnings by the reflective people of Scotland, who saw in these excesses the natural result of principles which had already commenced in their own church, and had been preached in their own pulpits. The lesson, indeed, was one of many chapters that extended over a course of years, and the reformation which it produced was not the work of a single day or an instantaneous movement, but of succeeding steps, and a progress that has continued to the present day.

One of the first-fruits of this awakening was the missionary spirit with which the country began to be pervaded. Hitherto it had been the reproach of Protestantism that she was not a missionary church. While Popery even in its worst stages had been fulfilling the divine command to go and preach to all nations, so that scarcely a kingdom remained, however barbarous, or a tribe, however savage, that was exempt from the enterprise of its missionaries, the missions from Protestant countries to the heathen had only been of late commencement, and were conducted on a very limited scale. But in Scotland no such missions as yet existed, and for this indifference the troubled state of the national church since the Reformation is perhaps the only apology. Now, however, no such excuse could be pleaded, and the example of the English mission to India pointed out the duty which Scotland had left undone. The result was the formation of a missionary society at Glasgow, and another at Edinburgh, the last having for its president the learned and eloquent Dr. Erskine, leader of the popular party in the church, and distinguished by his numerous writings and zeal in the religious progress of his country. The first meeting of the Edinburgh society was in March, 1796, and it issued circulars over the country explanatory of its nature and object. These representations were so effectual that a new missionary impulse pervaded the church, and the subject itself was brought before the General Assembly by overtures from the synods of Fife and Moray. That of Fife was that the assembly “should take into consideration by what means the Church of Scotland might most effectually contribute to the diffusion of the gospel over the world;” but the overture of the synod of Moray went farther still: it also craved “that an act might be passed recommending a general collection throughout the church to aid the several societies for propagating the gospel among the heathen nations.” These overtures

¹ Proceedings of the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, 1790; *Scots Magazine*; Theological pamphlets of the controversy.

were received by the Moderates with alarm and indignation; they regarded this missionary zeal as a mere party movement instead of a universal Christian duty; and as an invaded party they treated the proposal and manœuvred to overthrow it. It is worthy of notice that although the French revolution had already begun to alarm them into a sounder style of preaching, their ecclesiastical politics underwent no such change; on the contrary, this assimilation which they were making in religious doctrine to their antagonists only seemed to make them more eager to separate themselves on the subject of church government so that they might not be mixed up with the members of the opposite party. Their speeches, accordingly, against these missionary efforts were such as might have been directed against the proposal to revive a mediæval crusade. Diffuse the knowledge of the gospel among heathen and barbarous nations!—the attempt is unnatural and preposterous! In their present state they are incapable of being converted, and you must first give them some share of civilization and refinement. And why seek to improve on the virtues of the untutored Indian? You will only engraft on his simple manners the vices with the refinements of civilized society, while you will fail really to improve his morals or ensure his happiness. Again, the idea of sending missionaries to a civilized nation was preposterous. Had we no barbarians left to us at home? Did not their enlightenment in religious truth demand our utmost efforts instead of our expending these on behalf of strangers and foreigners at the other side of the world? And collections for missions at the church doors, too, by which our own poor would be defrauded of their sustenance!—this was represented as a flagrant crime, demanding not merely reproof, but prosecution and the infliction of legal pains and penalties! In this manner nations, whether barbarous or refined, were to be alike neglected so far as the Church of Scotland was concerned—the former because missionaries among them would be useless, and the latter because they were superfluous; and all the Christian effort of the country was accordingly to be confined within its own national limits. The chief speaker against the missionary movement was the Rev. George Hamilton, minister of Gladsmair, who, mainly, it appears, for his harangues on this occasion, was afterwards dubbed a Doctor in Divinity and made moderator of the General Assembly, while its chief advocate was the venerable Dr. Erskine. After Hamilton's speech he rose, and calling upon the moderator to hand him the Bible, that, according to custom, lay before him, he read from it the account of St. Paul's shipwreck on the island of Melita, and

the incident of the venomous adder which the apostle shook from his hand without receiving any harm. "And think you," he said at the close, "that when Paul wrought his miracle at Melita, and was supposed to be a god, he did not also preach Christ to the barbarians and explain whose name it was through which such power was given unto men?" When the debate was ended and the votes were taken, the overtures of the synods of Fife and Moray were rejected by a majority of fifty-eight to forty-four. To soften this rejection and divest it of its questionable character a clause was added recommending all the members of the church in their different stations and several spheres of occupation to promote the knowledge of the gospel and a true sense of its inestimable blessings.¹

Another demand which arose during this period of active industry and an increasing population was for chapels of ease to supplement the accommodation provided by the existing parish churches. The number of parishes and parish churches in Scotland was fixed; but while in some places the population of a parish had far outgrown its amount of church accommodation, there were many places formerly almost unpeopled which, by the opening of coal-mines or the erection of mills or other industrial establishments, were now occupied by a numerous community. Under these circumstances new chapels were necessary for such communities, who might otherwise be left without religious ordinances. There were also old parishes not a few where the minister was unacceptable, although the people who had discontinued their attendance at the parish church were unwilling to leave the Establishment. In all such cases it was surely better to supply the defect by providing additional chapels than to swell the ranks of Dissent. But, on the other hand, the Moderates were aware that the erection of such chapels of ease would tend to impair the authority of patronage and would still further strengthen the popular party in the church, which even already was becoming too strong for them. The General Assembly had, therefore, discountenanced all proposals for the erection of such chapels until the demand for them began to be too urgent to be decently refused. In 1795 accordingly an overture was brought before the assembly for granting constitutions to the chapels of ease, and a committee was appointed to consider it and report to the next year's assembly. The question to be solved was, Whether the license granted to such chapels should proceed from their respective presbyteries or from the General Assembly?

¹ Moncreiff's *Life of Dr. Erskine; Account of the Debate*, published in 1796.

In 1796 the committee gave in its report. It recommended that where a chapel was to be erected the presbytery should inquire into the necessity of the proceeding and the arrangements made for erecting it and furnishing a provision for the minister, and without pronouncing judgment were to report the whole matter to the General Assembly. And why were the presbyteries to be thus deprived of the right of judging within their own bounds? And if they judged wrongly was there not the same power of appeal from their decision in the first instance to the synod and afterwards to the General Assembly? It was seen that by this decision the presbyteries were to be deprived of their constitutional rights merely that the Moderate party in the assembly might perpetuate their power by withholding their license from those places where it was most needed, but which were also known to be the most unfriendly to their cause. In this limited form the overture, according to the requirement of the Barrier Act, was transmitted to the presbyteries for their consideration before it could be passed into law; and throughout the extent of the kingdom it excited not only earnest discussion but violent indignation. In 1797, when the assembly met, it was found that thirty-four presbyteries had disapproved of the overture, while only thirty had approved of it, so that by the law of the church it ought to have been rejected. But instead of this the Moderates in the assembly, by a preponderance of votes, sent the overture back to the presbyteries for reconsideration, and so succeeded by their manoeuvres as to obtain a majority in its favour, so that it was passed in 1798. Was the ascendancy of their party or the harmony of the church to be promoted by such an outrage on the established law and principles of common justice? In all such doings of public bodies, whether civil or ecclesiastical, a fearful reaction is sure to follow, and, however long delayed, the punishment will be certain and complete. It is worthy of notice, also, that by such a proceeding the party had laid themselves open to a charge of gross inconsistency. It was only the year before that they had declaimed against missions to the heathen while any remained at home untaught and unconverted; and now they were leaving thousands to grow up and perish in ignorance in order that their own rule might remain unimpaired.¹

Hitherto Scotland had never been sectarian in the usual acceptation of the term. Firmly attached to the church for which they had suffered so much and so long, and conversant

with its polity and theology, which had formed the chief subjects of popular study, her children in every successive storm had only wrapped themselves more closely in their beloved Presbyterianism, and been at all times able to give a reason for the faith that was in them. And even when multitudes at last withdrew from her communion, it was a compulsory not a voluntary and spontaneous movement, and when they retired it was only for the purpose of forming a church more purely Presbyterian, and more closely conformed to the original church than the one they had left. As we have already seen, the Cameronians or Macmillanites, the Burghers and Antiburghers, and the Relief Church were secessions, not dissents, and while they adhered to the doctrines, and even the forms of the church of Melville and Henderson, they only waited for the time when the Covenant should be restored and the Establishment freed from its lukewarmness that they might conscientiously return to their first love. But the nation at large was now to be startled by the rise among them of a new community of Christians who cared neither for the Confession of Faith nor the Shorter Catechism, and dispensed with synods, presbyteries, and Geneva gowns. These were the Independents, whom Scotland had formerly seen in the army of Cromwell, but whose visit had been so brief and so long ago that nothing remained of them but a historical tradition. So memorable an event as the introduction of Independency was now accomplished by the brothers Robert and James Haldane. Born of a distinguished Scottish family, and devoted to the naval profession, there was little prospect that such men would have become the apostles of sectarianism; but having received serious impressions of religion under Dr. Bogue of Gosport, an Independent minister, but originally a Presbyterian, they abandoned their vocation to become missionaries wherever their course might be directed. The Indian mission became their field of contemplated enterprise, and Robert Haldane, the elder of the brothers, sold his family estate of Airthrey, near Stirling, that he might conduct an attempt in this direction at his own expense. But the East India Company refused their sanction, and an attempt which he afterwards made for the establishment of a mission to Africa was also frustrated. Thus disappointed, the two brothers, who were men of talent and education as well as of fervid zeal, resolved to become missionaries to their own countrymen; and their first attempts were as itinerant preachers and distributors of religious tracts over the country, while their new efforts excited a spirit of interest and inquiry that was

¹ Hetherington's *History of the Church of Scotland*.

fatal to the cause of Moderatism. But the great desideratum of Scotland at this time was the erection of new churches, and from his zeal and ample means Robert Haldane was so successful in this attempt that the principal towns of Scotland were gradually supplied with Independent tabernacles. It was like the progress of Methodism in England, and in her hour of need Scotland received through the Haldanes the kind of aid which she most needed, but which the General Assembly had so selfishly withheld. Having thus far established Independency in Scotland, questions of pedobaptism soon divided the Congregationalists, and the two brothers having adopted the views of the Baptists, that religious denomination henceforth took its place side by side with Independency in the growing sectarianism of the country.

The brothers Haldane are among the most interesting figures in the religious life of Scotland at the close of the eighteenth century, and both continued to live and work for many years of the nineteenth century. James was the more remarkable as an itinerant preacher, while Robert's efforts were more especially devoted to the building of new churches or hiring of buildings to be used as churches in localities where such were required, as well as to providing these new places of worship with efficient ministers. His chapels, or tabernacles, as they were usually called, continued to multiply, and by the year 1805 nearly 200 preachers from Mr. Haldane's seminaries were labouring as ministers and missionaries in Scotland besides those who had gone to America. When the result of all this devotedness is reduced to pounds, shillings, and pence, it assumes the most tangible form to the eye and understanding; we shall, therefore, simply state that from 1798 to 1810 Mr. Haldane had expended about £70,000 in his labours to propagate the gospel at home. The effects produced by these tabernacles were very soon apparent throughout Scotland. They roused a spirit of attention; and even when the feeling was nothing more than that of alarm, it led to inquiry, of all feelings the one most needful at such a crisis. The most neglected districts, the most secluded nooks of our land were soon pervaded with an itinerant or settled mission; and communities that had slumbered in hundreds of parishes under the drowsy influence of Moderatism were shaken from their torpor and raised into full activity. The labours of James Haldane as an itinerant preacher tended to the same result, and extended almost to every part of the country, north, south, east, and west. In his first great journey he reached the Orkneys, the spiritual state of which at that time (1797) he found to be miserable indeed.

The ministers were here so far beyond the ken of the General Assembly that they might live as they listed, and in some of the more remote places he found that there had been no religious ordinances for several years.

When the Haldanes commenced their work of itinerant preaching they were not the sole occupants of the northern field in this unwonted kind of evangelistic enterprise. Whitefield had previously broken up the ground; in 1796 Mr. Simeon of Cambridge accompanied Mr. James Haldane in a preaching tour through the northern and Highland districts; and in 1798 the celebrated Rowland Hill visited Scotland, and preached sometimes in the Established churches and sometimes in the open air, and moved his audiences not a little both by his fervent eloquence and unmistakable piety and by his ungovernable eccentricity and love of fun. The movements in Scotland had attracted the notice of the evangelical community of England, and these visits of its most distinguished leaders, either to witness or forward the good work, were a natural consequence. But the Haldanes were laymen; Simeon and Hill were ordained ministers of the Church of England; ought such persons to be admitted into Scottish pulpits? Previously, when there was no danger to be apprehended from sectarianism, such liberality would not have been condemned as an ecclesiastical offence, but now the case was altered; the country was pervaded with itinerant preachers, and ministers of alien churches, against which Scotland had protested, were allowed to officiate in her sanctuaries. It was full time that the Moderates should bestir themselves against the growing danger, and this was the footing on which they judged it expedient that the offence should be placed. Accordingly, in 1799, the General Assembly passed an act declaring that all licenses granted to probationers without the bounds of the Church of Scotland were invalid, and that presentations granted to such persons must be refused. In this way they prevented their students from repairing to English or Irish colleges, where the *curriculum* might be shorter and license to preach more easily obtained. Having thus confined the education of their students to Scottish universities and their ordination to Scottish presbyteries, they further prohibited all ministers of the Established Church from employing persons to preach or dispense the ordinances who were not qualified to accept a presentation or to hold with them any kind of ministerial communion. To explain and enforce this new regulation they also drew up and circulated a pastoral admonition warning their people against religious societies, missionary associa-

tions, itinerant preachers, and Sabbath-schools, on the ground that they were conducted by ignorant and unfit persons, and "persons notoriously disaffected to the civil constitution of the country, and who kept up a correspondence with other societies in the neighbourhood." They thus endeavoured to check the progress of sectarianism by an intolerance that would have disgraced the worst periods of the days of the Covenant. Nor had this restriction even the poor merit of originality, as it had for some time been in force among a sect whom the Moderates despised. In 1798 the Antiburgher synod had forbidden its people to attend or give countenance to the public preaching of any who were not of their own communion; and in the following year it excommunicated and deposed

one of its own ministers for having heard Rowland Hill and James Haldane preach. The eccentric Hill made a second tour in Scotland, and arriving in Edinburgh in 1799, after the assembly had risen, immediately began to preach against the "fulminating bull," as he termed this pastoral admonition, which was so particularly levelled against himself. "Three reasons alone," he said, "can be assigned for the church's conduct: these are, madness, malice, or an attempt to discover our treasonable plots; and the first of these should seem the most probable, the pastoral admonition being dated on the day of the full moon."¹

¹*Memoirs of Robert and James Haldane*, by Alexander Haldane, Esq.; *James's Memoir of the Rev. Rowland Hill*.

CHAPTER IX.

HISTORY OF SOCIETY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

Scottish commerce at the period of the Union—Its dependence on the commerce of England—Impediments to Scottish commerce—Its imperfect means of transit and communication—Removal of the impediments—Abolition of feudal restrictions—Commencement of a new mercantile spirit—Progress of the linen trade—Statistics of the exports and imports of England and Scotland—Improvements in the Scottish commercial laws—Benefits resulting from commercial panics—Glasgow as the natural emporium of Scottish commerce—The city at the time of the Union—Its subsequent commercial enterprises—The West India trade of Glasgow—Improvements effected on the navigation of the Clyde—The tobacco trade of Glasgow succeeded by the cotton trade—Growing prosperity of the city during the war with France—Establishment and success of its manufactures—Industries and wages in Glasgow near the close of the century—Scottish agriculture—Its imperfect state at the Union—Instances from the records of the period—First attempts in improvement—Planting of trees—Superior modes of English agriculture introduced—Society of agricultural improvers established—Beneficial operations of the society—Improvements of the old implements of husbandry and introduction of new—The plough—The thrashing-machine—The fanners—Agriculture promoted by the abolition of old feudal restrictions—New and encouraging system of granting leases—Consequent improvements in farming—Care bestowed in the enriching of the soil—Old rentals of estates as compared with the new—Condition of the people during the eighteenth century—State of Edinburgh at the Union—Rise of a middle class—Admiration of strangers at the site and architecture of the city—Early descriptions of Edinburgh by English tourists—The lofty houses of Edinburgh—Their height occasioned by necessity—Mixtures of rank inhabiting the same tenement—Humble character of the dwellings of the fashionable and distinguished—Distinctions of rank preserved amidst such promiscuous occupation—Introduction of the levelling principles of the French revolution—Consequent emigration of the aristocracy to the New Town—Former dirtiness of the streets of Edinburgh—Gardiloo—The New Town of Edinburgh—Grant of James VII. in favour of its erection—Causes that delayed the operation of the grant—Commencement and progress of the New Town—Its early unpopularity—Peaceable character of the Edinburgh citizens as compared with former times—Occasional manifestations of the old spirit—Instances in the Union and Porteous riots—Character of the civic magistracy—The Town Guard—Their unpopularity—Tendency of the mob to annoy them—The Cadies of Edinburgh—Their functions—Their usefulness as a secret police—Public amusements of Edinburgh—The drama—General unpopularity of the theatre—Opposition to its establishment—Allan Ramsay's theatre set up and suppressed—The clergy divided upon theatrical amusements—Case of the tragedy of *Douglas* and its author—A reaction produced in favour of the theatre—Its temporary nature—Decorous conduct of the Edinburgh play-goers—Balls in Edinburgh—Weekly meeting for holding them called "the assembly"—Ineffectual opposition to the establishment of balls—Their popularity and increase—Their organization—Private balls—Manner of conducting them—Attempts to introduce the masquerade into Edinburgh—The attempts unsuccessful—Substitution of the Ridotto for the masquerade.

At the period of the Union the mercantile reciprocity between England and Scotland was such as exists between wealth and poverty, be-

tween a powerful and civilized country and one still rude and untrained. It was no wonder, therefore, if England, while conscious of the po-

litical advantages of such an alliance, regarded it from a mercantile point of view as an unequal and unprofitable partnership. Nor was Scotland less averse than her rich and powerful rival to an indissoluble alliance of which the evils were immediate while the advantages were remote and problematical. She would be saddled with her share of the debts and encumbrances of England. She would encounter a double portion of the national jealousy of England when she sought to enter the market of the latter upon equal terms. The plentiful capital and great resources of her rival would render competition hopeless, so that she must sink into the obedient drudge of the stronger party, and be content with a scanty percentage while the other enjoyed the lion's share. Nor was the state of the commerce of Scotland at that time sufficient to banish these forebodings. Such foreign traffic as she at that time possessed was chiefly through the medium of England, upon which she was therefore mainly dependent for all beyond the bare necessities of existence. It required a wise, and at the same time a dispassionate and disinterested onlooker, to descry through the storm and gloom of the Union the promise of a better day for Scotland, and such an onlooker was the celebrated Daniel Defoe. While he visited the country as the assistant of the English commissioners he saw the spirit of the people and the undeveloped resources of their country, and he boldly proclaimed that with time and industry Scotland might become as rich and prosperous as England.

At the time when the two kingdoms were united the imports of England into Scotland consisted of woollen manufactured goods of all sorts, tanned leather and shamoy gloves, manufactured articles of lead, pewter, tin, iron, steel, and brass; tobacco, sugar, indigo, cotton, black-cattle and horses, hops and cider, and in seasons of scarcity grain of all kinds; and the goods imported by England from China, Persia, the East Indies and other remote countries. On the other hand Scotland imported into England linen cloth of all kinds, coals, salt, small black-cattle, sheep, salmon, marble, gray and blue slates, pearls, cod, ling, and small horses. Thus, though foreign and colonial goods formed a portion of the imports, the Scots might have found some of the other articles which they imported at home. The same might be alleged of their commerce with other countries, which was chiefly limited to the Continent, while their principal exports consisted of linen and woollen cloth, herrings, salmon, and hides.¹

Besides the causes already specified, by which the benefits of the Union were retarded in Scotland, were those political causes which arose from a disputed succession; and between the choice of a king *de jure* and the king *de facto*, with Scotland for the battlefield on which the contest was to be decided, the security which mercantile industry requires was unsettled and its activity at a stand. It was not, therefore, wonderful that so little improvement should have taken place in the national prosperity of Scotland for many years after. Government, indeed, endeavoured to stimulate the national industry, but so sparingly that the encouragement was of little account. By the act 5 Geo. I. c. xx., £2000 per annum out of the customs and excise of Scotland were allotted for ever for the protection and encouragement of the fisheries, and for such manufactures and improvements in Scotland as might most conduce to the general good of the united kingdoms. The principal trade of Scotland with England was in linen, of which the former imported to London 151,219 yards manufactured in Scotland, and 3000 spindles of linen yarn in the year 1738; and this increase, which was beyond any former precedent, continued to grow proportionally for several years. This was nothing, however, compared to the improvement in the same trade which had taken place in Ireland. At the accession of William III. Ireland did not export above £6000 worth in linen; but in 1741 it exported to the value of £600,000. It was a race in which, at the outset, Irish activity promised to distance Scottish perseverance. In this dull prospect for Scotland we recognize, however, one symptom which shows that she was ready to remove the obstacles to her mercantile career. This was the removal of those punishments by which luckless bankrupts were visited with the penalties of worthless malefactors. Formerly it had been the fashion to expose the insolvent trader to the derision of the mob, clothed in a harlequin dress that his shame might be more conspicuous, and afterwards compel him to wear it for such a length of time as was judged sufficient to expiate his offence. This penalty, which was enough to arrest all mercantile enterprise, was abandoned after the Union, and nothing but exposure in the pillory was inflicted, and that only where the insolvency was combined with notorious dishonesty.

Among the causes of the slow progress of Scottish traffic, the obstacles in travelling and postal communication must be taken into account. The roads were so ill-constructed and beset with dangers, and the conveyances so few and imperfect, that communication between the two kingdoms, and even between one city and

¹ Spreul's *Account Current between Scotland and England Balanced*, Edin. 1705.

another, was still of difficult achievement. To travel to London was therefore so precarious an enterprise that a Scottish merchant did not care to undertake it except as a dire necessity; and before he set out he was careful to make his will as one who might never return. In setting out it was necessary he should first travel to Edinburgh, as it was there only that he could find a land conveyance, and when at last he was booked for his journey southward, he might have to wait several days until the coach had obtained a sufficient number of passengers before it vouchsafed to start. It was only occasionally that such a lucky chance of conveyance occurred, as from 1720 to 1730 the return chaises advertising to go to London were few and far between, and it was not till 1732 that they were announced to run punctually on the Wednesday of every fortnight. The usual time spent on the road was twelve days, and as an irresistible attraction a company advertised their coach to complete its journey to London in nine days, halting at each intermediate stage by the way. The transit by sea was equally uncertain, as the trading ship would not move without its completed bill of lading; and it was not until 1720 that regular packets were advertised to sail on a particular day cargo or no cargo. Even when it had set sail, too, the imperfect navigation of the period, and the storms and calms of the voyage, might either retard the time of its arrival indefinitely, or drive it back into port. As for the posts between Edinburgh and London, they were still carried on horseback, and subject to all the risks of accident and robbery with which such a journey was accompanied. Even when the number of posts was increased, the delay by such a mode of transit was vexatious; and although they amounted in 1758 to three journeys weekly between the two capitals, eleven days intervened between the sending of a letter and receiving the answer. While the means of travel and communication between Edinburgh and London were so imperfect, those between Edinburgh and Glasgow were comparatively little better. Between those two important cities of Scotland no regular conveyance was established until 1758, when a coach, drawn by four horses, was started that performed the journey of forty miles in twelve hours, making a halt on the way to allow the passengers time to dine. Thus matters continued till 1788, when the speed was somewhat accelerated; but it was not until 1799 that the time employed in the journey was reduced to six hours.¹

We have already adverted to the impediments offered to the Scottish commerce after the Union,

by a divided royal succession, which made the people uncertain who should finally be king. Until this was settled neither the union of the kingdoms, nor the laws it had introduced, could be reckoned either binding or permanent. But the decisive battle of Culloden settled the question of the succession by establishing the Hanoverian dynasty on the throne; and the chief use made of this victory was to draw the union of the two kingdoms closer, by an equalization of rights and privileges among the people of both. A main obstacle to this desirable consummation, as well as a chief source of the Jacobite rebellion, was the more than kingly authority of the Highland chiefs; and this patriarchal power the government abrogated by a single stroke of the pen. But the serfdom of the Lowlands was a still more formidable obstacle to commercial progress, and this, too, was removed by the following enactment:—"All heritable jurisdiction of justiciary, and all regalities and heritable baileries, and all heritable constabularies, other than the office of High-constable of Scotland, and all stewardries, being parts only of shires or counties; and all sheriffships and deputy-sheriffships of districts, being parts only of shires or counties in Scotland, possessed or claimed by any subject; and all jurisdictions, powers, authorities, and privileges thereunto appurtenant, annexed, or dependent thereupon, shall be hereby, from Lady-day, 1748, abrogated, taken away, and totally dissolved and extinguished." In this manner the Highland satrap was at once reduced to a country gentleman, and the Scottish baron deprived of his *fossa et furca*; and while no authority was to be recognized unless it was derived from the crown, the Highland and Lowland justiciaries thus appointed had no more power than Middlesex magistrates. It was only thus and now that the Union was fully accomplished, and that Highlander and Lowlander, equally set free, might pursue an industrial career without check and enjoy the fruits of his labour without the exactions of his superior. Still, however, a relic of the old feudalism was left like the plank of a wreck to drift upon the waves, and indicate the vessel that lay buried below. A provision was made in favour of the proprietors of collieries, salt-works and mines, who were to retain their former rights over their workmen, but without the power of inflicting death or loss of limb; and thus all who worked under the earth were still kept literally under foot, and retained in their former bondage. They were slaves of the class *adstricti glebæ*, and could not remove from the place where they laboured. Thus the unfortunate colliers and workmen in salt-pits remained until 1775, when their condition was considered a reproach

¹ Chambers's *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, vol. iii.

to a free country, and during that year it was enacted, that on the 1st of July such obligation should cease. Young people were to learn these subterranean occupations by a regular apprenticeship, at the expiration of which they were free to remain or depart. Grown people also, who had hitherto worked in the coal and salt mines, were entitled to leave them after serving a certain number of years, from three to ten, according to their respective ages. In this manner, and thus late, the last degrading trace of Scottish feudalism disappeared. It will be noticed, also, that, as in the liberation of our West Indian negroes, it was not an instantaneous but a gradual process; and this was done to avoid the too violent reaction of a sudden deliverance or loss to the works and their proprietors.

In the Scottish mercantile statistics of the latter half of the eighteenth century we find a steady increase going on in the linen trade, which still constituted the chief part of its commerce. In 1757 the linen cloth stamped for sale in Scotland amounted to 9,764,408 yards, valued at £401,511, being an increase over the preceding year of £33,789. In 1758 were stamped 10,624,435 yards, valued at £424,141; in 1759, 10,830,707 yards, valued at £451,390; in 1760, 11,747,728 yards, valued at £523,153. These were for sale only, irrespective of the linen manufactured for private use, which might amount to half as much. This increase in Scotland occasioned a correspondent decrease of the linen trade in Ireland, which half a century earlier had set in with such prosperous activity. This Scottish linen trade, however, which scarcely equalled in value the woollen trade of Yorkshire alone, was no longer to constitute the principal staple of its commercial wealth. Glasgow and some other places had commenced the manufacture of cotton, which was destined to add so much to the national wealth; while in Paisley the manufacture of silk gauzes had already been set up upon a large scale, the products of which were more highly valued in London and the foreign markets than the gauzes of Spitalfields. The linen trade, however, as an object of national industry and source of wealth, was not thrown aside, as the following continuation of its statistics will show. In 1774 were stamped for sale 11,422,115 yards, valued at £492,056; in 1784, 19,138,593 yards, valued at £932,617. Previous to 1791, all the flax used in the manufacture of linen was spun upon the common hand-wheel, but about that time the spinning by machinery was introduced, with most remarkable results. In 1800 there were stamped for sale 24,235,633 yards valued at £1,047,598; in 1822 36,268,530 yards valued at £1,396,295.

The progress of Scottish merchandise during the latter part of the last century, after it was delivered from its restrictions, will be best understood from the following short notice of its exports and imports as compared with those of England. In 1760 the exports of England were in value £14,694,970; the exports of Scotland, £1,086,205. The imports of England, £9,832,802; imports of Scotland, £850,792. In 1770 the exports and imports of England were £12,216,937; of Scotland, £1,213,360. In 1780 the imports and exports of England were £10,812,239; of Scotland, £902,727. In 1790 the imports and exports of England were £17,442,549; of Scotland, £1,688,337. In 1800 the imports of England were £28,357,814; its exports, £22,445,560; imports of Scotland were £2,212,790; its exports, £1,848,723. These were the declared official value of the exports and imports of the two kingdoms, and will suffice to give an estimate of the progress of Scottish commerce during the last forty years of the eighteenth century, when that progress was little more than commenced. The same proportion was shown in the mercantile shipping of the two kingdoms, although that of Scotland was of new creation.

These commercial changes, by which a new character seemed to be stamped upon the Scottish nation, occasioned the abrogation of old laws and the creation of new, which had the promotion of mercantile credit for their object. Of these it will suffice to instance the following:—To guard against the dangers occasioned by a run, the Scottish banks had inserted what was called the optional clause in their notes, by which they reserved to themselves the right of withholding payment of them for six months, but paying interest upon them from the day of demand. The inconvenience of this regulation being complained of, it was enacted in 1765, that after the 15th of May all bank-notes should be liable to payment as soon as they were tendered for the purpose. A still greater abuse prevailed in the country towns and villages, where merchants of small account issued what they called bank-notes upon their own credit, and for such petty sums as 10s., 5s., and even less, the effect of which practice was to drive silver out of general circulation. This grievance was also taken up at the same time, and all notes under one pound were forbidden to be circulated after the 1st of June. Another new law was for the more equitable distribution of a bankrupt's effects among his creditors. Hitherto, by the law of Scotland, any creditor could arrest the property of his debtor in the hands of a third person, and in the event of bankruptcy could carry off his share of the spoil, and retain it unquestioned. It was the rude old principle of "first come,

first served ;" but, however convenient it might be for creditors on the spot, it was very different for those residing at a distance, and not made aware of the bankruptcy. This mode of repayment by a general scramble was set to rights by several acts of parliament passed in 1772, by which all persons, on proving their claims, were entitled to a correspondent proportion of the bankrupt's effects. Also, for the further benefit of trade, the summary execution and other privileges due to bills of exchange and inland bills were extended to promissory notes in Scotland.

The first mercantile panic of any account in Scotland was occasioned by the sudden depression of the linen trade, hitherto the chief source of the mercantile wealth of the country. This alarm was felt in 1773, when the stamped yards of linen, which two years previous had amounted to nearly thirteen and a half millions, had suddenly decreased to less than eleven millions. In such a reverse a run upon the Bank of Scotland was inevitable; but the bank bravely withstood the shock, and was enabled not only to sustain its credit, but prove of signal benefit to the country. All that it demanded from parliament was permission to double its limited capital of £100,000; and this being granted, the storm was so effectually weathered that the linen trade, as we have already seen, became more prosperous than ever. But serious though this panic was, it was nothing compared with the alarm occasioned by the American war, which, instead of being confined to Scotland, was prevalent over the whole of Britain. But even this unprecedented calamity could not uproot the commerce of the island, although its enemies had confidently predicted such a result. On the contrary, it only roused the national energy, and threw the exertions both of England and Scotland into new departments of commercial enterprise, which in course of time were proved more profitable than the old.¹

From this general sketch of the progress of Scottish commerce it is necessary to turn our attention to Glasgow, in which the mercantile and manufacturing spirit of Scotland was impersonated and its career carried on and matured. Indeed, it may be said without exaggeration, that the history of the industrial activity and commercial enterprise of Scotland since the Union, and the success with which these have been crowned, are but the general features of the history of the city of Glasgow.

This great emporium of the national commerce had given little indication before the period of the Union either of the course that lay before her or the grandeur into which she was

to expand. Although built on the banks of the Clyde, the river was too shallow to allow the entrance of merchant vessels into her port; and although an archiepiscopal seat, with the stateliest cathedral in Scotland to dignify this pre-eminence, her citizens at the Reformation hastened to abjure the one, and were impatient to demolish the other. In the wars of the Reformation, and the subsequent persecution of the Stuarts, the men of Glasgow were conspicuous actors and sufferers, and when the Union followed they scarcely numbered more than eleven thousand, while their trade was almost entirely limited to sugar, herrings, and coarse woollen manufactures. But the restless indomitable spirit, which had hitherto found little exercise except in civil wars and street quarrels, was now to obtain a new outlet which the good city was not slow to discover. In the fifth edition of Defoe's *Tour*, published in 1753, that celebrated writer has the following testimony: "Glasgow is a city of business, and has the face of foreign as well as domestic trade; nay, I may say, 'tis the only city in Scotland at this time that apparently increases in both. The Union has, indeed, answered its end to them more than to any other part of the kingdom, their trade being new-formed by it; for, as the Union opened the door to the Scots into our American colonies, the Glasgow merchants presently embraced the opportunity; and though, at its first concerting, the rabble of this city made a formidable attempt to prevent it, yet afterwards they knew better when they found the great increase of their trade by it, for they now send near fifty sail of ships every year to Virginia, New England, and other English colonies in America."

It was the tobacco trade that originated the mercantile prosperity of Glasgow. This kind of traffic commenced so early as 1707, and like many other sources of mercantile prosperity its beginning was in a form sufficiently unobtrusive. Having no vessels of their own the Glasgow merchants chartered ships from Whitehaven, to Maryland and Virginia, sending with each shipment of goods a supercargo, who was instructed to sell as much of the goods as he could for tobacco, and return as soon as his old cargo was disposed of or his new one completed. It was not until 1718 that Glasgow sent a vessel of its own across the Atlantic; and the trade, hitherto so trivial, expanded into such proportions as soon to become the chief subject of civic interest. This rise also, we are told, was chiefly owing to the mercantile enterprise and activity of four young Glasgow merchants, who at first could not collectively muster the sum of ten thousand pounds. At length their

¹ Macpherson's *History of British Commerce*, &c.

city obtained the monopoly of the tobacco trade, and was able to undersell the English in their own markets. This was an indignity which the large English cities would not tolerate, and combining against this little Scottish town they obtained such restrictions and prohibitions as threatened to reduce the tobacco trade of Glasgow to its last whiff. But even this resistance it was able to surmount, and notwithstanding the shock the city continued to wax more prosperous and lay the foundations of its future prosperity. To obtain a more distinct idea of the importance of this trade, Pennant in his *Tour in Scotland* gives us the following importations of tobacco into Glasgow in 1769:—From Virginia, 23,457 hogsheads; from Maryland, 9641 hogsheads; from Carolina, 460 hogsheads; total, 35,558 hogsheads.

All this was disposed of during the same year, while the markets in which it was sold announce the activity with which the mercantile spirit of Glasgow was already pervaded. Of the stock of the next year, which had risen to 38,970 hogsheads, there were sent to Ireland, 3310; France, 15,706; Holland, 10,637; Dunkirk, 2907; Hamburg, 2416; Bremen, 1303; Spain, &c., 885; Norway, 557; Denmark, 200; America, 16; sold inland, 1032.

In 1771 there was a still further increase in the importation of tobacco, which now amounted to 49,016 hogsheads,¹ being more than half the tobacco imported into the whole of Great Britain.

In looking at these large shipments, and the profits that must have been derived from them, it is easy to see how the Glasgow shopkeeper expanded into a magnifico and his booth into a warehouse. It was also natural that such prosperity should be accompanied with a proportionate amount of pride. These Glasgow merchants, who were now called "tobacco lords," assumed a lordly port, detaching themselves from the mere plebeian traffickers of the city, and asserting their superiority by wearing scarlet cloaks, powdered, curled, and pig-tailed wigs, and gold-headed canes, and keeping their own privileged walk upon the Trongate and in the neighbourhood of the Tontine, which thus became for the time being the Rialto of Glasgow.²

As may be supposed this new tide of traffic occasioned important changes connected with the river; and the old bridge across it, built by Bishop Rae in the fourteenth century, being found insufficient for the communication of the town on both sides of the river, another, called the Broomielaw Bridge, was added of seven

arches 500 feet long and 30 broad. The foundation was laid in 1767, and the bridge was completed in 1772. But the greatest obstacle was in the river itself, which seemed so unsuited for an extended commerce. The channel being much too wide, the water was shallow, and its navigation interrupted by twelve remarkable shoals. Owing also to the prevalence of south-west winds the banks were continually wearing away, so that what the water was gaining in breadth it lost in depth. In consequence of these impediments only small lighters could convey the trade of the city between its harbour of the Broomielaw and Port-Glasgow, while in dry seasons the water conveyance between these two places was frequently suspended for weeks. After several plans had been proposed, that of Mr. John Goulborne, an engineer of Chester, was accepted. He offered to deepen the channel to seven feet at the Broomielaw even in neap-tides, where before in such cases it had been only one foot. The machines which Goulborne employed for the purpose, called ploughs, were large hollow cases, the back being of cast-iron, the two ends wood, and the other side open; and these being drawn across the river by means of capstans on either side went laden each with about half a ton of mud, which it discharged on the banks and then returned empty for a fresh draught by a rotation of the capstan. By this process twelve hundred tons of mud and gravel were cleared away daily, and with such effect that in a short time lighters of seventy tons could reach the Broomielaw, while before the highest tonnage was limited to thirty.³ This was but the beginning of a vast improvement which has been continually going on, and in consequence of which the shallow Clyde can now bear up the largest vessels to the quays at Glasgow.

The American war, which threatened a deadly loss, only occasioned a profitable change in the mercantile interests of Glasgow. Those who had traded with the transatlantic colonies in rum, sugar, and cotton were the immediate sufferers by the revolt; but this loss was counterbalanced by the rise in the price of tobacco, of which she still retained a profitable monopoly. The emergency had also the effect of extending and multiplying the mercantile attempts of its enterprising citizens, and while they extended their West India trade they commenced a more active traffic with the European continent. Under this change the oligarchy of the Tobacco Lords began to disappear, and a larger community of West India and foreign merchants rose up in their room. But the most important

¹ Pennant's *Tour in Scotland*, vol. i., pp. 150, 151; Strang's *Glasgow and its Clubs*.

² Strang's *Glasgow and its Clubs*, pp. 40, 41.

³ Pennant's *Tour*, vol. i.

part of this revolution was the adoption of manufactures in addition to the usual departments of traffic, a change that originated the Chamber of Manufactures and Commerce, which was established in Glasgow in 1783, for the encouragement of trade and manufactures, by establishing a fund to promote them. The progress of Glasgow in wealth and prosperity is indicated by the simple fact, that while its population at the Union was only eleven thousand, it had increased in 1795 to about seventy thousand. Even the twenty years of the war with France seem to have done nothing to check the progress of the great city on the Clyde, since during this period its population had been doubled; the city boundaries were extended in every direction, and while public buildings of unexampled splendour had risen, the private dwellings and style of life had undergone a correspondingly great change.

By the end of the century Glasgow had become an important centre of the manufacture of cotton. In 1732 the first inkle (or tape) looms were introduced from Haarlem. The first printfield belonging to the city was established in 1742. The process of Turkey-red dyeing, as yet not used in Britain, was introduced into Glasgow in 1785 from Rouen. In 1792 works for cotton-spinning were set up, and in the following year power-looms were introduced.

The following quotation from Sir John Sinclair's well known *Statistical Account of Scotland* will give a good idea of the state of the manufactures of Glasgow and the surrounding districts towards the end of the eighteenth century, the volume from which it is taken being published in the year 1793. "The variety of manufactures now carried on in Glasgow, which have extended in almost every branch, are very great; but that which seems for some years past to have excited the most general attention is the manufacture of cotton cloths of various kinds, together with the arts depending upon it. For this purpose cotton mills, bleach-fields, and printfields have been erected on almost all the streams in the neighbourhood affording water sufficient to move the machinery, besides many erected at a very considerable distance; and though the number of these mills have increased greatly of late, yet they are still unable to supply the necessary quantity of yarn required by the increased manufactures, as a considerable quantity is still daily brought from England. This trade not only employs a great number of persons in Glasgow, but is extended over a very large tract of country in the neighbourhood, many weavers being employed by the Glasgow manufacturers 20 and 30 miles from the city.

In 1791 it was computed that they employed 15,000 looms; that each loom gave employment to nine persons at an average including women and children, in the different stages of the manufacture, from picking the cotton wool until the goods were brought to market, making in all 135,000 persons; and that each loom, at an average, produced goods to the value of £100 per annum, making £1,500,000. The increase since that calculation was made has been very great; but to what extent it is at present carried cannot be said with any precision for want of sufficient data. This manufacture is not very important in itself, but is productive of work to many thousands of bleachers, tambourers, calico-printers, &c., many of whom being women and children, whose work was formerly unproductive, renders it of still more importance to the country. Though this great manufacture has to some extent supplanted the linen trade, which used to be the staple manufacture of the West of Scotland, there is yet, however, a very great quantity of linens, lawns, cambrics, checks, diapers, &c., still made, though the demand for cotton goods has much diminished the consumption of those articles." Among other manufactures of Glasgow at this period may be mentioned those of coarse woollens and carpets, of pottery ware of various kinds, of glass and bottles, of hats, partly for home use and partly for exportation to America and the West Indies, hosiery, gloves, leather, saddlery, shoes, ropes and cordage of all kinds, soap and candles, machinery of all kinds, and miscellaneous articles in iron, brass, and lead. A very extensive brewery was erected near Anderston about the year 1760, and a number of others were started in the city before the end of the century. The weekly wages of tradesmen about the year 1793 are stated to have been as follows:—Shoemakers from 9s. to 12s.; wrights and carpenters from 8s. to 12s., though some of the best workmen got as high as 18s.; ordinary masons from 10s. to 12s., while the best hands got as much as 16s.; printers' compositors from 10s. 6d. to 18s.; pressmen from 10s. to 12s.; bookbinders from 7s. to 10s. 6d.; weavers from 12s. to 14s., and some of the best workmen up to 18s. and even 20s. These rates were such as were earned by men working by the piece or job. Labourers, such as barrowmen to masons and others of similar description, hired by the day, got a daily wage of 1s. 3d. to 1s. 6d.

One of the greatest sources of Glasgow's prosperity and success has been the manufacture of iron. The industry seems to have commenced about 1730, and to have gone on steadily in-

creasing. But the great improvements of Watt in the steam-engine, and its application to the processes of spinning and weaving, had the result that at the beginning of the present century, as we have just seen, the cotton trade had become the principal occupation of Glasgow, and the chief source of its commercial prosperity. From this period a most wonderful increase in trade and manufactures set in, but the subsequent growth of the city more properly falls to be treated in connection with an history of Scotland in the nineteenth century.

At first the progress of agriculture in Scotland was scarcely commensurate with that of commerce and manufactures, owing to the greater difficulties by which the former was encountered. The barrenness of the Scottish soil, which had become proverbial, was reckoned scarcely worth the toil and expense of improvement. The leases were still so short, and their tenure so precarious, that the toil of the occupant was confined to the wants of the season, without providing for anything beyond it. On these accounts, when the resources of traffic were opened, the life of a merchant was considered more easy, genteel, and profitable than that of the husbandman, who, let him labour as he might, could not raise himself above his present condition and standing. At the time of the Union, therefore, the rural districts were still uninclosed, cultivation was confined to a few fields in the immediate neighbourhood of the farm-house, while the house itself was generally a sorry hovel, in which master and servant lived without their relative distinctions. The condition of landlords with such tenants may be easily imagined. The possessor of an ancient name and large estate was unable to maintain a suitable style of living, and most of his rental being paid in labour or in kind, what means he possessed beyond his plentiful but coarse style of household-keeping were chiefly derived from his profits as a grain or cattle merchant. The picture of a landed property in 1716 given by Sir Archibald Grant of Monymusk, notwithstanding the length of the quotation, is too valuable to be omitted. Speaking of Monymusk, which he afterwards converted into a cultivated, productive estate and beautiful domain, he thus writes:—"At that time there was not one acre upon the whole estate inclosed, nor any timber upon it but a few elm, sycamore, and ash trees about a small kitchen garden adjoining to the house, and some straggling trees at some of the farmyards, with a small copsewood, not inclosed and dwarfish, and browsed by sheep and cattle. All the farms were ill-disposed and

mixed, different persons having alternate ridges; not one wheel-carriage on the estate, nor indeed any one road that would allow it; and the rent about £600 per annum when grain and services were converted into money. The house was an old castle, with battlements and six different roofs of various heights and directions, confusedly and inconveniently combined, and all rotten, with two wings more modern of two stories only, the half of the windows of the higher rising above the roofs; with granaries, stables, and houses for all cattle and the vermin attending them close adjoining; and with the heath and muir reaching in angles or gushets to the gate, and much heath near. What land was in culture belonged to the farms, by which their cattle and dung were always at the door. The whole land was raised and uneven, and full of stones, many of them very large, of a hard, iron quality, and all the ridges crooked, in shape of an S, and very high, and full of noxious weeds, and poor, being worn out by culture, without proper manure or tillage. Much of the land and muir near the house was poor and boggy; the rivulet that runs before the house in pits and shallow streams often varying channel, with banks always ragged and broken. The people were poor, ignorant, and slothful, and ingrained enemies to planting, inclosing, or any improvements or cleanliness; no keeping of sheep or cattle, or roads, but four months, when oats and bear (which was the only sorts of their grain) was on the ground. The farm-houses, and even corn-mills, and manse and school, were all poor, dirty huts, pulled in pieces for manure, or which fell of themselves almost each alternate year."¹

In such a state of imperfect agriculture, where enough was not raised for the subsistence of the inhabitants, the slightest interruption of the harvest, or even of the national commerce, was the inevitable occasion of famine and distress. Such was the recoil upon the country at large, when the interruption of the tobacco trade of Glasgow in 1724, in consequence of the jealousy of the great English towns, made money fall short and provisions be difficult to procure. The style of living among the rural population of Galloway, and the manner in which the depression affected them, are thus described in a letter written by John Maxwell of Munshes to W. M. Herries of Spottes in 1811. The following are the personal recollections of the venerable writer:—

"The tenants, in general, lived very meanly, on kail, groats, milk, graddan grinded in querns turned by the hand, and the grain dried in a

¹ *Spalding Club Miscellany*, vol. ii. p. 97.

pot; together with a crock ewe now and then about Martinmas. They were clothed very plainly, and their habitations were most uncomfortable. Their general wear was of cloth, made of waulked plaiding, black and white wool mixed, very coarse, and the cloth rarely dyed. Their hose were made of white plaiding cloth, sewed together, with single-soled shoes, and a black or blue bonnet, none having hats but the lairds, who thought themselves very well dressed for going to church on Sunday with a black kelt-coat of their wife's making. . . . The distresses and poverty felt in the country during these times . . . continued till about the year 1735. In 1725 potatoes were first introduced into the stewartry [of Kirkcudbright] by William Hyland, from Ireland, who carried them on horses' backs to Edinburgh, where he sold them by pounds and ounces. During these times, when potatoes were not generally raised in the country, there was for the most part a great scarcity of food, bordering on famine; for in the stewartry of Kirkcudbright and county of Dumfries there was not as much victual produced as was necessary for supplying the inhabitants; and the chief part of what was required for that purpose was brought from the sandbeds of Esk in tumbling cars on the Wednesdays to Dumfries; and when the waters were high by reason of *spates*—there being no bridges—so that these cars could not come with the meal, I have seen the tradesmen's wives, in the streets of Dumfries, crying because there was none to be got. At that period there was only one baker in Dumfries, and he made bawbee baps of coarse flour, chiefly bran, which he occasionally carried in creels to the fairs of Urr and Kirkpatrick. The produce of the country in general was gray corn, and you might have travelled from Dumfries to Kirkcudbright, which is twenty-seven miles, without seeing any other grain, except in a gentleman's croft, which, in general, produced bear or *bigg* for one-third part, another third in white oats, and the remaining third in gray oats. At that period there was no wheat raised in the country: what was used was brought from Teviot; and it was believed that the soil would not produce wheat. . . . Cattle were very low. I remember being present at the Bridge-end of Dumfries in 1736, when Anthony McKie, of Netherlaw, sold five score of five-year-old Galloway cattle in good condition to an Englishman at £2, 12s. 6d. each; and old Robert Halliday, who was tenant of a great part of the Preston estate, told me that he reckoned he could graze his cattle on his farms for 2s. 6d. a head—that is to say, his rent corresponded to that sum.¹

¹ Murray's *Literary History of Galloway*, appendix, p. 337.

The first attempts for the agricultural improvement of Scotland were in planting, which commenced as early as the Union, and they were made by the great landed proprietors more for the purposes of ornament or shelter than for the purposes of ornament or shelter than from the hope of future profit. The ground lying round the ancestral mansion, or those unsightly patches which were judged unfit for any other cultivation, were in the first instance the localities selected for the experiment, and the earliest of these early planters of trees was Thomas, sixth Earl of Haddington. He selected for the purpose a tract of about three hundred acres surrounding his mansion of Tynninghame, and lying on the coast of the Firth of Forth between North Berwick and Dunbar, where it was supposed that from the effects of the sea air no trees would grow. The trial seems to have been made rather for the exercise of his lordship's superfluous energies, and the gratification of his lady's tastes for planting, than from any hope of success; but, to the wonder of the public and himself, the attempt throve so well that the beautiful plantation called Binning Wood was the result. The earl now became a cultivator and improver of the soil in good earnest, and not satisfied with the imperfect agriculturists of his own country, he introduced some farmers from Dorsetshire, under whose instructions he planted and sowed so effectually that the Tynninghame woods, which now consist of many hundred acres of the finest timber, rose into existence, while at the same time the practice of sowing clover and other grass seeds was first introduced into the country. Another planter and improver of the soil was Sir Archibald Grant, who in 1716 began to inclose and plant upon the unpromising estate of Monymusk. The effect of his exertions was the conversion of waste soil into fine woods, in which are some of the largest trees to be found in that part of Scotland. These and other similar examples acted upon the landholders, who began to bestir themselves. The districts, hitherto so desolate in their nakedness, slowly resumed their primitive clothing, although for a time it was only a few strips of foliage; and that change was commenced under which Scotland bids fair at last to become a tree-producing and well-wooded country.

But it was not merely in the cultivation of trees that Scottish agriculture was indebted to the superior skill of England. Lady Henrietta Mordaunt, daughter of the chivalrous Earl of Peterborough, having married the eldest son of the Duke of Gordon, came to reside in Scotland in 1706. Struck with the unproductiveness of her father-in-law's estates, and the imperfect agriculture of his tenantry, she addressed her-

self to the task of improving them—an attempt more difficult than that undertaken by her sire when he attempted to fix the Archduke Charles of Austria upon the Spanish throne. A woman, and above all an Englishwoman, was not a likely person to influence the hard-headed Scottish peasantry, and allure them from the time-honoured usages of their fathers into the new-fangled practices of the Southrons. Wisely beginning the course of instruction by example rather than precept, she brought down English ploughs and ploughmen to the Duke of Gordon's estates, and these men introduced the practice of fallowing, a process hitherto unknown in Scottish farming. In this way she gradually introduced the improvements of the south into her father-in-law's territories, including the proper mode of making hay, the planting of mairs and the laying out of gardens. During the first twenty years of her residence in Scotland three Scottish proprietors, influenced by her counsels, commenced the improvement of their estates in earnest by draining, planting, and improved modes of culture, among which was the sowing of French grasses. The work was now commenced, the change established, and it was soon found that the Scots, both landholders and farmers, were not too proud to adopt those practices that redounded so greatly to their profit and comfort.

The ascendancy of this new spirit, and the benefits that might accrue from it, were hopefully shown in an association which was soon formed, entitled a "Society for Improving in the Knowledge of Agriculture," and consisting of three hundred of the principal landholders of Scotland. Their meetings were to be held quarterly in Edinburgh; the members, who were called *Improvers*, discussed such subjects as the fallowing of ground, the method of preparing ground for grass-seeds, the winning and cleaning of flax, and the processes of bleaching linen cloth; and to show that they were in earnest one of the members, a young gentleman of Galloway, took a lease of the farm of Clifton Hall, near Edinburgh, for the purpose of testing the improvements in husbandry. Another member, Thomas Hope of Rankeilour, who was also president of the society for several years, and who had made agricultural tours in England, France, and Holland, took in 1722 a long lease of a marshy piece of ground to the south of Edinburgh, now called the Meadows, which he drained and converted into a noble park with shady walks for the recreation of the citizens. A third member, the Earl of Stair, was the first to raise turnips in the open fields, one of the most important improvements of store-husbandry. It is from such realized facts as these, rather than the proceedings of their stated

meetings, that we learn the justness of their claim to the title of improvers.¹

The changes introduced into Scottish agriculture occasioned the improvement of the old implements of husbandry and the introduction of new. And of these the most important was the plough which continued to be used in Scotland until after the middle of the last century. It was a strong heavy machine, about thirteen feet in length from the farthest end of the stilts or handles to the extremity of the beam; and although from its size, shape, and weight it was well suited to break up rough uncultivated ground, especially when incommoded with stones, it was too much for tender soils that required a more gentle instrument, besides being cumbersome of management, and requiring great horse-power of draught. A lighter and more effective plough was introduced into Berwickshire by Mr. James Small, a plough and cart wright, which could be drawn by two horses and directed by one man. This was so decided an improvement that his ploughs were not only adopted generally throughout Scotland, but used in several parts of England. It was a step to the light iron plough, more easy still of management, and requiring less animal power, by which Small's improvement was generally superseded in Scotland. Next in importance was the thrashing-machine, by which not only great manual labour but much good corn was saved. The process of thrashing by that primitive instrument the flail was often performed in a slovenly manner, and the occasion of a great loss in grain. To effect greater regularity and economy in the process, the attempt was made to substitute a machine, to which a number of flails were attached, and set in motion by a water-wheel; but in consequence of the velocity required for the purpose the flails were soon broken and the plan set aside. Other attempts upon a similar principle followed, but they were all more or less unsatisfactory. At length the problem was solved by Mr. Andrew Meikle, civil engineer at Haddington. After perceiving the fate of former thrashing-machines, where the power and velocity required to work them was more than they could endure—the scutchers or thrashers being required to move with a velocity of two thousand five hundred feet in a minute in order to thrash corn in a perfect manner and in tolerable quantity—resolved to attempt it by means of a cylinder or drum, upon the circumference of which scutchers should be fixed in such a manner as to endure the necessary motion. He constructed a thrashing-machine upon this principle, and it was found so

¹ Chambers's *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, vol. iii.

effectual that several imitations were produced, all tending to simplify the labour and increase the quantity of work performed. By the addition of shakers and fanners to the machine, all driven by the same power, the different operations of thrashing, shaking, and winnowing could at last be all performed at once, and the corn-sheaf converted into grain ready for the market. The flail is now used only upon those very small crofts where the amount of produce would not justify the expense of a thrashing-machine.

Another improvement was that which took place in the process of winnowing. Formerly the grain was separated from the chaff by dropping it from a sieve or basket between the two open doors of a barn; the grain in this case dropped upon the barn floor, while the chaff and light refuse was blown away. But winnowing depended so much upon the wind, that when grain was wanted either for seed or the market, a dead calm would sometimes bring the farmer to a stand-still. It was also at the best a tedious process and an occasion of sloth and idleness. In this case the fanner or winnowing machine was invented, or at least introduced into the country by Mr. James Meikle, father of the inventor of the thrashing-machine, who, having gone to Holland in 1710, to learn the art of making pot-barley and erecting barley-mills, constructed at his return the first fanner that had ever been seen in Scotland. It consisted of a wheel with four vanes of thin boards, which, being made to revolve with great velocity within a hollow cylinder, created such a strong wind, that the light grain and chaff were blown off, while the good grain, by its superior weight, fell through a narrow aperture. But fearful was the outcry raised by persons of extreme orthodoxy against these innocent fanners. It was a rejection of the natural wind which Providence had created; it was a homage rendered to the prince of the power of the air; and many were the sermons preached, and the testimonies lifted up against this "witched wind," to which none but the children of the devil would have recourse. The use of the fanner in Scotland was therefore only partial until after the middle of the last century, when it came into general adoption and underwent several important improvements, among which was its combination with the thrashing-machine.¹

While Scottish agriculture had thus wakened into young life, and was bursting in all directions through the barriers that had hitherto restrained it, one great obstacle to its growing

improvement was in part removed by an act of the legislature. In 1685 the Scottish parliament had empowered the landholders to entail their estates with such provisions and restrictions as they thought proper; and these entails were an effectual security to their landed property against purchasers, creditors, and all claimants whatever. In consequence of this act many of the estates were so entailed, that no lease could be granted upon them beyond the lives of their possessors. Such a jealous and selfish privilege, and one so hostile to agricultural improvement, was soon found unsuitable to the advancing spirit of the age, and in 1770 the law was so far altered as to remove the worst of these restrictions. The holders of estates thus entailed were entitled to give leases for fourteen years and one existing life—for two existing lives and the life of the survivor—or for any number of years not exceeding thirty-one, the tenants of such leases being obliged to improve the lands in the manner specified in this new act of parliament. Leases might also be granted for ninety-nine years of lots, not exceeding five acres to one person, for the purpose of building villages consisting of at least two houses upon each acre of the value of at least £10 each house. To encourage every landholder also to improve his entailed estate by inclosing, planting, and draining, and to build suitable farm-houses and offices for the tenants, he was empowered during his lifetime to charge the estate with a debt amounting to three-fourths of the money so expended, but which was not to exceed four years of free and net rent. He was also entitled to build a mansion-house for himself, and to throw three-fourths of the expense upon his successor, provided the debt did not exceed two years rent of the estate. For the further improvement of his property he might exchange, under the authority of the sheriff or steward of the shire, any detached parcels of land not exceeding thirty acres of arable, or an hundred acres of hill or pasture, for equivalent parcels lying more convenient for the improvement of his estate, these new portions being subject to all the restrictions of the entail as much as the rest of the estate. Finally, all entails of estates in Scotland, made either before or after the year 1685, were made equally liable to the modifications of this act.²

After the passing of this law the improvement of Scottish agriculture proceeded at a rapid pace. As leases could now be obtained for twenty or thirty years, and as there was little of the landlord's interference in the cultivation and improvement of the soil, the native energies of the peasantry, strengthened by their excellent system

¹ Sir J. Sinclair's *General Report of the Agricultural State and Political Circumstances of Scotland*, vol. i.
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² 10 Geo. III. c. li.

of parochial education, had full and free scope for exertion. Accordingly the country began to assume a new aspect, and peasant life a different character. The agricultural implements, either lately discovered or greatly improved, were taken into general use. The country was opened up by practicable roads, and wheel-carriages employed upon them for the conveyance of agricultural produce; farms were divided and inclosed with hedges and ditches, and the soil was enriched by careful manuring, and especially by the application of lime, the advantages of which were perceived, and which came into general use. This active industry soon delivered large tracts of country from the stagnant water that had settled upon them, and the agues of which they were a fruitful source, and made way for that underground draining which followed as a necessary advance, and soon was generally adopted. Among the new agricultural products which these improvements introduced were the Swedish turnip, which was now a profitable field crop, and potato-oats, which were accidentally discovered in 1788. The Highland Society, instituted in 1777, and the National Board of Agriculture in 1793, by calling the attention of landholders to the improvement of their estates, diffused the knowledge of new and successful agricultural experiments among their tenantry, of which they were intelligent enough to avail themselves. But to this advance in such full career there was threatened a sudden arrest by the breaking out of the French revolution, and the stoppage of the foreign supplies of grain by Napoleon's decrees in 1795, and his threats of an invasion of Britain two years afterwards occasioned a panic in the agricultural market which was felt over the whole island. That terrible famine called the "year of the dearth" was the consequence, in which the price of wheat, which was 50s. a quarter, suddenly rose to 81s. 6d., and in the following year to 96s. But the increased necessity of converting pasture into arable land, and the unlimited credit extended by banking companies to agricultural operations, so effectually counteracted these hostile demonstrations, that the agricultural prosperity rose beyond all former precedent. And especially was this the case in Scotland, where, before the war had ended, the progress of a whole century seemed to have been realized. As one proof of this we may state that the rental of the lands in Scotland, which in 1795 amounted to £2,000,000, in 1815 had risen to £5,278,685, having thus been more than doubled in the course of twenty years.

Since that period the advance of Scotland in agriculture has been so great, that it has outstripped England, of which it was originally the

pupil and imitator. The labours of its agricultural associations, appreciated by an intelligent industrious peasantry, the ready adoption of every kind of improved manure to the soils best fitted for their use, and the application of chemistry to the occupations of husbandry, have completely changed the aspect of Scotland in the cultivated districts; and a population that has increased fourfold since the Union possesses an abundance of the necessaries and comforts of life unknown to their fathers. But the more modern features of Scottish agriculture will be dealt with in a subsequent chapter.

In passing to the condition of the people during the eighteenth century we begin with Edinburgh, still the chief representative of the national character, although it had lost its distinction as a capital. Upon this time-honoured city the union of the kingdoms consummated what the union of the crowns had commenced. To the nobility and gentry of Scotland London was now the capital, and Edinburgh retained no other distinction over other cities of the empire than that which was derived from her political influence, her wealth, and other civic advantages. But even though thus shorn, the diminution was only temporary. Although deprived of her high-titled inhabitants, whose home was now the capital of England, her native citizens were becoming so rich and prosperous that they were soon able to fill up the void. The site itself of such a city combining so many advantages, with the growing wealth that could make it available, was so conspicuous, that it was to Edinburgh what the Thames is to London, of which the English merchants had proudly said to James VI., "Remove the court where you please, but leave to us our river." Edinburgh had also the courts of law, which made her the arbiter of the principal business of the kingdom, and her university and schools, to which the *élite* of the people of Scotland repaired for education. In this way the city was able to sustain the disruption that deprived her of the best part of the nobility, and finally to establish those claims to distinction which have proved more secure than those derived from mere political or mercantile considerations. Scarcely had a single generation died out after the Union was effected than it was found that Edinburgh was wealthier, happier, and more respected than ever. Scarcely had the following century commenced than the loss both of court and parliament was looked upon as a mere sentimental grievance.

After the Union several English tourists ventured into Scotland, at first cautiously, as those who enter an unknown country; but, on finding that the exploration could be made with

impunity, they succeeded in greater numbers, and all agree in their high encomiums on the architectural grandeur of Edinburgh. Captain Burt, one of the earliest of these tourists, thus expresses himself in a letter to one of his correspondents:—"When I first came into the High Street of that city I thought I had not seen anything of the kind more magnificent: the extreme height of the houses, which are, for the most part, built with stone; and well sashed; the breadth and length of the street, and (it being dry weather) a cleanness made by the high winds, I was extremely pleased to find everything look so unlike the descriptions of that town which had been given me by some of my countrymen." Nearly sixty years later Captain Topham, in his letters written in 1774, thus describes the city:—"The situation of Edinburgh is probably as extraordinary a one as can well be imagined for a metropolis. The immense hills, on which a great part of it is built, though they make the views uncommonly magnificent, not only in many places render it impassable for carriages, but very fatiguing for walking. The principal or great street runs along the ridge of a very high hill, which, taking its rise from the palace of Holyrood House, ascends, and not very gradually, for the length of a mile and a quarter, and after opening a spacious area terminates in the castle. On one side, far as the eye can reach, you view the sea, the port of Leith, its harbour and various vessels, the river of Forth, the immense hills around, some of which ascend above even the castle; and on the other side you look over a rich and cultivated country, terminated by the dark, abrupt, and barren hills of the Highlands."

Returning to the street and its houses, Topham thus continues:—"You have seen the famous street at Lisle, la Rue Royale, leading to the port of Tournay, which is said to be the finest in Europe, but which I can assure you is not to be compared either in length or breadth to the High Street at Edinburgh. . . . The style of building here is much like the French: the houses, however, in general, are higher, as some rise to twelve, and one in particular to thirteen stories, in height. But to the front of the street nine or ten stories is the common run; it is the back part of the edifice, which, by being built on the slope of a hill, sinks to that amazing depth, so as to form the above number. . . . The common staircase, which leads to the apartments of the different inhabitants, must always be dirty, and is in general very dark and narrow. It has this advantage, however, that, as they are all of stone, they have little to apprehend from fire, which, in the opinion of some, would more than

compensate for every other disadvantage. In general, however, the highest and lowest tenements are possessed by the artificers, while the gentry and better sort of people dwell in fifth and sixth stories." This curious arrangement in the scale of gentility appeared so strange to our neighbours of England that several droll tales were founded upon the circumstance. Of these the following is related by Topham:—"A Scottish gentleman, several years before that period, having visited London for the first time, selected what he thought the most respectable part of the whole house as his lodging, for which he had also to pay the lowest price. His friends, who called upon him, endeavoured, but in vain, to represent to him the blunder he had committed in choosing his lodging so near the attics, which none but common people would have occupied. The Scot indignantly replied that "he kenned very weel what gentility was; and when he had lived all his life in a sixth story he was not come to London to live upon the *grund!*"

The peculiarity of architecture which Edinburgh exhibited from the palace up to the castle was determined by the political condition of the several occupants. When Holyrood was the seat of royalty the nobility and those who frequented the court had their domiciles in the Canongate, where they and their numerous retainers could make good their stately mansions either against feudal enemies or marauding invaders. Of a house of this kind in such a locality we have an admirable sketch in Scott's tale of *The Abbot*. But higher up on the same line the case was altered; and on passing the market-cross houses became more closely huddled together, as being the houses of those who depended on the protection of the castle. The same feeling induced them, as the population increased, to pile story upon story, instead of building separate houses; and these additions, improved in their style of comfort, became fitting residences for persons of higher degree than those who tenanted the original basement. In this manner a tenement, or, as it was popularly called, a *land*, might be said to resemble a pot of porter, where the top was occupied by the froth and the bottom by the sediment of the population, while the best of the draught was between them. Thus for years Edinburgh, while growing larger, continued to occupy the same extent of ground, and the increase, instead of being lateral, was upwards, until the houses had acquired a portentous altitude, with one or more families occupying a single flat or story. And such continued to be the style of living in Edinburgh until near the close of the eighteenth century. Continuing his description, Topham

says:—"From the left of the High Street you pass down by a number of different alleys, or, as they call them here, wynds and closes, to the different parts of the Old Town. They are, many of them, so very steep, that it requires great attention to the feet to prevent falling; but so well accustomed are the Scotch to that position of body required in descending these declivities that I have seen a Scotch girl run down them with great swiftness in pattens."

When the impoverished nobility and gentry of Scotland after the Union were thus compelled to occupy dwellings correspondent to their fortune, they were obliged to tolerate the strange neighbourhood that lived above and beneath them in the same tenement; and the common stair or turnpike, which all its families used, was a leveller of distinctions almost as remorseless as death itself. Here the peer met with the shopkeeper, the judge jostled the petty retainer of the law, and the belaced fardingale of the fashionable belle brushed the skirts of the humble city dame as they ascended or descended by this common spiral pepper-castor to or from their respective flats. In this way persons distinguished in the national history, and to whom visitors from England or abroad had procured the honour of an introduction, were often to be found in strange and unpromising localities. But when the inquirer had made his way through these heterogeneous obstacles, and reached the haven of his wishes, he found such a style of comfort and elegance within as reconciled him to the plebeian character of the approach; and however vulgar the inhabitants of the same stair might be, they were effectually excluded from too close a neighbourhood by partitions, not of lath and plaster, but of solid stone. As a specimen of one of these houses, constituting only a slice of the whole building, the following may suffice. The half of a fourth flat, once the mansion of a wealthy landed proprietor, but now degraded to common uses, is described in its original title-deeds as "ane large fore-chamber, with a study, upon the south side of the turnpike off the right hand of the entry, with a transe [passage] leading to the rest of the house, and a kitchen on the west side of the said transe, with a hanging gallery on the west side thereof, divided into two rooms and a back hall within; and upon the north side of the said chamber, with a summer dining-room on the west side of the same, a chamber of dais within the said back hall, and a study on the east side thereof, and loft above the said chamber of dais and back hall aforesaid." According to the reckoning of the time, it was a dwelling fit for a man of rank and fashion, although in

modern estimation it is nothing more than a little shabby house of closets and cupboards.

In the street directories of Edinburgh, published by Peter Williamson, by whom a penny post was introduced into the city, and from inventories on the sale and transference of property, we find that this crowded style of living and heterogeneous jumble of rank prevailed till the close of the last century. These directories give us the names of noble families crowded together in a single close in such numbers as would have sufficed to occupy a whole square of Belgravia. They gave us also instances of titled residents in the middle of the building, with shopkeepers at the bottom, and a tailor, a dressmaker, or sick-nurse at the top. Of the high occupants that might be contained in a single land or tenement, one instance may be mentioned in a building of six stories situated in the Lawnmarket. The ground floor divided into two were the dwellings of a baker and a grocer. On the first floor above there resided General Lockhart of Carnwath, and on the second the widow of a gentleman of property. On the third floor lived Sir Hay Campbell, lord advocate, and afterwards lord president of the Court of Session; on the fourth Mr. Bell, a writer to the signet; and on the fifth Mr. Hume of Ninewells, the representative of an ancient Scottish family. The sixth and uppermost story, composing the attics, which generally fell to the lot of persons of the lowest rank, was reserved as additional rooms for the servants of General Lockhart, who lived in a superior style.

As familiarity is said to breed contempt, such a style of tenantry, where high and low, rich and poor, were brought into such close contact, would, in ordinary circumstances, have bred either supercilious arrogance or undue familiarity between those who inhabited a single land and were wont to meet upon the common stair. Such, indeed, would have been the case in any country but Scotland, where the feudal distinctions were still regarded with affection and reverence. Although the spirit of the old institutions had departed, the Scottish gentleman could not forget how much his ancestors had owed to the devotedness of his retainers, while the common people still continued their homage to gentle blood and a time-honoured patronymic. There was, therefore, as strong a line of demarcation between those classes inhabiting the same street, the same close, and the same tenement as if the one class had been segregated in the west, and the other confined to the east end of the city. Even the absence of a court seemed to make these distinctions of birth and rank more scrupulously cherished on either side. But when the substance had departed, the in-

fluence of a mere remembrance could not be permanent, and the new doctrines of liberty and equality which produced the French revolution, the increase of wealth among the middle and lower orders, and the general progress of intelligence, gradually stripped the Scottish aristocracy of those exclusive privileges which hitherto had proved their best safeguard. When the eighteenth century had closed, they found that their family names were a spell no longer, and that the old feudal spirit of the people had been exchanged for the standard of mere intrinsic worth and "a man's a man for a' that." As the Old Town could thus no longer be a fit home to them, they gladly migrated to the New, and indicated their superior gentility by better houses, a higher style of living, and more fashionable amusements. And thus the place they occupied knows them no more, and the dwellings they inhabited in the Lawnmarket, the Cowgate, and the High Street have become the homes of the lowest grades of society.

The height of the houses in the Old Town of Edinburgh, if they made it the most stately and imposing, also caused it to be one of the dirtiest of cities, and the raptures of the visitor who arrived in it at noon, were generally before midnight changed into disgust. During the eighteenth century the practice was still continued of throwing the filth of the higher flats from the windows, instead of carrying it down the common stair, and thus the increasing height of the houses only added to the amount of the abomination. At ten o'clock at night, when the town drum beat, and when it was supposed that the streets would be cleared of the sober and industrious, the tattoo was the signal for a general discharge, and in this case the windows were opened and the vessels emptied, each serving-wench thinking it enough to scream out, "Gardeloo!" [Gare de l'eau] by way of warning to whatever passengers might still be loitering below. Why the warning should have been given in old French we know not, unless it may be that the Scots had acquired this sanitary process from their ancient allies; but its uselessness we can easily imagine, when the windows of every street became vocal at once, and the bewildered stranger knew not where to fly. When Burt visited Edinburgh he used the precaution of having a guide, who went before him through the wynds, shouting *Haud your han'!* and he adds, "The throwing up of a sash, or otherwise opening a window, made me tremble, while behind and before me, at some little distance, fell the terrible shower." Every morning the streets were cleaned by scavengers, except on Sundays, when no work of any kind was permitted, and thus the Scottish Sabbath was stigmatized by strangers as the dirtiest day

in the week. The magistrates, however, who continued their struggle for the purification of the city, had so far succeeded, that by the middle of the eighteenth century the practice of throwing out refuse from the windows of the principal streets had been discontinued; but it took shelter in the wynds and closes, where the heap accumulated sometimes for two or three days together without removal. But enough of a subject over which Dr. Johnson growled, and in which Dean Swift's imagination revelled. It is enough to say that "gardeloo" is now only a word for mirthful remembrance, and that Edinburgh is one of the cleanest as well as fairest of cities.

The rise of the New Town was an inevitable consequence of the Union and the progress of improvement, and the only wonder is that this change should have been so long delayed. It had, however, been anticipated in the seventeenth century, and provision was made for it by the Duke of York (afterwards James VII.) when he came to Edinburgh, as royal commissioner of the Scottish parliament, in 1679. To erect a new town, it was necessary that the royalty of the city should be extended, and a communication effected between the city and the opposite fields by bridging the North Loch; and, among other privileges conferred upon the town-council, James in the plenitude of his authority decreed, "That when they should have occasion to enlarge their city by purchasing ground without the town, or to build bridges or arches, for accomplishing the same, not only are the proprietors of such lands obliged to part with the same on reasonable terms, but these, when acquired, are to be erected into a regality in favour of the citizens." But the Revolution, the Union, the Porteous riot, and the rebellions of 1715 and 1745, prevented this royal concession from being carried into effect until nearly a century after it was conferred. The first step was taken in 1753, by laying the foundation of the Royal Exchange. The North Loch was drained in 1763, the first stone of the North Bridge laid on the 21st of October; and four years afterwards the plan of the New Town by Mr. James Craig, architect, and nephew of the author of the *Seasons*, was submitted to the town-council and approved of. The wide streets, the large squares, and formal parallelograms of this new plan were contemplated with rapture by those who had felt the narrowness of their old city an absolute bondage, and they were impatient for the ample space and comfortable dwellings, which they regarded as an escape from the wilderness into the land of promise. But, when the plan was carried into effect, the murmurs of opposition became louder and more

distinct, and the sticklers for old fashions preferred the picturesqueness of their ancient city, with all its faults, to the formal regularity of the new. Even the North Bridge they did not care to cross, in consequence of the prevailing high winds, and the wild work it made among the cocked hats and periwigs of the gentlemen, and the voluminous drapery of the ladies. Notwithstanding the tempting stateliness of the new houses and the airiness of their site, not only many of the common people, but also of the aristocracy preferred the coziness and home character of their old flats to these new-fangled separate habitations, and it was not until the progress of the New Town was considerably advanced, that they suffered themselves to be borne by the tide of fashion into these more comfortable modern localities. Even in the earlier part of the present century many aristocratic families were still to be found lingering in the Old Town, with George's Square and St. John's Street as its most fashionable places of abode.

From the time of the Union Edinburgh had so completely changed its character, that from being the most turbulent, it had become one of the most peaceful of cities. The aristocracy, who had been the leaders of its great faction-fights, were mostly resident in London, and those questions no longer existed which had formed the chief arguments of quarrel. Bloody as these commotions had often been, they were upon subjects of national or public interest, and did not arise from sordid motives, and when these were laid to rest the sword rusted in its scabbard, and the pike of the citizen was removed from the "buih" to a quiet nook in the attic. Thus while the streets of London were disgraced by day with its gangs of robbers and pick-pockets, and by night with its troops of Scourers, Sweaters, and Mohocks, a stranger might at any hour pace the streets of Edinburgh without danger or molestation. But that the old Berserker spirit of its citizens was only asleep, not dead, was evinced by several terrible manifestations, and the commotions at the passing of the Union were sometimes sufficient to make the commissioners pause, and fear that their attempt was premature. A still more signal instance was given in the Porteous riot, when a mob that might be numbered by thousands rose as one man, broke open the jail, hanged the culprit, and then disappeared so effectually, that all the attempts of government and offers of reward could not detect a single actor in the deed.

In a city that could be so easily ruled when unmolested, but was so irresistible when provoked, a town-council was little more than a nullity, or at best a mere symbol of regularity

and order. Its meetings, therefore, had lost their former importance, and they seem to have been conducted with the same edifying peacefulness and tranquillity that characterized the senate of Walter the Doubter, when New York was a Dutch colony. But their helplessness in any great emergency was shown in their attempts to fortify and defend Edinburgh on the advance of the Young Chevalier to its gates. The provost held his honorary office without fee or reward until 1716, when the common council granted to him and his successors the sum of £300 yearly to defray the expenses of office. An equally wise proceeding characterized the council in 1718. Hitherto a magistrate while in office had to wear a coat of black velvet, and was entitled to a grant of ten pounds to cover the expense. It was now, however, found that such a fashion was unusual in other countries; and as for the magistrates themselves, they had become ashamed of the distinction of a velvet coat, which any other person might wear when he pleased. It was therefore declared by the council sufficient that they should wear their former official robes while on duty, and that the coat being discarded, the ten pounds should go to the discharge of the city debts.

As yet there was no regular police in Edinburgh, the duties of that office being discharged by the town-guard; and how necessary a strong military force was found for the preservation of order in such a city we have already seen. But the time was fast approaching when such uses of soldiers were incompatible with the rights of free citizens; and the respectability of the corps was by no means enhanced by having such men as Major Weir the wizard and Captain Porteous for its commanders. The guard being usually composed of Highland veterans, men of fiery temper and acquainted only with military law, were apt to exercise their office too roughly in every trivial riot, and to strike not only with the staves but the iron heads of their Lochaber-axes upon small provocation. It was no wonder, therefore, that they were generally unpopular with the citizens and the subjects of practical jokes with the mob, who availed themselves of every public festival as an occasion for venting their dislike. And of such saturnalia none was so conspicuous as New Year's Day, when the guard was doomed to the full brunt of the popular license. On the 1st of January a great civic festival was usually held by the magistrates in the town-hall, on which important occasion the town-guard was drawn up in front of the building to protect the guests and signalize every toast with a volley of musketry. And there stood the poor fellows, amidst the jeers of the crowd and showers of dead cats

or worse missiles that were thrown at their heads, until the end of the entertainment was their signal to retire. But as soon as they were drawn off, the mob followed, a collision ensued, and wounds and broken heads on both sides were the usual termination of the hustling. After this wonted New Year's Day regale of a fight with the guard, from which the latter were usually glad to escape to their barracks, the mob had the field wholly to themselves, when they spent the evening in burning the effigies of unpopular statesmen and breaking the windows of obnoxious citizens. And of all those who were the subjects of such cremation by proxy none in Scotland was to be compared to the notorious John Wilkes, who was hated more than the pope, the Pretender, and a third personage unnamed; and in every town and village of the kingdom every urchin was alert with, "Gie's a bawbee to burn Wilkes!" This maligner of the Scots was the Guy Fawkes of Scotland, whose image it was an act of patriotism to revile and consume.

A class in Edinburgh as important as the town-guard, and far more popular, were the cadies. These were a class of men whose occupation was everywhere and their home nowhere; who were employed all day in the coffee-houses or taverns or by private customers; and who found their lodging at night upon the common stairs or the streets, in which respect they bore some resemblance to the lazzaroni of Naples. Their occupation chiefly consisted in going upon errands and carrying messages, so that if a stranger needed a guide, a citizen a courier, or a lover a convenient go-between in carrying a billet-doux on the sly, a cadie was certain of employment. The corps was chiefly composed of Highlanders, who brought their activity, love of exciting change, and dexterity in scouting into their new employment, and having no chief they transferred their allegiance to the public at large, whom they were willing to serve so long as they were fed and sheltered. The nature of their occupation required fidelity, so that though so poor their honesty could seldom be impeached; a secret message or even a sum of money could be safely intrusted to their custody; and as they knew every nook and inhabitant in Edinburgh they could execute their commissions with dexterity and despatch. Their chief place of call, too, being the cross, where they usually waited, a cadie could easily be found when needed. This curious fraternity, of which it required some interest to become a member, had a ruler of its own, who was called the constable of the cadies, and who punished all cases of neglect or misdemeanour by fines of brandy, and sometimes corporal chastisement. Their know-

ledge, also, of every person, whether townsman or stranger, was of great benefit to the community at large: on this account they were termed by English tourists "the tutelary guardians of the city;" and it was thought that owing to the sharp inspection of these cadies, and their knowledge of everyone and everything, there were fewer robberies and less housebreaking than in any other city in Europe.¹

In mentioning the public amusements of Edinburgh during the eighteenth century the first place is due to the drama. We have already seen what a struggle it had to endure in Scotland and how hopeless every attempt had been to establish it previous to the Union. After that event an effort was made to act plays in 1715 at the Tennis Court, near Holyrood Palace, probably by some obscure company of English strollers; but the clergy took the alarm, and the presbytery of Edinburgh recommended the use of "all prudent and proper methods to discourage it," in consequence of which the Tennis Court seems to have been closed almost as soon as opened. A still more feeble attempt succeeded in 1719 by some amateur actors, who performed privately the *Orphan* and the *Cheats of Scapin*, but this also proved abortive. The most decided of all experiments was made in 1726, when Anthony Aston, a performer of considerable ability, brought with him a troop of comedians from England, and established a little theatre in one of the closes of the High Street, although the town-council, encouraged by the clergy, prohibited Aston from acting within the limits of its jurisdiction. But this interdict was suspended by the Court of Session, and the little playhouse in the High Street close was so successful that there was some talk of erecting a regular theatre in the city. This success of the drama allured other companies of performers to Scotland, who acted plays in Glasgow, Dundee, Montrose, Aberdeen, and wherever they had the chance of collecting an audience. Almost as fatal as the maledictions of the clergy against the naturalization of the drama, were the misdemeanours of the actors themselves, who even in demure Scotland were unable to refrain from the usual faults of strolling players. Aston was accused by his company of pocketing whole sums, instead of accounting fairly with them and sharing the proceeds, and a suit at law was the consequence, which tended to bring the profession into popular disrepute. But still worse was the behaviour of a company called the "Scots Company of Comedians," who suddenly disappeared without paying their debts.

¹ Burt's *Letters*; Topham's *Letters*; Smollett's *Humphrey Clinker*.

During this struggle of the drama in Edinburgh its principal literary champion and advocate was Allan Ramsay. This was not wonderful, considering the liberal, cheerful, and show-loving spirit of the poet, and how greatly his fame had been raised by his comedy of *The Gentle Shepherd*, the renown of which was diffused over the whole island. He had also a keen eye to business, and from late successes he hoped that the erection of a theatre in Edinburgh might turn out a profitable speculation. He accordingly erected a building for the purpose, and had it opened in November, 1736, by the Edinburgh Company of Comedians, who had been performing in the Tailors' Hall, in the Cowgate. Although it had been erected and fitted up at a great expense, and was reckoned as complete a theatre as any of its size in the three kingdoms, the first season of its existence had not closed when it was interdicted for being opened without the lord-chamberlain's license. In vain did Ramsay petition both in prose and verse that the interdict should be removed. In vain did he even supplicate that the building should be allowed to be kept open as a theatre until its debts were paid off. His appeals were uttered to deaf ears, and he was obliged to pocket the loss as he best might as the reward of his bold adventure.¹

Such was the precarious condition of the theatre in Scotland during the middle of the last century. The conflict would have been a hopeless one had the whole order of the clergy been united to oppose it; but while the evangelical portion of the ministers and their followers, who composed the bulk of the people, were against it, those who were of the opposite or Moderate party, and a considerable portion of the aristocracy, were on its side. While matters were in this condition all classes alike were astonished with the fact that a Scottish minister had actually written a play, and was endeavouring to bring it upon the stage. It will be seen that we allude to the tragedy of *Douglas*, and its author, John Home, the minister of Athelstaneford. It was actually brought out in December, 1756, in a theatre then situated in the Play-house Close, Canongate, the audience being composed of all the literati, most of the lords of session, and a considerable portion of the Moderate clergy. A war of pamphlets followed, which was only a prelude to clerical interposition, and the case was tried successively before the presbytery, the synod, and the General Assembly, while the culprits were not only the author himself, but such of his brethren as had abetted the trespass

by witnessing the representation of the play. Where so much could be said upon both sides the controversy threatened to be interminable; but in the first instance it was abruptly broken short by Mr. Home's voluntary resignation of his clerical charge. The trial itself, however, was a triumph not only to the play but the cause of the drama in Edinburgh. The prosecution of Home was considered to be illiberal and unjust, and those ministers who of their own accord would have avoided the theatre now occasionally ventured to attend it as if to vindicate their own independence and their superiority to popular prejudice. The reaction also extended to the laity, so that the theatre became more popular and more frequented than ever. A singular proof of the growth of the clerical attachment to theatricals was afforded in 1784, when Mrs. Siddons made her first public appearance in Edinburgh. It was at the time when the General Assembly was sitting, and that venerable court was obliged to fix all its important business for the alternate days when she did not act, as on her nights the younger members took their stations at the theatre by three in the afternoon.² Nor did the dramatic furor confine itself to extraordinary occasions, or the arrival of some particular star; private theatricals came into vogue in colleges, academies, and social parties; and even in common schools the tragedy of *Douglas* was used as a school-book, and urchins taught to spout, "My name is Norval." Speculating upon this change in favour of the drama, the Theatre Royal was built at the east corner of Princes Street and North Bridge in 1769, and continued the chief home of the drama in Edinburgh till it was demolished in 1860-61, to give place to the new post-office. Thus much can be said in favour of theatrical representations in Edinburgh: no production that was flagrantly immoral or irreligious was brought upon the stage, and even those which were tolerated in London would have found no favour in the theatre of Edinburgh: and in consequence of its intelligent and decorous auditory the Edinburgh stage was reckoned by English actors the highest test of their professional excellence; so that he who could obtain its favourable verdict was certain of popularity on the boards of London.

Next to the theatre the principal amusement were the balls, which, during the present period, were opened upon a public scale instead of being confined to private parties. The commencement was made in 1720 by what was termed "the Assembly," which was a weekly meeting of the young of both sexes for the amusement

¹ Chambers's *Domestic Annals of Scotland*.

² Carlyle's *Autobiography*.

of dancing, and it was held at first in a large hall in the Old Assembly Close on the south side of the High Street. Afterwards it was removed to rooms in Bell's Wynd, where the "Assembly" continued to be held till the erection of the hall in George Street. Such an origin was sufficiently humble and obscure, but still enough to occasion alarm, as most of its early patrons were Tories and Episcopalians. They endeavoured, however, to divest these weekly meetings of anything like a political or proselytizing character, by representing that they were wholly for social purposes, and that the profits were to be handed over for the support of the poor. Great care was also taken to ensure good behaviour among the assembled, who were admitted by tickets at half a crown each, while the dancing, which commenced at four o'clock in the afternoon, was closed at eleven. But notwithstanding these precautions the "Assembly" was denounced by the clergy and opposed by the more strict Presbyterians, who still entertained John Knox's views upon "fiddling and flinging," and it was represented that this practice of dancing would produce effeminacy, and these meetings lead from the ball-room to the tavern.¹ The opposition, however, was in vain. Those who had been prepared by the training of private schools were eager to make a public display of their proficiency, and the balls of these schools were a fit preparative for those of the Assembly Rooms. Dancing had become a necessary part of a polite education; in few cities were there so many dancing-schools in the latter part of the century as in Edinburgh, and the dancing-masters, notwithstanding their moderate terms, made comfortable fortunes. But agility and vigour rather than gracefulness were cultivated in Scottish dancing; and although the pupils were taught to walk through the stately minuet, it was with reluctance and constraint, while country-dances, hornpipes, jigs, reels, and strathspeys were in greater request. So popular had the balls of the Assembly become that in 1775 they had become an important institution, and one of the chief attractions of strangers, who had now begun to visit the city. Its affairs were managed by seven directors and as many directresses, one of whom superintended the dancing alternately and presided as mistress of the ceremonies; and her empire in this respect was no sinecure, as in consequence of the smallness of the hall she was obliged to divide the company into sets and assign to each its proper share in the festivity. It was natural that such an office should finally become permanent in the hands of the most able, and according-

ly while Topham resided in Edinburgh the sole directress was Mrs. Murray, sister of Lord Mansfield, who discharged her important duties with Napoleonic energy, discrimination, and tact. On the queen's birth-day an extraordinary ball was given, at which this popular lady, representing her majesty, was seated in her chair of state, and received the homage of the company. At this travestie of a royal levee at St. James's, the hall was so crowded that not one-half of the sets could dance. The space indeed was so insufficient for the growth of this popular institution that a larger hall was talked of; but until this was obtained private balls were frequently given by clubs and associations or by subscription. One of these was given by the matrons and married gentlemen of fashion in Edinburgh to the young ladies, who were to bring with them their male partners, and each brought an antiquated beau in his best dancing trim. In requital for this distinction the gentlemen gave balls in turn with a supper, ices, and every kind of luxury, the close of which was after the custom of the period, but a custom more honoured in the breach than the observance. No sooner had the ladies retired than the gentlemen addressed themselves to a trial of deep drinking in a private room, and bumpers were quaffed to the health of their fair partners as long as their names could find utterance. So impatient were these antiquated gallants for such a finale that after the departure of the ladies some of them retired for a few minutes to lay aside their dancing attire and assume a dress more convenient for the purposes of hard drinking.²

As yet the nearest approach to the masquerade in Scotland had been the mummings and guisardings, which were now resigned to children; but the natural love of imitation in which these amusements originated could not be so quickly set aside. Private masquerades had therefore been held, in which an evening's entertainment was enhanced by several members of the company personating foreign or traditional characters, or acting a particular event, and these were found so agreeable, that it was resolved to attempt them upon a public scale. The experiment was commenced by Mr. Digges, the manager of the Edinburgh theatre, by whom such an entertainment could be best conducted, and in the theatre, which was fittest for the purpose; while success in such a trial would advance the popularity of the drama, and ensure him success in the future. But notwithstanding his efficient superintendence, public masquerades proved a failure in Edinburgh. They were of

¹ Chambers's *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, vol. iii.

² Topham's *Letters*.

too mercurial a character, and too dependent upon liveliness and inventiveness, to suit the slow staid character of a Scotch pleasure-seeking assembly; and, besides these national impediments, they were indignantly denounced by the Edinburgh clergy, who saw in this innovation the abominations of the stage multiplied a hundredfold, and all men and women alike converted into players. Finding after repeated attempts that masquerades were still less patronized than the drama, Digges resolved to substitute the Ridotto in their stead, as an equally profitable and still more innocent form of popular and fashionable amusement. The pit of the theatre was therefore boarded over; the side boxes were converted into stalls for refreshments in wine and ices; the orchestra was filled

with musicians both vocal and instrumental; and over the boxes were painted the heads of the poets, or landscapes executed by Runciman, at that time the Reynolds of Scotland; while the amusements of the evening, which consisted of music and dancing, in which national dances predominated, combined the attractions of a ball with those of a concert. In all this was no ground for finding fault, more especially as the conduct of the company was distinguished by a more than wonted degree of decorum. "You will wonder to hear me say," writes Topham, "that notwithstanding there was the greatest profusion of excellent wines, not one person attempted to stay after the departure of the ladies, and not a single glass fell a victim to excess."

CHAPTER X.

HISTORY OF SOCIETY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY—*Continued.*

Scottish music—Its growing popularity in England—Regular concerts established in Edinburgh—St. Cecilia's Hall—Attempts to establish a Vauxhall in Edinburgh—"Comely Gardens" opened for the purpose—Unpopularity of the experiment—Its failure—Absence of coffee-houses and club-houses in Edinburgh—Reunions held in taverns or the open air—Prize fights not encouraged in Edinburgh—Boxing unnational and unpopular—Horse-racing only partial in Scotland—Causes of this indifference—Scantiness of house accommodation in Edinburgh a cause of the frequenting of taverns—Entertainments given and business transacted there—Abuses of the practice—Tavern festivities of lawyers and law dignitaries—High jinks—Oyster-cellar suppers—Description of one of these entertainments—Tavern meetings of the literati—Facilities in assembling the learned of Edinburgh to such meetings—The practice imitated by the students of the university—College societies of this description—Their effects for good and evil on character and habits—Universality of the practice of transacting business in taverns—The plan for the erection of the New Town discussed and settled at tavern meetings—Gambling in Edinburgh not general—A few instances of extravagant gambling—Hazard chiefly in vogue—Disadvantages of winning at an Edinburgh gaming-table—Scottish cookery—Dishes of an Edinburgh fashionable dinner—Claret the chief drink of an entertainment—Daily drinking usages of Edinburgh—The "twall-hours" or mid-day refreshment—The ale in frequent use called "twopenny"—Introduction of whisky into Edinburgh—Avidity with which it was adopted for the "twall-hours"—Few inns in Edinburgh—Causes of this scarcity—Description of the principal inn of the city—Deficiency of public conveyances in Edinburgh—Chairs and hackney-coaches—City life in Glasgow—The aristocracy of Glasgow composed of merchants and manufacturers—Education of the young ladies and gentlemen of Glasgow—Their deficiency in general accomplishments, especially in music—The tobacco lords of Glasgow—Simplicity of the house-keeping of the Glasgow magnates—Deficiencies in carriages, attendants, &c.—The coffee-houses of the city—Introduction of coffee-house suppers—Private shops of entertainment for the fastidious—University clubs—Paucity of public entertainments—The Exchange of Glasgow—A Glasgow Sabbath—The city churches—General features of civic everyday life—Glasgow punch—Watering-places to which the citizens resorted—The numerous clubs of the city—Growth of extravagance and demoralization with the increase of the city's prosperity—Condition and usages of rural life in the eighteenth century in Scotland—Large retinues still maintained by the rural aristocracy—Devotedness and uselessness of their large establishments of servants—Style of their houses—Their scanty kitchen furniture and defective cookery—Tea used at the breakfasts of the country gentry—Their coarse dinners—Furniture of a rural aristocratic mansion—Deficiencies of their apartments in comfort and ornament—Dress of country gentlemen—Their alternate foppishness and slovenliness—Dress of country ladies—The middle classes of the rural population—A favourable specimen of their house-keeping and hospitality in the instance of a country minister—Houses of the middle classes—Apparel and meals—Houses and furniture—Household libraries of the middle classes—Popular literature of the lower classes—The seat in front of each house—The *midden*—The jaw-hole—Domestic rural life—Wages of servants—Cost of provisions—Rural festivities—Weddings—Their riotous and wasteful character—Peculiar ceremonies used at bridals—Penny weddings—Manner of conducting them—Description of a penny wedding in Fifeshire—A bride's plenishin'—Funerals—Their increased extravagance—Revelry and outrages

with which they were sometimes accompanied—The Lykewake—Form of invitation to a funeral—Banquet at a country funeral—The festival of Hallowe'en—A kirk or harvest-home—A rocking—Rural games—Cock-fighting—Barbarous amusements not yet abandoned—Scottish hospitality—Its excesses in eating and drinking—Beggars in Scotland—Different classes of beggars—Gypsies—Randy beggars—Regular and orderly mendicants—Want of cleanliness—Singular mode of washing clothes—The practice of walking barefooted—Scottish literature in the eighteenth century—Writers who used the Scottish dialect—Allan Ramsay—Robert Fergusson—Robert Burns—Sketch of his life and literary position—Minor writers of dialect poetry—Thomson and other writers of ordinary English verse—Prose writers: the novels of Smollett and Mackenzie—David Hume, eminent both as historian and philosopher—Dr. Robertson and other historians—Adam Smith and *The Wealth of Nations*—Thomas Reid and the Scottish School of philosophy—Men of science and learning—Artists—Mechanical and engineering science—James Watt and the improvement of the steam-engine—William Murdoch, the inventor of gas-lighting.

The musical spirit by which Scotland had been distinguished continued to be cultivated during the eighteenth century, and the beautiful old melodies derived a new charm by being wedded to songs commensurate with their excellence. It was in consequence of this improvement that our national songs found their way across the Tweed, and became popular among the musical in London. A transition was also in progress, by which the old musical instruments in which our country had rejoiced were gradually disappearing before the new. This will be evident from an advertisement in the *Edinburgh Courant* of 1707, in which a musical instrument-maker offers to make or mend the following instruments:—The violin, bass-violin, tenor-violin, viol da gamba, lute-quiver, trumpet-marine, harp, virginal, spinet, and harpsichord. Nearly half of these instruments, which were in use at the beginning of the eighteenth century, had disappeared by its close, while the gap was more than filled up by modern improvements, or instruments of entirely new invention.

This zealous cultivation of music was naturally productive of public concerts, and these had already commenced in Edinburgh towards the close of the previous century. This was an attempt of a company, with a man named Beck at their head, who had "erected a concert of music" notwithstanding efforts to suppress it unless a fee was paid for licensing it. Shortly after a concert upon a grand scale was given upon St. Cecilia's Day, partly by amateurs who met weekly for the practice of vocal and instrumental music, and partly by professional musicians. This mixed company held their meetings in a tavern in Edinburgh, and their weekly rehearsals were attended by the genteel of both sexes, before plays or balls had been set up in the Scottish capital. The concert now became an established public amusement in Edinburgh, and not only English but Italian musicians of high repute were encouraged to visit the northern capital. In 1728 a regular society was formed, consisting of a governor and directors and seventy members, who held their meetings in St. Mary's

Chapel. At length these concerts became so popular that a hall, called St. Cecilia's Hall, was built after the model of the theatre Farnese at Parma, for the purpose of holding them. The institution was placed under a governor, deputy-governor, treasurer, and five directors; and as it was supported by subscription, each manager was allowed a certain number of tickets to distribute among his friends, so that none but the better classes could obtain admission. To supply the deficiencies of amateur talent the best singers were also engaged to these concerts from London and Italy, and to this it was chiefly owing that Italian music became so greatly in favour in Edinburgh during the latter part of the eighteenth century. Writing in 1775, Topham thus concludes his remarks on the musical tendencies of the Scots of that period: "Indeed the degree of attachment which is shown to music in this country exceeds belief. It is not only the principal entertainment, but the constant topic of every conversation; and it is necessary not only to be a lover of it, but to be possessed of a knowledge of the science, to make yourself agreeable to society. . . . In religion a Scotsman is grave and abstracted; in politics serious and deliberate; it is in the power of harmony alone to make him an enthusiast."¹

Among these public amusements which were so rapidly springing up after the Union, was an attempt to imitate the attractions of the Vauxhall, Ranelagh, and Marylebone Gardens. Accordingly a place was hired suitable for such a purpose in Edinburgh, and as a name was of some importance the locality was dubbed with the title of "Comely Gardens." These gardens were to be opened twice a week during the summer months of June, July, and August, and the price of admission was to be one shilling. But the climate of Scotland is seldom fitted at the best for evening recreation in the open air; the place itself, notwithstanding its name, was anything than attractive; and it was so poorly furnished and adorned as only to present a

¹ Chambers's *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, vol. iii.; Topham's Letters, pp. 376-378.

melancholy contrast to the grandeur and glitter of the public gardens of London. "Comely Gardens" was therefore shunned by the fashionable as mean and vulgar, while it was not patronized by the common people, who were accustomed to look upon both sides of their shilling before they parted with it, especially when nothing in the way of eating and drinking was to be got in exchange. The attempt proved, therefore, such a failure as to leave no memorial of its existence except in the letters of Topham. His account of a visit to the place is such as we might expect: "Having nothing to do one evening, at the end of last summer," he writes, "I went there with an intention of seeing what was to be seen. I walked up and down the gardens, but nobody appeared. I then approached the orchestra, which was the ruins of an old pigeon-house, with no other alteration but that of removing the pigeons and making room for four or five musicians, who were playing a composition most musical, most melancholy, out of one of the windows. They continued this some time; but finding there was no one to listen to them, and that they were 'wasting their sweetness on the desert air,' they gave over playing and retired for the evening." The same considerations of climate and economy have militated with equal effect against tea-gardens, which, notwithstanding the examples of the South, have never gained a footing in Scotland.

It has often been supposed that after the Union Scotland contentedly followed the guidance of the richer and more civilized country, especially where fashion or amusement was involved. But instead of this, our countrymen showed that they had a national character as well as a will of their own, and were neither to be led nor driven out of their way. Club-houses and coffee-houses, although so numerous in London and so generally frequented, did not suit the tastes of the citizens of Edinburgh, and for this indifference several causes might be assigned. In London, the seat of government and source of national and political movements, such institutions were absolute necessities, and no sooner was a state measure proposed than it was caught up and discussed in every coffee-house and club-room in the kingdom. There was also the additional conviction that this political privilege was the birthright of every Englishman, and that their opinions thus expressed would have weight and influence upon the government. But the Edinburgh citizens were so far removed from the scene of public action, that when tidings of a state manœuvre reached them it had already become an accomplished fact. The city had also no recognized political influ-

ence, so that its opinion thus expressed would have gone for nothing. Nor was the mode of such discussions suited to the fiery temperament of the people of Edinburgh, who laughed to scorn the idea of fixing the destiny of nations over a cup of coffee or the leaves of a newspaper, who preferred a *viva voce* debate on such matters either in crowds collected at the Cross, or within the walls of their favourite taverns, and over those stimulants that imparted confidence and fluency of speech, and made the dulllest wax eloquent. Nor had those practices most in vogue among the English people at large any favour in the eyes of the commonalty of Scotland. Those gladiatorial fights of which Marylebone and Hockley-in-the-Hole were the training-schools, and from which knights-errant went out to every market-town in England with challenges of universal defiance, appeared to the Scots as mere useless and contemptible bravadoes. They were prompt enough to fight when there was a good cause of quarrel, and their courage none could impeach; but they had no inclination for the erected stage, and two fellows slashing each other with swords merely for the applause of the crowd, or a joint-stock purse to award the victor. Accordingly the visits of such challengers to Edinburgh were very rare, and their success was not such as to encourage their return. The same was the case when this favourite English amusement of prize-fighting with dangerous weapons was exchanged for the still more popular amusement of boxing. Although England was converted into a nation of bruisers, and all ranks boxed from the peer to the peasant, the Scots remained so uninfected by the example that they did not even learn how to double their fists. If they could not settle a debate with the forefinger of the right hand tapping upon the palm of the left, to enforce the weight of argument, they left their opponent as hopeless, and not worthy of refutation. The English practice of wagering was equally ridiculous to the Scots. Could truth be discovered and right decided by a haphazard stake of gold or silver? And what a prodigal waste of money, let the question turn as it might! Let it be settled by argument, and let the disputants show by the weight and cleverness of their reasons which of them is the better man. Thus, while the English decided a difficult problem by the brief ordeal of a wager or boxing match, the Scot hailed such a dilemma as a call to manly intellectual controversy, and showed his prowess by well-planted logical demonstrations.

Another public amusement in England was that of horse-racing, which became a national passion, and by which the English have reared such studs of horses as might vie even with the

Kochlani breed so famed in the traditions of the Arabs. But although horse-races did take place in Scotland, they were neither popular nor frequent, while the far superior glories of Newmarket, under which they paled, reduced Scottish jockeyism to a discount. Indeed the country, so rugged, and so divided by hill and dale, was enough to account for this indifference. These obstacles were especially prevalent in the neighbourhood of the capital, so that suitable ground could only be obtained for the purpose on the links of Leith or Musselburgh, where the steeds required strength and endurance rather than superior fleetness. A Scottish horse-race, therefore, at the best, was an uninteresting exhibition, more especially when we call to mind the inaptitude of the people for betting. Let the chances be what they might, few either of the actors or spectators could be induced to wager sums of money upon the issue of a horse-race.

Although there were neither club-houses nor coffee-houses in Edinburgh there were questions of public interest to discuss, and affairs of business to transact, so that places of common resort were necessary, especially in the limited house accommodation before the New Town had risen into existence. But there was no difficulty in finding a general locality, and this was the tavern. There politicians assembled to discuss the past or anticipate the future affairs of government; there literary personages met for the interchange of ideas in learning and science, and even clergymen to settle the weighty concerns of the church. When the company was too large to be held in an ordinary parlour, when an entertainment had to be extemporized too quickly for a private kitchen, or where deep drinking or uproarious mirth were to be enjoyed without check or question, the tavern was the universal rendezvous. But this was not all; each man of any account had his favourite tavern where he met his friends, clients, or customers, and where his daily business was transacted. Sales, contracts, bargains, consultations with lawyers and physicians, were all discussed, settled, and ratified under the smoky rafters of an ale-house apartment, and over the best liquor which the house contained.

In the sketches of the last century illustrative of such a practice we begin with that given to us by Dr. Somerville, minister of Jedburgh. "In Edinburgh," he says, "when clients applied for the advice and opinion of counsellors at the bar the parties always retired from the outer Parliament House to one of the adjacent coffee-houses or dram-shops in the square, the choice of the particular 'morning beverage' to be called for being determined by the learned gen-

tleman consulted before the case was opened to him. This, I take for granted, was the cause of the number of small taverns in the environs of the Court of Session, even within the time of my remembrance. The tavern-bill was the first and the last article in the agent's account of the expenses incurred in a legal process. . . . After the conclusion of a law process a tavern supper was frequent, if not common, and I have myself been both the treater and the treated on such occasions." This strange mode of conducting and terminating a case of litigation was as derogatory to the morals as to the dignity of legal probationers and those concerned with them, and Somerville thus continues: "It must be added that, from the habits of conversation indulged in on the too frequent occasions of excess, a coarseness of thought and language was insensibly contracted, which was not only offensive to the ears of all persons of good taste and proper feeling, but made a wider separation in domestic intercourse between the sexes. If drunkenness, too, was not the only cause, it was certainly one of the principal causes of the more frequent profanation of the name of God, and of the indecent senseless oaths which were mixed with conversation on the most frivolous subjects." These meetings for law business will naturally suggest the festivities of learned counsellors in the same places when the cares of the week had ended. On Saturday evening the lawyer threw aside his professional cares along with his wig and gown, and betook himself to those amusements of "High Jinks" and other such sports which Scott has so vividly portrayed in *Guy Mannering*. As it was with grave counsellors in the law, and eloquent pleaders at the bar, so it was throughout every department of business; and when a bargain was to be transacted the occasion was an apology for adjournment to a tavern, where the matter was ratified with a dram, or even the contents of a magnum.

But of all the entertainments which attracted the rank, fashion, and beauty of Edinburgh, none could compare with the pleasure parties that met in the oyster-cellars. These parties were held in winter during those months when oysters were at the best, usually in some of those flats beneath the level of the pavement, which were entered by a dark or dimly-lighted stair; and where the stranger, instead of a temple of pleasure, would have thought to find nothing but a dungeon of penance or haunt of assassination. And yet these cellars were the places of assignation to which the *élite* of Edinburgh society repaired for an evening entertainment. When the hour of meeting arrived, which was somewhat late in the evening, the invited party, dressed as for a ball, repaired to the rendezvous of troglodytic

festivity, and after descending the subterranean stair, found themselves in a large but low-roofed apartment, where there was little furniture and no ornament except the chairs, the table, and the repast, which consisted of heaps of oysters and pots of porter. After the party had done justice to an entertainment which would now be thought suitable only for cads and draymen, the real enjoyment of the evening commenced. Bottles and glasses took the place of oyster-shells, and as no wine was sold in these haunts, a large bowl of brandy punch soon supplied the deficiency. Conversation, which had hitherto been rather dull and formal, now began to kindle and wax eloquent, while the oddity of the place and the incongruity of the scene inspired the wit of the company and promoted the general mirth. And the ladies, too, how did they deport themselves in a scene that would now be reckoned so unladylike and so unfeminine? But here they were true to their sex and rank. "The general ease with which they conducted themselves, the innocent freedom of their manners, and their unaffected good-nature, all conspired to make us forget that we were regaling in a cellar, and was a convincing proof that, let local customs operate as they may, a truly polite woman is everywhere the same."¹

Conversation was succeeded by dancing, in which the national reels predominated, and after these had been kept up with great spirit, the coaches and chairs arrived, and the ladies went away. The gentlemen indeed still remained, but the principal charm of the evening was gone, and the place of the ladies was poorly supplied by pipes and politics, with which the entertainment closed. Such, in their fairest aspect, were the oyster suppers of Edinburgh at the close of 1774. Their cost was equal to their simplicity, as the reckoning only amounted to about two shillings a head.

While such were among the evening entertainments of fashionable life, those of the distinguished literary characters with which Edinburgh now abounded were more simple and primitive still.

From the foregoing statements it will be seen that suppers, not dinners, were the chief entertainments of people of rank, and that until the New Town arose these were usually given, not in the inconvenient private houses within which all ranks were "cabin'd, cribb'd, confin'd," but in a tavern. Accordingly, when the literati wished to assemble and have an evening of more than ordinary sociality, a tavern was also their place; and here they either canvassed some new theory, or welcomed the arrival of

some distinguished wit from England or abroad. The readiness, too, with which a party could be assembled, as well as the convenience of entertainment, recommended the practice. No formal cards, so often occasioning delay or disappointment, had to be issued on such sudden occasions. It was enough to send a light-footed cadie or two with a verbal message to bring guests from every part of the town. In the remembrances of such delightful meetings of his earlier days Dr. Carlyle revelled in his old age. "A fine time it was," he observes, "when we could collect David Hume, Adam Smith, Adam Ferguson, Lord Elibank, and Drs. Blair and Jardine on an hour's warning."²

While such was the fashion not only of the rank but the talent of Edinburgh, it was natural that the young students of the university should follow their leading; and they, too, had their intellectual clubs or associations, in which their ambition found a vent, while their faculties were sharpened and prepared for future action. Such was the "Belles-Lettres Society," frequented chiefly by the sons of gentlemen of high rank who were students of law, and who there laid the foundation of their future distinction. Besides this there was the "Theological Society," having for its members those young students whose views were directed to the clerical office, and which was not only a school of mental improvement but a nursery of brotherly love and kind affections. This society Dr. Somerville entered at the close of 1759, and the friendships which he formed with several members, who afterwards became the most distinguished ministers in the church, lasted during their lives. But even this theological association, combined for sacred purposes, could not resist the general example, and after their weekly meetings in the college they were wont to adjourn to taverns, like the rest, to unbend themselves with free-and-easy conversation after their devotional and professional duties in the class-room. And there they gave free play to the flow of soul, and indulged in those harmless sallies of wit or freedom of discussion by which their views were enlarged, their charity improved, and their intellects trained for the work that awaited them. But to this also there was a mournful counterpart arising from the convivial habits of the age and the place where such meetings were held; and after describing the benefits he had derived from such intercourse Somerville is obliged to add: "But again, when I reflect on the baneful habits by which some of the worthiest of my earliest contemporaries have been enthralled,

¹ Topham.

² *Autobiography of the Rev. Dr. Alexander Carlyle, Minister of Inveresk.*

and which I have too much reason to think germinated in the fascinating indulgences I have described, and reflect by what a narrow escape my own health and character have been maintained, ascribable chiefly to the fortunate incidents of after retirement and domestic connections, I recognize a substantial moral amendment in that sobriety and temperance now practised by persons of every age and rank, and am thankful that the rising generation, in whom I am interested, are exempted from temptations which have sometimes blighted the fairest blossoms of genius and virtue."¹

To this we have only to add that the universal fashion of taverning seems to have grown intolerable before it was finally abandoned, and that the excess to which it had risen was the cause of its downfall. It was especially felt to be a grievance when its accounts knocked at the town-council door and had to be paid out of the public purse. Such was the case when the plan of the New Town of Edinburgh was examined, discussed, and finally decided. The place for every such meeting was of course a tavern, and as the business was of a nature to promote the hunger and excite the thirst of those who took part in it a daily dinner was provided for those who attended. We may guess with what elongated visages the magistrates summed up the reckoning for these dinners, which amounted to the respectable sum of £500!

Among the other public amusements of Edinburgh gambling may be mentioned; but, in consequence of the ban of the church, the poverty of our aristocracy, and the prevalent national cautiousness, the practice was neither so general nor so ruinous as in other countries. Still, however, there were occasional instances in which Scottish enthusiasm prevailed over Scottish parsimony, and not only large sums, but even whole fortunes were lost and won in card-playing. Instances, also, there were in which the winner was not wholly beholden to chance or skill for his success. In 1704 a gentleman, playing at cards with the Duchess of Queensberry, won from her three thousand pounds, chiefly, it is alleged, from seeing what hand she held, by two mirrors which were opposite to each other. We are informed also in Wodrow's *Private Letters*, that there was a small association of gamblers in Edinburgh in 1727, who tempted young gentlemen of rank and fortune into card-playing for the purpose of cozening them. "One of them," he writes, "will lose fifty pounds in a night till the young spark be engaged;—and then another comes and soon gains the whole;—

and, it may be, a third comes, and stands at the back of the person they design to rifle, and by signs and words unknown to others, discovers his game to the other; so by one method or other they are sure to win all at last." These, however, were but clumsy devices that could only hoodwink a very dull Scotsman, and the winnings of this society, which were enough to startle Wodrow by their enormity, were not more than £1400 a year. In the latter part of the eighteenth century the game in highest estimation was Hazard, for which we are told that there were clubs in Edinburgh equal to White's or Almack's in London—a comparison, however, that is to be taken with some exceptions. At these Hazard tables a stranger played at great disadvantage, from the scarcity of ready money, which obliged the Scots to transfer their debts to one another, so that, if he should win, he was obliged to seek his money among twenty different creditors, with the chance of not getting it at all. Card-playing, which was deemed sinful by the strict, was thought by all to be especially so in a clergyman, so that if he indulged in this amusement it was with fear and trembling, and under the strictest secrecy. On this account Carlyle takes credit to himself for being the first minister who played at cards in his house with unlocked doors, in consequence of which the outcry against card-playing clergymen was abated.

While formal and public dinners were as yet so rare even in the metropolis itself the subject of Scottish cookery at this period may be despatched with a brief notice. It still retained more of a French than an English character, and even when the old national dishes were beginning to be abandoned by people of rank, in consequence of their intercourse with England, the commons adhered to the cookery of their fathers with a pertinacity that might be termed patriotic. The principal distinctive dishes of this kind were still the hownowdie, the haggis, cockleekie, and the singed sheep's head; and no dinner was thought complete without barley-broth, with which the entertainment commenced, and which was so much in favour that it generally constituted half the meal. A principal dish was also a solan-goose, which was in high esteem notwithstanding its fishy taste and its oiliness. Other dishes, also, not so well known, maintained their place in the latter part of the eighteenth century, among which was kabbelow and friars-chicken. The first of these consisted of codfish slightly salted, which was boiled with parsley and horse-radish and eaten with egg-sauce; the second was a chicken cut into small pieces, and boiled with parsley, cinnamon, and eggs in rich beef-soup. Some or all of these

¹ *My Own Life and Times, 1741-1814*, by Thomas Somerville, D.D., minister of Jedburgh.

dishes constituted a dinner in the most fashionable tavern in Edinburgh and to an aristocratic company. In consequence of the little variety of fruit and its imperfect cultivation in Scotland deserts were still infrequent, and the chief article set upon the table after dinner were young turnips, called *neeps*. All this at the best was but a scanty bill of fare as compared with the display on a dinner-table in the fashionable mansions of London, where this meal was becoming a power in the state, and the chief domestic event of the day; but at a Scottish dinner the abundance of choice claret was supposed to compensate for the poverty of the entertainment. This was indeed not only the fashionable wine used in Edinburgh and throughout Scotland at large, but also reckoned the most innocent and orthodox of all beverages. Indeed, according to Carlyle, it was not reckoned sinful to drink claret, in consequence of which the clergy partook of it largely. Of this class was the otherwise unimpeachable Dr. Webster, the most popular divine of his day, who was a five-bottle man.

But whether people drank or abstained at the dinner or supper table, there was no squeamishness or abstinence at mid-day, and all classes took their "twall-hours" as regularly as the Spaniard his *siesta*. As soon as twelve o'clock had sounded there was a general movement in every street, when lawyers and judges repaired to their tavern, and shopkeepers and workmen dived into their drinking-cellar, where each had his habitual seat, and his favourite mid-day dram or draught. There the higher classes could indulge in their favourite claret or still stronger potations, and the lower orders in brandy or "twopenny," a moderately weak ale that derived its name from being sold at twopence a Scotch pint, equal to two English quarts; and from the general use of this twopenny, which occupied the same place in Scotland as beer in England, arose the fury of the people at the malt-tax, and the destructive riot which it occasioned in Glasgow. But after the middle of the eighteenth century a more formidable and pernicious liquor came into general use; this was whisky, the drinking of which became as prevalent as that of gin in England, and was followed by similar effects. Its entrance into Edinburgh was like the rapid spreading of a conflagration, so that, according to Arnot, while there were eight licensed stills in the city, there were four hundred private stills that paid no duty to government.¹ It was well that tea, so lately a fashionable, was now becoming a common beverage, and that it checked an evil which

in course of time it may be able effectually to counteract. But the moralists of the day were unable to read this lesson, so that while they condemned the use of whisky as ruinous to health and morals, they denounced tea-drinking as an unmanly practice, and tending to foster effeminacy. In the time of Allan Ramsay, "from the gill to the drum," was the established phrase to indicate the period from mid-day till the hour of rest, when the city drum was beat at ten o'clock at night. When this mid-day refection was over there seems to have been a pause allowed for reaction before business was resumed, and to this perhaps we may attribute the following practice mentioned by Smollett:—"All the people of business, and even the genteel company, may be seen standing in crowds every day from one or two in the afternoon in the open street, at the place where formerly stood a market-cross."²

Although taverns were so plentiful in Edinburgh there were no inns, or at least such places of public accommodation as were worthy of the name. But for this an excuse may be found in the few strangers who as yet visited Edinburgh, and the general hospitality, which made such residences for passing customers unnecessary. When Topham arrived in Edinburgh in 1774 he found that the best inn, which was situated in the Pleasance, was no better than a common alehouse, of which the master called himself only a stable-keeper, while the servant in waiting was a girl without shoes and stockings, and with only a single linsey-woolsey petticoat. He and his friend could get no sitting-room but an apartment where twenty drovers had been regaling themselves with whisky and potatoes, and only one bed-room, which they were expected to share in common with the passengers of a stage-coach which had just arrived. Disliking such quarters for a permanent resting-place they inquired for a coffee-house, where they might lodge, and were directed to the sixth story of a house at the Cross.

To these public deficiencies in Edinburgh might be added the want of conveyances. In 1753, when Maitland published his *History of Edinburgh*, he tells us that in the city there were ninety sedan chairs, and only fourteen hackney-coaches—a reduction which he attributes to the loss of our parliament and the great increase of private chaises. It was not often, however, that the chairs ventured into the New Town, where they were liable to be upset by the wind; and as for coaches they were not only liable to the same disaster, but unable to encounter the steep streets that branched off in straight lines from

¹ Arnot's *History of Edinburgh*, p. 335, and foot-note.

² *Humphrey Clinker*.

Princes Street. But this part of the city soon opposed ramparts of buildings in every direction to the blasts; and when sedans went out of fashion coach-driving in Edinburgh became such a perfect art that the casualties became few, and the numbers of public four-wheeled conveyances increased, so that the want of hackney-coaches was not long a subject of complaint. Next to Edinburgh, the city of Glasgow was of highest importance in connection with the manners and customs of Scotland during the eighteenth century—and here also we perceive a style of living that was soon to pass away.

In 1743 Dr. Carlyle of Inveresk became a student in the University of Glasgow, and from his reminiscences we derive considerable information of the state of its society at that early period. At this time the chief trade of Glasgow was with the American colonies in tobacco and with the West Indies in rum and sugar. As for the manufactures, which were afterwards to be the great source of its wealth and greatness, these were still in their infancy, so that the first inkle manufactory established there was shown to strangers as a great curiosity; but from the stir which had commenced in this hive of industry its future prosperity might already be anticipated. The merchants had industry, capital, and habits of business, and were prepared to enter with vigour into every new commercial or manufacturing enterprise that promised to be successful; and although few of them could be reckoned men of education, there was a weekly club, the express design of which was to afford facilities for inquiring into the nature and principles of trade in all its branches and for communicating their knowledge and views to each other. The style of society, however, was much inferior to that of Edinburgh; and for this the occupations and pursuits of the citizens might sufficiently account. But besides this, there were few men of family among these enterprising traffickers; an aristocracy of millionaires had not as yet risen up among them; and their manners were rather those of homely, industrious shopkeepers than of educated, accomplished gentlemen. The sons of the principal merchants were usually sent to college for one or two years to complete their education; but from the early age at which students were admitted, and the mere school-boy instruction of the initiatory classes, such an advantage was likely to give them nothing more than a "little Latin and less Greek," which amidst the bustle of the counting-house would be speedily forgotten. Some of these students, however, although destined to business, went through a regular *curriculum* of all the arts classes. While the college was thus used as a finishing school by those who had no time to

waste and were eager to be up and doing, the education of the ladies of Glasgow was still more superficial. In the city at this time there was neither a teacher of French nor of music; the young ladies grew up with ungainly manners and void of the accomplishments which their sex and station required, and having nothing but their good looks and fine clothes to recommend them. In such a general absence of musical taste concerts could scarcely flourish in Glasgow; and during the two winters that Carlyle sojourned there only two concerts were given by Walter Scott, Esq., of Harden, himself an eminent performer on the violin. The only assistance, however, which he could procure on the occasion consisted of two dancing-school fiddlers and the town waits.

Although Glasgow had at this time its tobacco lords, who were men of rich attire and high pretensions, their consequence was only comparative: and they would themselves have been elbowed into a corner had they appeared upon the London Exchange. To one, accordingly, accustomed even to the society of Edinburgh, their style of living and housekeeping seemed vulgar in the extreme. "Very few of the wealthiest," says Carlyle, "gave dinners to anybody but English riders [bagmen] or their own relations at Christmas holidays. There were not half a dozen families in town who had men-servants; some of those were kept by the professors who had boarders. There were neither post-chaises nor hackney-coaches in the town, and only three or four sedan-chairs for carrying midwives about in the night, and old ladies to church, or to the dancing assemblies once a fortnight."¹ Matters were not greatly amended in this respect when Carlyle revisited Glasgow in 1763, after twenty years had elapsed. There were not above two or three gentlemen's chaises in the city, and no hackney-coaches; also there were no men-servants to attend at table, but he adds that the company were not the worse served.²

The amusements of Glasgow in 1743, as will be already surmised, were of the most peaceful description. The merchants, who in those days were early risers, despatched the most of their business in the forenoon, and at an early hour they dined with their families at home. After dinner they usually repaired to the coffee-house or tavern to read the newspapers, which they usually did in companies of four or five over a bottle of claret or a bowl of punch. But they never stayed supper, and always went home by nine o'clock without company or further amusement. Such a regular style of life could not be lasting, and men who were growing rich

¹ Carlyle's *Autobiography*, p. 75.

² *Ibidem*, p. 431

would not be content with such monotony. They were accordingly trepanned into an indulgence enough to break the spell and prepare the way for further innovations; and the affair is thus related by Carlyle:—"At last an arch fellow from Dublin, a Mr. Cockaine, came to be master of the chief coffee-house, who seduced them gradually to stay supper by placing a few nice cold things at first on the table as relishes to the wine, till he gradually led them on to bespeak fine hot suppers and to remain till midnight." In this somewhat dangerous fashion the merchants of Glasgow were taught to relax from the fatigues of business and escape the formal weariness of their firesides. But besides these roisterous and open exhibitions there were other indulgences of a more private character for those grave persons who were sticklers for decorum, and whose reputation would have been impeached by frequenting the taverns. These were little grocery shops kept by young widows or young women unprovided for, and protected and countenanced by some creditable merchant of the city; and in the back shop the patron frequently spent the evening cozily and quietly with his friends, while the world was never the wiser. Thither also grave traffickers repaired in the forenoon to drink drams and white wine unmolested by the prying of the profane.

As the college of Edinburgh had its literary societies the college of Glasgow was not behind in this respect so early as 1743. One of these was for students of theology, and met in the porter's lodge at the college gate, where the members criticised books, wrote abridgments of them with critical essays, and submitted to each other the discourses they were appointed to deliver in rotation in the divinity hall. Of how many debating forums and preaching societies in the same college this institution was the fruitful parent it would be difficult to estimate. Another club was of a more secular character, being composed of theological students and the educated young gentlemen of the city, who met weekly in a tavern near the Cross, for the purpose of literary conversation over a supper of beefsteaks, pancakes, and a little punch. Here, however, moderation was the order of the evening, the expense never exceeding 1*s.* 6*d.* and seldom 1*s.* for each, while the reputation of these meetings was so high, that they were frequently attended by the best clergymen of the neighbourhood. But a still more distinguished literary club was that which had Robert Simson, the renowned professor of mathematics, for its chief member; a man as amusing by his eccentricities, and as beloved for his amiable character, as he was revered for his attainments and

profound knowledge of the science which he taught.

To this short account from Dr. Carlyle a few notices may be added from contemporary or subsequent visitors to the capital of the west. The same disinclination which the citizens of Glasgow displayed towards popular and fashionable amusements, continued to cling to them until near the commencement of the nineteenth century. Notwithstanding their noble promenade called the Green few cared to walk in it; and even when a theatre was erected it could scarcely be kept open a single month during the whole year. As for their dancing assemblies these were kept up only during the months of winter. The ordinary amusements in which they indulged were a quiet cup of tea, a conversational party, or an evening game at cards, but without high play. The chief luxury in which they indulged was expensive buildings, but it was a patriotic rather than a selfish weakness, which tended to the aggrandizement of the city, while it opened the way for a better and higher style of social and domestic life. Notwithstanding, also, their indifference to the public amusements so rife in prosperous cities, strangers were struck by the air of animation and activity by which all classes were pervaded, and could easily tell its direction and foresee its results. It was already the most growing city of the empire, and before the eighteenth century had closed it was found that its increase had been proportionally greater than that of London itself.

The principal place of resort for the business-loving inhabitants of Glasgow was the Exchange or Tontine; under the piazzas or on the pavement before it they met their customers, and conducted the work of buying and selling, while the hum of traffic was enlivened at certain hours by the musical bells that played the favourite national tunes from the neighbouring steeple. To the Tontine was attached a public reading-room supplied with the principal newspapers both British and foreign, and the periodical magazines; and here in the morning the merchants and principal citizens repaired to learn the affairs of the day and watch the fluctuations of the mercantile world. But when the week had ended, and the Sabbath commenced, there was a stillness over the streets at which strangers were appalled—and this alarm was scarcely relieved by the monotonous funereal ringing of the church bells, at which signal every thoroughfare was instantly filled with multitudes who repaired, like crossing streams, to their several places of public worship. Notwithstanding its increasing intercourse with mammon Glasgow was still distinguished as a covenanted city, and would have perilled her

gear for the good cause as readily as ever. Hence the Sabbath demureness of the people even to sternness, their punctuality in church-going, and the general dislike they displayed of the only episcopal chapel in Glasgow, which was contemptuously termed the "whistling kirk" in consequence of its use of the organ. But the chief part of the living tide of worshippers went up the High Street to the extremity of the city, where the cathedral was situated, and which was now divided into three churches—even the crypt being used as the place for a separate congregation; and in this singular locality, which Scott's tale of Rob Roy has familiarized to the British public at large, many found their devotions deepened by the surrounding tombs, and the memorials of a faith of which both creed and worshippers had passed away.

Of the general features of Glasgow everyday life only a few particulars can be given. As the city did not, like Edinburgh, possess an aristocracy, there were few coaches to be seen on its streets, and these chiefly belonged to the neighbouring nobility or gentry, who passed through the town at rare intervals, and excited the notice of the inhabitants in their transit. Families of whatever degree lived in flats which were entered by a common stair, and it was not until the closing part of the eighteenth, or beginning of the nineteenth century, that what was called self-contained houses were occupied by the wealthier portions of the community, who in this way vindicated their superior consequence by withdrawing from vulgar contact. The chief of these dwellings were handsome villas on the banks of the river between the old and the Broomielaw bridges or stately mansions in Miller Street, which are now converted into offices of business. In the days of Bailie Nicol Jarvie, and until the 1745, families of the best and wealthiest classes as yet aspired to nothing beyond a flat for their family residence; and there, while the best room was reserved only for grand occasions, and used perhaps only twice or thrice a year, the usual place for meals was a bed-room. When the dining-room was opened for a formal banquet the dinner, which consisted of a few plain dishes, was placed upon the table at once, instead of coming in a succession of courses. Nor of these could there be much variety, as the flesh-markets in King Street were not opened until 1755, and even then butcher meat could only be got on market-days, so that herrings, salmon, and the winter's *mart* formed the chief parts of their daily fare. This isolation of Glasgow from the varieties usually displayed in fashionable Edinburgh house-keeping arose from the wretched state of the roads, which beyond the public highways were

so bad and so narrow that they could not be traversed by carts, so that from the country towns and villages goods were brought into the city upon horseback in sacks, or creels on each side of the animal, and with the cadger perched between them. Happily for Glasgow, however, it possessed the ready and always improving highway of the Clyde, and the importation of foreign and colonial luxuries was an offset to the impediments in procuring the bare necessities of life. If animal food was therefore plain, and in no great variety, they had abundance of liquor both home-brewed and foreign, and rum and sugar brought direct from the fountain-head. And above all the accessories of a Glasgow dinner, nothing could rival the Glasgow punch, for the concoction of which its citizens were so famed that it became one of the most delicate and difficult of all chemical combinations, and of which an exhilarating description can be found in *Peter's Letters to his Kinsfolk*. The Clyde, also, was serviceable not only in conveying luxuries to Glasgow, but in wafting its inhabitants to localities where life could be enjoyed in greater variety. When increasing wealth had created wider desires of indulgence, and better means of gratifying them, the chief families were wont to repair during the summer holidays to some favourite marine village on the west coast, to enjoy a few weeks of bathing; and a fashion so pleasant, and of such easy accomplishment, was soon followed up by the middle classes, so that during the best portion of mid-summer, the city was half-depopulated, the pleasure-seekers being conveyed, partly in carts and caravans, and partly in sailing vessels, to these newly-opened havens of the west. And as fast as the aristocracy removed farther off to avoid the intrusion of their plebeian imitators, so rapidly the latter were certain to follow, and in this emulative race Gourock, Largs, Troon, Ardrossan, the Cumbraes, Rothesay, and Arran were successively overtaken and overrun, and places that had hitherto been unknown started into notice, and became famous watering-places.

Of the numerous clubs with which Glasgow abounded from the middle of the last to the earlier portion of the nineteenth century our limits permit no particular detail; but this is the less to be regretted, as they have been so fully chronicled in the excellent work of Dr. Strang.¹ They were twenty-four in number, and while some were established for intellectual and benevolent purposes, and had self-improvement and the welfare of society for their chief

¹ *Glasgow and its Clubs; or Glimpses of the Condition, Manners, Characters, and Oddities of the City, during the Past and Present Century.* By John Strang, LL.D. London and Glasgow, 1856.

objects in meeting, the chief aim of the others was to promote what was called good fellowship, and to help each other to eat, drink, and be merry. Such associations were inevitable in a city so sombre and demure as Glasgow, and where buoyant spirits, chained at the mercantile desk during the day, and having plenty of money, indemnified themselves by an occasional evening's frolic. Their practical jokes upon each other at their meetings, and their mad midnight escapades in the streets, although of the usual "Tom and Jerry" stamp, were also characterized by a wit and originality which the similar clubs in London did not always exhibit. But Glasgow gravity, formality, and religious decorum were to suffer worse invasions than those which proceeded from its youthful clubsters. The unparalleled increase of its manufactures, and the multiplication of cotton-mills and public works, which drew thousands of the young of both sexes to work at the same occupation, and in the same rooms, under the absence of every moral restraint, had their natural effect, under which the decorousness of its streets and the aspect of its population underwent a total change.

Leaving civic life as it was exhibited in Edinburgh and Glasgow during the last century, we now pass to those characteristics by which the general living was distinguished during the same period over Scotland at large. The subject, however, becomes so copious that we can only mention a few of its principal features which were gradually passing away. The Union, as was anticipated at its commencement, has been so complete that even the national physiognomy has departed. Who can now tell at the first glance which is English and which is Scottish society? At the present time, Scotland as a whole presents no greater difference in social matters from England as a whole than one part of the latter country does from another.

We begin with the mode of living among the country gentry, who were now in a great measure shorn of their old feudal consequence, but were too proud to repair their diminished fortunes and acquire a new position by the industrial resources which were open to all alike. They had no footing at court, and they scorned the idea of turning to the resources of commerce or agriculture, by which their noble blood and high position would have been debased. Up to the middle of the eighteenth century they remained in the same condition as they were at the Union, and from the stunning effects of which they were only beginning to recover; and they lived in the same uncomfortable peels or mansions which their fathers had occupied before them. The number of servants which they kept was more in accordance with their

old position than the innovating principles of comfort, taste, and elegance warranted, and which they were accustomed to condemn as new-fangled crotchets; and in consequence of this preference their over-numerous establishments generally consisted of menials chiefly paid for duties which were coarsely performed or wholly left undone—a crowd of servants, in fact, whose chief occupation was to help each other in doing nothing. And to counterbalance these serious defects there was little else than that earnest devotedness which made service an inheritance, and which no wages can purchase. The servant had been born upon the land, his *forebears* had discharged those menial duties to which he had succeeded as a matter of course, and he would have thought it a strange matter if anything but death should dissolve the tie between him and the laird. He, therefore, held his tenure of service for life, and to this his master passively assented. In a house thus filled with half-useless domestics, the men-servants busied themselves with such departments of work as did not belong to them, while the female attendants performed their duties in the house in the most homely style of dress, being generally in the forenoon without either shoes or stockings, and this from the byre-woman to the bower-woman. The style of living in such houses was correspondent to such attendants. In the kitchen the utensils were both few and clumsy, and indicative of a very primitive style of cookery. A roasting-jack there was as rare as a steam-engine; and when meat was roasted the spit was generally turned by a large wooden wheel that was set in motion by a dog inclosed in a box. Of course the sagacious animals no sooner beheld preparations for a dinner of roast than they were wont to hide themselves; and thus in providing a banquet of this kind the labour was twofold—first, find a good joint, and second, catch your dog.¹ Another indispensable article for the kitchen was the knocking-stone. Until barley-mills were brought into operation the barley for each day's use was beaten in a large vessel like a mortar to separate it from the husk, and afterwards winnowed in a sieve, and rubbed with a coarse cloth, by which it was fitted for the pot. In this way the utensil which was called the knocking-stone was as essential as the coffee-mill in the houses of France or the West Indies.

In the breakfasts of such mansions tea was

¹ The use of dogs in this uncongenial duty was not confined to Scotland. It was also prevalent in England, and in Smollett's *Peregrine Pickle* we read of the dire calamity which was spread over the whole city of Bath in consequence of the knavish abstraction of the turnspits upon a Sunday morning by which the Sabbath was converted into a Fast-day.

used, at this time a fashionable because an expensive luxury, as at the period of the Union it was sold so high as 25s. per pound. In such a state it was inaccessible even to the wealthy until a more extensive use had reduced the price; but even at the middle of the eighteenth century it was only introduced to breakfast by people of consequence. Upon great or rare occasions tea was sometimes used by the middle classes in the country, but only in the afternoons, and as a delicate prelude to stronger liquors. Where it was used to breakfast it was served up for greater state upon a table of mahogany, with tea-cups and saucers of china. This mahogany table, the only one of the kind in the house, was usually uncovered at the meal to set forth, no doubt, its superior brightness and polish; and equally ornamental was the china, which was kept in the dining-room in a cupboard with glazed doors. The chief substantialities of the breakfast consisted of a little wheaten bread, which was still a dainty, and abundance of oat-cakes, and bannocks of pease-meal and barley flour. The dinners were equally homely, and of these barley broth, salt beef, a boiled fowl, and greens, were the standing dishes, to which fish or game might be added according to the season. The chief liquors that went round were claret, brandy, and home-brewed ale; and after dinner the invariable family punch-bowl was introduced, a capacious vessel which, in houses of some pretension, was of porcelain, but in others of delft ware. The hour of dinner varied from one to three o'clock according to the degrees of rank; but among people of the highest fashion it was never later than three. The vessels in which dinner was served were wooden or pewter platters, the latter being chiefly confined to the higher classes, and these in the second course were exchanged for vessels of delft or china.

Of the furniture of such houses the notice cannot be otherwise than brief. At the middle of the eighteenth century carpets were still so rare that they were only to be found in the houses of the principal gentry, and then also they were confined to the dining and drawing rooms. The chief article of dining-room furniture, besides its showy cupboard of china, was a massive table of oak that shone like a mirror with continual polishing. On the table also lay a large hand-bell, the only bell in the house, and exclusively used for important signals; but on ordinary occasions a notice was communicated by knocking on the floor with a poker or the heel. As for hung-bells and bell-pulls these were improvements that found no place in such houses until the close of the century. As for bed-rooms, their furniture was of little account;

it was enough if they had a bed with the usual accompaniments of blankets and sheets, and when guests were numerous beds could easily be extemporized in the form of *shake-downs* upon the floor. Space, too, could be economized by allotting a single bed to two ladies or two gentlemen, a fashion once prevalent in England and other countries, but which there had now become both obsolete and vulgar. But the chief bed of the house—the state-bed, reserved for honoured guests, and on which the taste and grandeur of the owner was chiefly expended, occupied no less a place of distinction than the drawing-room. In so cold a country as Scotland the hearth and its furnishings were of high importance, and accordingly the principal rooms were furnished with brass grates, on which the servants expended their utmost skill in polishing, while the fireplace itself was ornamented with Dutch tiles or small slabs of china, with pictures upon them, chiefly of subjects from Scripture. In the other apartments there was nothing but the hearth, on which a fire was kindled when needed, and the fuel generally consisted of peat or turf. As yet paintings were not the ornaments even of the principal country mansions, and their places upon the oak-panelled walls were supplied by a lining of arras, or imitation of arras, on which heathen or Scripture events were pictured either singly or in wonderful combination. On the outside of the house, and near the door, was an erection called the *louping-on stane*, by means of which ladies mounted their palfreys or descended from them, as riding on horseback, frequently on pads behind a gentleman of the house or a male servant, was the only mode of conveyance for a high-born lady whether to kirk or assembly.

Having thus seen how the gentry of the rural districts were housed we turn our attention to their dress. And here we find that it was correspondent to the style of their dwellings, being a curious mixture of outside show and pretension, combined with bad taste, poverty, and slovenliness. Up to the middle of the last century the gentlemen, when in full dress, wore cocked hats plentifully adorned with gold or silver lace, and clothes garnished with the same kind of ornament; and to this must be added the sword, which was the indispensable appendage of all men pretending to rank and fashion, and which was worn therefore both in town and country. In 1724, indeed, the magistrates of Edinburgh had prohibited gentlemen from carrying firearms, and their servants from wearing dirks and broadswords in the streets; but no law had as yet dared to prohibit the wearing of a sword, although so ready an instrument either in drunken brawls or private revenge. But,

although they displayed enough of foppery or finery when in full dress, the same gentlemen were to be seen in the forenoon walking about in greasy night-caps or old velvet caps, and faded dressing-gowns or threadbare coats. As the male and female style of dress usually act and react upon each other, the country ladies exhibited the same extremes of finery and negligence as the gentlemen. In visiting or receiving visitors the ladies wore silk gowns, or riding habits fringed with gold, and adorned with gold or gilt buttons; and at church they usually appeared with a silk plaid, like the Spanish mantilla worn loosely over their heads and shoulders. When patches were in fashion they also followed the example of England, as well as in high head commodos and the powdering of their hair. But, although they patched, they did not also rouge their faces, such a kind of adornment being universally reckoned indecent, and expressly condemned in Scripture. It was no wonder, therefore, that poor Winifred Jenkins, with her painted cheeks, was so rudely hustled in the streets of Edinburgh, and admonished by the mob about the practices and fate of Jezebel.¹ The usual dress of elderly ladies was a linen cap, called a *toy*, coming partly upon the face and fastened beneath the chin, with worsted short-gowns and aprons.

Of the condition of the rural middle classes, such as substantial farmers and the inferior lairds, about the middle of the last century, we have also several notices in Somerville's *Life and Times*. Of the style of life to which we now come, his father, who was minister of Hawick, was a favourable specimen. His hospitality was proverbial, and to his brother clergymen and young students preparing for the church his manse was at all times a home. The evening parties of young people at his house were frequent, where they enjoyed music, dancing, and other amusements suitable to their age. On the market-day several of the neighbouring gentlemen and farmers used to dine with him; but his chief dinner was after the killing of the winter's *mart*, at which the principal dish set upon the table was the spare rib of the animal saved from the salting tub. Besides these formal banquets uninvited guests were frequent at his table, and on such occasions the fare was always plentiful and substantial. The usual beverage at these private dinners was strong ale and a small glass of brandy, and at the rare formal banquets claret punch. But, though both rum and whisky were coming into vogue, the good man resolutely opposed them as intemperate innovations; and when any of his visitors ex-

pressed a wish for rum punch he had to send to the grocer's for a single bottle of rum. This although a negative was a forcible protest against the increasing excesses of the day. Somerville adds, that at this time the south of Scotland was abundantly supplied from the Isle of Man with claret and brandy, the former at 1s. 6d. and the latter at 6d. a bottle, and that strong ale of excellent quality was brewed in the house at the cost of about 2d. a bottle, the malt-tax being moderate, and no excise upon home brewing. Of the general state of the country clergy of this period we learn from the same source, that, however fitted to instruct and elevate society by their learning, diligence, and worth, they were scarcely fitted to improve it in manners and style of living; they partook of the general slovenliness, and were usually dressed in clothes of coarse materials, the favourite colour being blue. Young men preparing for the ministry, or already licentiates, were generally the tutors of noblemen's families, or chaplains of their households; and this was necessary for obtaining presentation to a church, when such advancement went by patronage instead of the popular choice.

In the houses of the rural middle class the style of home life was derived from that of the higher classes, but upon a greatly inferior scale. The houses were less pretentious, the furniture more scanty, and the diet coarser and less abundant. The *gudeman* wore a broad bonnet or leather cap; his clothing of blue or hoddin gray was the produce of his own sheep, carded and spun by the women of his household, and shaped into a suit by the village tailor; his apartments were plastered walls without arras or any kind of covering or ornament; and at his table wheaten bread was a stranger, and potatoes were rare, being still grown only in gardens, and considered a luxury; and when fresh animal food was more than usually abundant it was of that part of his stock which was unfit for the market. The dinner service chiefly consisted of wooden platters and bickers, or bowls of the same material. The beds of the house were generally recesses in the wall, wainscotted, and furnished with closing shutters, where the sleepers might repose unseen, let whatever company be in the room; but the closeness and unhealthiness of such dormitories may be easily imagined, especially when we take into account the piles of blankets with which the bed was covered not merely in winter but in summer. These niches in the wall for beds, commonly called box-beds, are even yet not wholly discontinued in some of our poorer country cottages. In the country, when literary clubs and circulating libraries had as yet no existence, every house had a library of its own

¹ Smollett's *Humphrey Clinker*.

according to the taste and scholarship of its occupants. And first might be seen the "big ha' Bible," generally a goodly quarto, which occupied a place in the kitchen where the family usually assembled, and where it lay handily for "taking the book," as the family devotions were usually termed. Next to this in importance might be found the old standard works of the Covenanters, giving an account of the contests in which they had been engaged, or a detail of the doctrines for which they had contended. Other works might be found in the collections of our peasantry, indicating that their theological studies were not wholly confined to these—such as Knox's *History of the Scottish Reformation*, Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, the works of Boston, Flavel, and Watson, and occasionally one or two of the choicest theological productions of the English Puritans. Works in divinity formed the chief reading of the Scottish population, but especially controversial divinity, which was so suited to their tastes and character; and by such reading they were not only more confirmed in their Calvinism, but able to give a reason for the faith that was in them. In general literature the standard authors of Greece and Rome were only to be found in the mansions of the highly educated; such was also the case with the English classics; while, in the less pretentious libraries of inferior lairds and yeomen might be found the works of Barbour, Blind Harry, or Sir David Lyndsay. But among the inferior classes a thirst for miscellaneous reading had grown up, which the press endeavoured to gratify at a cheap rate by the publication of small pamphlets containing the cream or rather scum of history, romance, and fiction in prose and verse; and this taste having grown upon such fare, the supply was multiplied, until it was superseded by more wholesome food. The literature for the people of the eighteenth century usually consisted of a twenty-four paged pamphlet called a "ballant," printed coarsely on whity-brown paper, and sold at a penny—and a bunch of these ballants stitched together composed the miscellaneous reading of the farmhouse and cottage. Even yet there may be found survivors whose boyhood was amused by the *History of Jack the Giant-killer*, the *Life of George Buchanan*, *John Cheap the Chapman*, *Leper the Tailor*, and other such productions stitched into a medley volume, and treasured as a resource against the tedium of long winter evenings around the blazing peat fire. It was a stimulating, and in many cases an unhealthy kind of literature, the full expansion of which for good and for evil may be found in the circulating libraries of our own day.

Other appendages of the houses of the period

are too characteristic to be omitted. In front of the country dwellings (and often of the town houses also) was a bench projecting from the wall, beside the door, constructed of stone covered with turf, and sometimes of turf only; and here members of the family could enjoy the fresh air which seldom entered their apartments; here the master of the house could sit and enjoy the sight of his pasture and cornfields, or smoke his pipe at ease; and here also his acquaintances could assemble, and converse with him on the politics of church and state, or the events of the neighbourhood. It was to such a "divot seat" that Glaudd, in the *Gentle Shepherd*, invited his friend Simon, when the latter had returned from Edinburgh fraught with important news. On the other side of this seat, and forming a sort of rampart to the house-entrance, was the dunghill, because here the ashes and refuse could be discharged with the least delay and trouble. And high might such a pile arise before a sudden spurt of industry occasioned its removal, only to leave the ground clear for a fresh accumulation;—

"Our gudeman cam' hame at e'en,
And hame cam' he;
Round about the midden dub,
And in gaed he."

This circuitous navigation he was obliged to perform every evening before he could enter his own house, and witness the strange arrivals that had occurred during his absence. Another abomination that usually lay right before the door was a puddle, composed of all liquid refuse, called "slaistrie," that was thrown out by the mistress or servants, on the economical principle of saving the time and trouble which its removal to a distance would have occasioned. This puddle (commonly termed the jaw-hole) of course soon swelled into a sort of pond, where the water-fowl of the establishment dabbled or dived in quest of subsistence, and on this account it was often called the "deuk-dub." Hence the disaster recorded in the well-known comic song. A wooer who made himself intolerable by his bashfulness, and was abruptly banished by the damsel from the house, while backing out in his confusion, stumbles, and falls headlong into this vile mess; on which disaster—

"Out cam the gudeman and high he shouted,
Out cam the gudewife and laigh she louted,
And a' the toun-neebors were gather'd about it,
And there lay he I trow."

So long, however, did the *vis inertiae* of indolence prevail that both "deuk-dub" and midden were late in finding their proper locality, notwithstanding their unsightly appearance and the diseases they occasioned; and it was only the

profits of their better application as manure that overcame the *fash* of their removal.

In studying the history of domestic life in Scotland during the eighteenth century few circumstances are so striking as the number of servants maintained compared with the amount of work that was required of them. But the true art of economizing labour, as well as the right way of going about it, was still to be learned, and until this was done the number of hands continued to be far in excess of the work to be done. The remuneration of such work was also proportioned to its small amount. Writing in 1813 or 1814 Somerville tells us, "The wages of servants since the period of my becoming a householder in 1770 have advanced at least fourfold. I then paid one of my maid-servants £1, 5s., another £1, 10s., for the half-year; and my man-servant £4 yearly. The annual wages of a man-servant of the same kind may now be stated at £16 or £18, besides board; and the wages of a maid-servant at £7 or £8 per annum. Mr. Scott, who resides at Monkland in my parish at an advanced age, has informed me that his father, fifty years ago, hired his female servants for 10s., with a pair of shoes, for the half-year; and his ploughman for £1, 5s., with the like gift, or *bountith* as it was then called." When we remember that a pair of shoes did not cost above a fifth or sixth of their present price this gift was no great addition to their fee. And conformable to this small rate of wages was the expense of house-keeping. The same author informs us that when he first became a householder in 1770 beef cost 2d. or 2½d., never exceeding 4d. per lb.; lamb 1½d.; veal 4d. and 5d.; and mutton in like proportion. "I have been told," he adds, "by my old parishioners at Jedburgh, that within their remembrance the whole carcass of a lamb was often purchased for 1s. or 1s. 6d.; cheese at 3d. per lb."

Such was rural life in its everyday detail. There were occasions, however, of family, or social, or public festivity in which the dull monotony of a still semi-barbarous existence was cheered with friendly gatherings and merry-makings. And foremost of these were weddings, which in all countries are occasions of joy, however variously expressed; and in these the Scottish gravity was buried for the time in outrageous merriment, and sometimes in positive uproar and the luxury of a *tulzie*. A bridal would have been nothing without the presence of the friends and relatives of the parties about to be united, and as the Scots counted their kindred to a remoteness of degree that would have puzzled a modern genealogist, the guests might be counted by scores, and sometimes by hundreds. As being married in open church had become un-

fashionable it was only among the humbler classes that the practice was continued; and in marching to the sacred building the peasantry, male and female, walked in procession, with the bride and bridegroom at their head and a fiddler playing before them. Instead of entering, however, with the rest, the musician waited at the church-gate till the ceremony was over, and only resumed his place and office when the party reappeared, as his functions would be in request for the evening's dancing. At the marriage-feast the table was heaped with all kinds of good fare, as the parents of the bride would have pinched themselves for a whole twelvemonth to maintain their credit for hospitality on such an important occasion. Sometimes, however, not one, but a succession of such dinners was given, and several days were spent in reunions of the company for the purposes of revelry and mirth. With a wedding several little ceremonies were connected, that contrived to hold their ground up to a very recent period. One was the washing of the bride's feet, which was performed with grave importance by the bridesmaids on the evening before the marriage. Another was a sort of steeple-chase among the best mounted of the company, called "riding for the broose," of which the prize was a wooden mall. An ungracious obligation on the elder sister of the bride, if unmarried, was to dance at the wedding without her shoes; but we can easily imagine that on such a festive occasion this rule was not always enforced, or even hinted at. The whole ceremonial of a bridal was wound up at night by "throwing the stocking," an old Saxon custom equally prevalent in England and Scotland.

As the prodigal expenditure of such bridals would have been too much for a young couple commencing life, the chief cost was often maintained by the guests themselves, who gladly paid the *lawin'* of such fun and feasting. Hence the penny-weddings, which still kept their ground in spite of the denunciations of the civil and ecclesiastical powers; and as it had become an established and time-honoured practice, no idea of degradation was as yet attached to it. When a union of this kind was to be celebrated, not only the acquaintances of the pair, but their richer neighbours were invited, or permitted to attend it; a plentiful dinner was provided, of which the principal dish was called the *bride's pie*; and after dinner the company adjourned to the barn to spend the evening in drinking and dancing. When the money was to be collected the bride went round the company and kissed every one in turn; but a practice that would be intolerable in the present day was little thought of, when a kiss was as usual a

salute as hand-shaking, and this not only between persons of the opposite, but those of the same sex also. When the ceremony was over each of the company put his contribution into a dish according to his ability, and the sum thus collected was not only sufficient to pay the expenses of the wedding, but to give the young couple a fair start in life. Such a mode of marrying, however, was unsuitable alike to the feelings and usages of modern life, and while the nineteenth century was still young these penny-weddings had wholly disappeared. One of their latest displays, which was in Fifeshire, was such as to rival the nuptial feast of Camacho the Rich, at which Sancho Panza so luxuriously revelled. It was held upon the banks of a stream, where a large tent was pitched, and at which nearly four hundred guests were assembled. The tent, which was forty or fifty feet in length, was duly furnished with temporary tables of fir-deal, with forms on either side. The place for cooking displayed two or three huge caldrons, in which about a hundred fowls and a great number of mutton-hams were boiling; in other pots were legs of mutton in the process of steaming; and the broth, which was enriched with barley, onions, and other vegetables, was well fitted for Fife, proverbially a county of kail-suppers. Over these caldrons stood female cooks, who must have looked like weird women as they stirred up the boiling messes with pitch-forks, using their utmost strength in the performance. The company also seemed to be arranged with a due regard to their rank. Within the tent were those of the better class, who were served with wine. At tables in the field were those of a lower grade, where, although there was no wine, there was abundance of ale and whisky punch. But a third class lower still, who had come on their own invitation, and who consisted of wandering tinkers and beggars, sat in groups at a distance, applying for their share in the feast, which was freely supplied to them in their own wooden dishes. Notwithstanding the tremendous consumption of good things, more especially when the festival was continued three or four days, with the incitements of dancing and drinking, the contributions of the guests on such occasions would yield fifty, sixty, or even an hundred pounds to the newly-married pair.¹

When the bride after all this feasting and revelry was allowed to migrate to her new home it was not in pauper fashion and empty-handed, and, however poor might be her parents, their dignity was concerned that she carry proper *plenishin'* along with her. And for this, indeed,

their prudence, as well as her own industry, had been making provision, it might be for years, and her spinning-wheel and carding apparatus had not been idle, when no immediate demand appeared for their services. She was adding to the family stock, from which she was to be supplied when she became a wife. Bed and table linen, usually called "napery," good store of blankets, and abundance of knitted worsted formed a comfortable *tocher*, even though she had not a sixpence in money. And dolorous indeed was the plight of that damsel in the Scottish song who lamented that she was about to be married, and yet had "neither blankets nor sheets." But her parental outfit was not restricted to articles of clothing; portions of furniture were generally added as indispensable, chiefly consisting of a chest of drawers, silver teaspoons, a ladle, and an eight-day clock. It was a proof that she was an honest man's daughter, and had left him with the paternal blessing, and her honour was concerned that she should not come as an encumbrance into an empty house. This praiseworthy habit, an amiable relic of the olden time, is still kept up in some of the primitive districts of Scotland.

If weddings were costly in their expenditure more extravagant still was that of the funerals, which at the time of the Union had risen to an alarming height. It was not merely that the dead might be honoured with becoming obsequies that they were carried to their graves with such pomp of preparation: Scottish pride was to be gratified by displaying the importance of the family to which the deceased belonged, and the national aptitude for banquet and revelry found occasion for its indulgence even in a burial. On the death of the chief of the clan Macintosh in 1704 funeral entertainments were given at his mansion in Inverness-shire for a whole month; cooks and confectioners were brought from Edinburgh to prepare fit viands for the occasion; and the funeral procession was four miles in length, while these useless honours bestowed upon the dead impoverished the family for life. On the death of Whitelaw, the lord justice-clerk, in the same year, the expense of the burial was more than twice the amount which the deceased had derived from the annual salary of his office. But improvident waste was not the only fault of these last honours paid to the dead. The mourners often drank so abundantly as to be almost as insensible as the friend they commemorated—in short they were often dead-drunk. On the death of Mrs. Forbes of Culloden, mother of the illustrious president, the funeral train had walked or reeled to the churchyard before they discovered that they had left the corpse behind.

¹ *Travels in Scotland, &c.* By the Rev. James Hall, A.M. Lond. 1807.

Nor was this a solitary instance of such funeral obliviousness, for more than once it occurred that when the train had mustered at the open grave the body was missing, having been either left in the house or upon the highway. But more than these gross mistakes were the quarrels which these funeral orgies sometimes occasioned, in which the living quarrelled and fought over the cold remains of the dead. A tragic instance of this kind occurred in 1728 in Forfar. After the funeral the relatives adjourned to a tavern, where more wine was drunk; and from drinking they proceeded to quarrelling, which ended in the death of the Earl of Strathmore by the thrust of a sword, while he was endeavouring to interpose between the combatants.¹

Preliminary to the funeral the practice of the *lykewake* was still continued; and on the night of the death, and sometimes every night preceding the interment, the friends of the deceased sat up with the body, alleviating their sorrows with meat confections, or bread and cheese, and a plentiful supply of ale and stronger liquors. This superstitious practice, the origin of which is buried in remote antiquity, was frequently an occasion of mirth and frolic among the watchers, and sometimes of more reprehensible conduct. The intimation of the death and invitation to the funeral was made, not by letter, but *viva voce* by the town-crier, who went ringing his bell at the appointed doors, and uttering the following formula, "Brethren and sisters, I let you to wit, that — — whose corpse lies at — — departed this life by the will of the Almighty (here the bellman took off his hat) on — (here he named the day and hour). You are desired to attend his (or her) burial at next warning." After he had thus perambulated the town and allowed a short interval to elapse, he reappeared and repeated his notice. Frequently the invitation was general, and the relatives of the dead were gratified by the great numbers who repaired to the funeral. The religious service proper in such an occasion was performed by the clergyman, not at the grave, but in the house, after which the *lifting* took place, when the body was carried on hand-spokes by the company in turn. In the procession the men walked in front and the female relatives in the rear; but the latter went no farther than the churchyard gate, where they always halted and dispersed. When this part of the funeral ceremonial was abandoned we know not, but it is certain that female attendance in such processions has for some time been discontinued in Scotland.²

While such for the most part were the burial usages in provincial towns a few variations occasionally were practised in the rural districts. The Rev. Mr. Lapsley of Campsie stated, that towards the close of the eighteenth century the *lykewake* was kept during two nights previous to the interment. All the parish was invited to the funeral; and the company assembled in a barn, where an entertainment was served up on boards arranged in the form of tables. Before and after this banquet a prayer was offered up by the clergyman. In serving the company, first a draught of ale went round, and then a dram, with a piece of shortbread; then followed a dram of some other kind of liquor, with a piece of currant-bread; and this was followed by a third dram, either of wine or spirits; while loaves of bread, cheese, pipes and tobacco formed the close of this repast. In this way, although the hour appointed for meeting was ten o'clock, so much time was spent in such incidental eating and drinking that the corpse was never moved until the evening.

Of the stated rustic festivals peculiar to Scotland the most important was Hallowe'en, a contraction for All-hallow Evening, or the evening of All-Saints Day, the annual return of which was a season for joy and festivity. It was also an occasion for divination, and the observances were not only amusing in themselves, but auguries in which coming events and the destiny of the inquirer could be either dimly or distinctly traced. But who would venture to describe those rites, partly of Druidical, partly of Scandinavian origin, which were used on the occasion, after they have been so graphically delineated in the "Hallowe'en" of Burns? The commencing rite of plucking kail-stocks and the anxiety to mark the stems whether they were straight or crooked, the burning of nuts, the sowing of hempseed, the "winning of three wechts of naething," the blindfold choice of three bowls, the eating of the apple before a looking-glass—all these were random peeps into futurity, in which the fun was enhanced rather than damped by the suspicion that these omens might after all turn out to be true. But the era had already commenced when these superstitious weaknesses were to follow the flight of the brownie, wraith, and kelpie; and grown men having become too wise to put faith in such divinations, the great charm of Hallowe'en was broken, and its rites left to the children, by whom, also, they have been to some extent thrown aside. Yet there are probably few localities where the festival is not observed in some way or other, the influence of Burns' admirable poem having doubtless had something to do with it. Another festival was the *kim* on the

¹ Chambers's *Domestic Annals of Scotland*.

² Burt's *Letters*; Somerville's *Life and Times*; Ramsay's *Scottish Life and Character*.

completion of harvest, and equivalent to a harvest-home in England. In the days of Burns a "rantin' kirk," in which eating, drinking, dancing, and love-making followed each other in merry succession, formed an important era in peasant life; but at last agriculture became too grave and scientific, and the politics of the agricultural interest too weighty and perplexing, to sympathize in such merry-makings at the close of each harvest, and the kirk has been doomed to the fate of Hallowe'en. Another observance of a social character by which rural life during the eighteenth century was cheered, in the absence of newspapers and circulating libraries, was the *rocking*. This was a name given to those friendly meetings in which the peasantry of the neighbourhood assembled in the houses of each other—and in the blaze of the kitchen fire, and amid the humming of spinning-wheels and the clicking of knitting needles, each of the company assembled round the ingle was expected to sing a song or tell a story. In this way mirth and cheerfulness were promoted and the bonds of sociality drawn closer,—and better still, talent was developed, and the efforts of dawning genius brought into notice. It was at such a rocking that Burns was made aware of the existence of a brother poet, by hearing one of his songs which was sung by a member of the party.

The rural games during the eighteenth century were hand-ball, football, penny-stanes, quoits, trundling a cannon-shot along the highway, golf, and an imitation of that game called *shinty*, chiefly practised in the Highlands, where a stick crooked at the extremity, and a little piece of wood served instead of golf-club and ball. But as this was a keen and close contest in which two parties were engaged pell-mell, while the ball was to be driven by one or other party over its opponents' boundary, many random hits were bestowed on the occasion that lighted upon the legs and shins of the players, by which Highland ardour and wrath often rose to a dangerous height. In the Lowlands, however, where golf predominated, the game of *shinty* was only practised by school-boys, who could find the necessary instruments always at hand. Ninepins was also a favourite game, which, however, was soon abandoned to the juvenile community—and also the game of nine-holes, resembling it in character, and derived from the old Saxon *merils*, or nine-men's morris, alluded to by Shakspeare in the *Midsummer Night's Dream*. Bowls were also a common amusement, and a public bowling-green was common in the county towns of Scotland for the recreation of the inhabitants in the summer evenings, as well as in the pleasure-grounds of gentlemen's houses, and the game was often animated by the presence of

ladies, who shared in the amusement with the other sex. But the favourite game of all, which could only be practised in winter, was curling, and the pleasure was greatly enhanced by the exhilarating effects of the clear bracing atmosphere in which it was played, and the short periods of each year in which the ponds were sufficiently frozen. Cock-fighting, which about the beginning of the eighteenth century had been introduced into Scotland, was an ordinary amusement; but it was neither so carefully reduced to a science nor prosecuted with the same ardour as in England—an indifference for which the Scottish disinclination to betting may perhaps sufficiently account. Almost the only regular cockpit—strange to tell!—was the school-room of the burgh or parish, and on Fasten's E'en or Shrovetide every school-boy was indulged with this gladiatorial amusement. For this purpose he was encouraged to keep his bird in training, to pit it against those of his companions; so that when the fated day arrived each boy might be seen hurrying gleefully to the school with a cock under his arm. But how could the master allow the young idea to shoot thus wildly and improperly? Simply because it was the established custom, and his interests were involved in upholding it. The slaughtered cocks as well as the *fugies*, that is to say, those that turned tail and fled, became his property, and he was thus enabled to add considerably to his otherwise scanty salary and fees. In Sinclair's *Statistical Account of Scotland* we learn that near the close of the eighteenth century the schoolmaster, who had for salary only two hundred merks per annum with 1s. 6d. per quarter from each of the scholars learning English, and 2s. 6d. from his pupils in Latin, derived from these cock-fight dues as much as equalled the fees of a whole quarter.

Before Edward VI. died, and when the marriage at which he was present was solemnized between Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, and Mistress Amy Robsart, one great sport on the occasion was a sort of riding at the ring, performed in the following fashion:—A goose was hung on high with its head downward, and the young courtiers passing underneath at full gallop endeavoured to seize and twitch off the head at the risk of missing it, or being unhorsed by laying hold of it. A similar practice prevailed in St. Andrews at least until the close of the eighteenth century, and was probably confined to that particular locality, as no notice is taken of it in any other part of Scotland. A goose, with its neck denuded of feathers and well soaped or greased, was suspended by the feet from the transverse beam of a sort of gallows, while the riders in full career below, and raising themselves in the

stirrups, endeavoured to pull off the creature's head, by which the contest was to be won. Another equally barbarous amusement of the same town was the cat race. A cat was inclosed in a cask, which was suspended in like manner, while the riders in galloping beneath it endeavoured to knock out the bottom of the cask, so that the cat should fall among the multitude assembled in thousands below. And when this was accomplished the poor animal received no quarter; it was chased by the mob, caught, and flung by the tail from hand to hand, until it expired.¹ These competitions of dangerous and dexterous horsemanship were worthy of admiration; but what shall we say of their puerile nature, and the cruelty with which they were accompanied?

A few other features of Scottish society during the eighteenth century remain to be noted, and of these the first place is due to the national hospitality. This quality was so obvious among all classes that strangers at first sight recognized it, and were loud either in its praise or condemnation. Visitors from other countries were received with welcome, and had seldom cause to regret the general scarcity of hotels; and a well-introduced traveller, if so disposed, might traverse the whole land cost free. But hearty as was their welcome to aliens and strangers of every degree, it was not to be compared to the ardour with which they received their own acquaintances, their own kith and kin, their own countrymen, towards whom their hospitality was boundless; and to the utmost extent of a complicated relationship the favourite national proverb was illustrated, that "blood is thicker than water." This unbounded hospitality, however, was not without its inconveniences and evils, especially at the festive board. The guest, however languid of appetite, was obliged to make a meal fit for a ploughman; and when he had eaten almost to agony he was still urged to eat more. He was "pressed," as it was called, with an urgency that was almost tantamount to the punishment of pressing to death; and if he turned aside to speak to his neighbour for a single moment his entertainer seized the opportunity to load his plate with a fresh mountain of viands. But, however he might parry these attempts to make him eat, there was no such escape for him in drinking: to pledge every toast was an imperative duty, and to shirk the glass when it went round was downright rudeness, and sometimes regarded as a positive insult. Often, therefore, a dinner was a serious trial to the temperate or weak-headed, and he who accepted an invitation was obliged to risk the consequences. In some cases it was even a point of honour

among country gentlemen that no guest should leave the house sober—nay, sometimes, that none should be able to leave the house at all, except in a hand-barrow or wheel-barrow. Sometimes, however, there was no necessity to depart, or be carried out, and provision was made that those who fell under the table should sleep in peace without the risk of strangulation or apoplexy. Illustrative of this was a story told by Mackenzie, the author of the *Man of Feeling*. He had got into a company of this kind, and, after a long bout of drinking, was alarmed to see his companions dropping on the floor, one after another, where they were allowed to lie undisturbed. Taking the hint he "counterfeited," like Falstaff at Shrewsbury, and fell like the rest, as if he, too, had been overcome. While he thus lay under the table, and was congratulating himself on his escape, he felt a pair of small hands working about his throat; and, on asking what this meant, a small voice from the owner of the hands replied, "Sir, I'm the 'lad that's to lowse the neckcloths." He was a servant of the house, to whom this strange but necessary duty exclusively belonged.²

We have already had occasion to notice the bacchanalian events with which the funeral of Mrs. Forbes of Culloden was accompanied. Her son, the laird, and brother of the celebrated president, took care that his mansion should not lose the genial character by which even on such a melancholy occasion it was distinguished, as the following extract from Burt's *Letters* will show:—

"There lives in our neighbourhood, at a house (or castle) called Culloden, a gentleman whose hospitality is almost without bounds. It is the custom of that house, at the first visit or introduction, to take up your freedom by cracking his nut (as he terms it), that is, a cocoa-shell, which holds a pint filled with champagne, or such other sort of wine as you shall choose. You may guess by the introduction at the contents of the volume. Few go away sober at any time; and, for the greatest part of his guests, in the conclusion they cannot go at all. This he partly brings about by artfully proposing (after the public healths, which always imply bumpers) such private ones as he knows will pique the interest or inclinations of each particular person of the company, whose turn it is to take the lead to begin it in a brimmer; and he himself being always cheerful, and sometimes saying good things, his guests soon lose their guard, and then—I need say no more. . . . As the company are disabled, one after another, two servants, who are all the while in waiting, take

¹ *Travels in Scotland, &c.*, by the Rev. James Hall.

² Ramsay's *Reminiscences of Scottish Life and Character*.

up the invalids with short poles in their chairs, as they sit (if not fallen down), and carry them to their beds; and still the hero holds out. I remember one evening an English officer, who had a good deal of humour, feigned himself drunk, and acted his part so naturally that it was difficult to distinguish it from reality; upon which the servants were preparing to take him up and carry him off. He let them alone till they had fixed the machine, and then raising himself up on his feet, made them a sneering bow, and told them he believed there was no occasion for their assistance; whereupon one of them, with *sang froid* and a serious air, said, "No matter, sir, we shall have you by and by."

We have more than once had occasion to notice the prevalence of begging in Scotland. It had risen to such an alarming height at the Union, and beggars were so numerous, that Fletcher of Saltoun could see no other remedy for the evil than the arbitrary conversion of beggars into slaves, so that their work should provide an equivalent for their maintenance. In the letters of Burt, which were written in 1726, or twenty years after the Union, he remarked that they were still numerous, and exceedingly importunate, while with the natural wonder of an Englishman he states, that there was no parish allowance to meet the emergency. The amount of their demand had also changed. Before the Union, he was told, they presumed to ask for not more than a *bottle*, but now they begged for a *baubee*. Some of them also, that they might not be classed as ordinary beggars, added, on making their request, that the money was to buy snuff. But, in bestowing charity, people still stuck to the old tariff, so that when they had none of the smallest coin they would give the mendicant a halfpenny, and take from him a *plack* or the third part of a penny in the way of change. He observed, also, that although the sum bestowed in alms was so small, yet the beggars were generally shod, while the poor working-women went barefoot. Matters had greatly changed in 1769, when Pennant wrote his *Tour*, as he declares that there were very few beggars in Scotland; and this he attributed either to the new industrial spirit that had roused the energies of the people or to the national pride that would not submit to ask charity. But Pennant's exaggerated statement merely goes to show, that in towns the evil had almost disappeared, and in the country had considerably abated. That mendicancy was still too prevalent the following declaration of Somerville, who is a sure authority on the subject, will sufficiently attest. "Before the general establishment of poor's-rates the country was overrun

with vagrant beggars. They had access to every house, and received their alms in meal and bread, which were deposited in bags or wallets, as they were called, hung over their shoulders. Strolling beggars often travelled in companies, and used to take up their night quarters at the houses of the tenant farmers in the country, who, after entertaining them with a supper of porridge, conducted them to the barns and out-houses for their night's rest. Even so late as 1773, when I came to reside in Jedburgh, this kind of hospitality was continued by a few of the old tenants."¹

A community so numerous must have been divided into classes and governed each by its own laws; but what were the rules of their simple polity it would be difficult to ascertain. Besides the gypsies, who were men of a wholly distinct race, and separate from every European community, there were "muggers," "sorners," and "masterful beggars," all condemned by statute, all pursuing their vocation with more or less violence or frauds, and upon whom the eyes of justice were on the watch, although its grasp could so seldom lay hold of them. There were the *randy* beggars, who had the whole kingdom for their range, and who were regarded wherever they came with cold indifference or positive dislike. But there was a better class of mendicants, who regarded the *randies* with a sort of aristocratic scorn—persons who confined themselves to a particular district, who knew every person and event within its range, who carried in their periodical visitations the news of the whole "country-side," and who were received with such a welcome as the fresh newspaper, magazine, or novel, by which they have been succeeded, often fails to create. Being thus favoured wherever they came, and regaled with comfortable quarters and an abundant "awmous" in requital for the pleasure their conversation afforded, these men considered themselves not as the beggars but benefactors of society, and as having the right of entrance into every house. It was while contemplating the chances of failure in his several attempts to succeed in life that Burns, half-playfully half-seriously, regarded this last condition as an ultimate resource, and exclaimed, "The Lord be thanked, I can beg!" Of the importance attached to this vocation by those who followed it, a well-known instance may be quoted of that gaberlunzie towards whom his selected district of occupation had shown what is called the cold shoulder. After he had recovered from his astonishment at such a reception he indignantly resolved like a second Coriolanus to abandon this ungrateful people to

¹ Somerville's *Life and Times*.

their fate; and, marching to the boundary of the parish, he turned and exclaimed, by way of farewell and bravado, "See where you will get another beggar!"

A common reproach brought against the people of Scotland was that "matter in the wrong place" was far too prevalent in their domestic arrangements; and it is to be feared that this charge was only too well founded. In the houses, and in the furniture and cookery both of town and country, the fault was very common, especially in the first half of the century, while sundry proverbs and precepts by which it was justified showed that the evil had been of old standing. To scour or clean a vessel or pan, according to the vulgar notion, would only the sooner wear it out. A clean kitchen betokened poverty in housekeeping. To clean a house in flitting from it would entail bad luck upon the successor. The justification for these views was summed up in the common proverb given as an excuse by the lazy, "Dirt bodes luck;" though it is clear from this very saying that there must have been many who did recognize the existence of the evil, and doubtless entered their protest against it. The subject has been too well treated in Miss Hamilton's *Cottagers of Glenburnie* to require further illustration—a work to which Scottish housekeeping owes more than to any more pretentious appeals.

The Scotch mode of washing clothes, usually called "trampin' claes," was generally startling to strangers. When the seasons of periodical purification arrived the clothes were thrown into a large tub placed on the ground; hot water was poured in, and two women, stepping into the tub, began to tramp or beat the clothes with their feet, a process by which they were soon cleaned and fitted for drying. This was the mode of washing both in town and country, usually performed also in the open air, while the display of limb which it occasioned, as belonging to a practice of use and wont, was no more thought of at the time than the uncovering of the hands or face. The larger towns had generally a public washing-green attached to them, and a stranger entering it unawares would often be astounded by the sight of a hundred high-kilted maidens whirling round as upon a pivot in this strange pyrrhic dance. Although this mode of washing, especially of such heavy articles as blankets and sheets, is not yet entirely abandoned, it is generally performed within doors and in the privacy of the washing-house.

The frequent signs which tourists in Scotland during the last century considered as indications of the national poverty were in some cases the result of mistake. An Englishman always asso-

ciated the idea of want of tidiness with destitution, and the absence of joints of roast meat with scanty or defective fare; and in traversing the land from Dan to Beersheba he was ready to proclaim that all was barrenness. But often it was only his English standard that was in fault; and a more intimate acquaintance with the peasantry would have taught him that there was as much real comfort and abundance among them as among the same classes in the south, while the only defect was the want of neatness and order. It was natural, especially, that such a mistake should arise when he saw so many of the people walking barefooted; and his sympathy was not abated when he saw that the greater proportion of the barefooted were of the gentler sex. If he made a forenoon visit the door was opened to him by a damsel without shoes and stockings. When he walked along the street he beheld well-dressed female servants going upon errands and tripping cheerfully along the causeway unshod. The same was still more the case in the country, where among the common people almost every foot was without shoe or stocking. But at the church, the rural festival, or the fair he saw that this was not from destitution, for there every foot was neatly shod and every ankle decorously clothed. It was not, therefore, that they had no shoes, but that they did not wish to wear them, and when, on formal occasions, they were constrained to don them, the free, buoyant, elastic step was gone, and the feet felt cramped and uncomfortable. Only when positive winter came were the shoes regularly made use of. Frequently, also, when the shoe was dispensed with, or even when it was worn, a comfortable footless stocking was donned. This covering for the leg and ankle was called a *hogger*; and, with persons who were obliged to travel in all weathers, a pair of hoggars sometimes were found sufficient, without shoes, for the whole winter.

Here we may close our sketches of the general state of Scottish society during the eighteenth century—and we must confess that even at the best it presented but few features of attraction. By the end of the century, however, a vast improvement had taken place, and in a comparatively short time Scotland and England became so nearly assimilated as to present few distinctive national characteristics requiring to be pointed out in a historical work such as this; so that our sketches of society in Scotland may here be brought to a close. We must still, however, devote a little space to Scotland's achievements in the intellectual field—in the field of literature, science, and art—during the century of which we have just been treating.

Of the literature produced by our countrymen in the eighteenth century a large proportion has simply the character of the ordinary English literature of the time, and is not distinguishable by any special mark or stamp from that produced in the southern half of the island. Another portion of it, however, bears its nationality on the face of it, and is also marked by something better than nationality—by the unmistakable stamp of genius. With this special section of the literature of Scotland are associated three outstanding names—Ramsay, Fergusson, Burns, household words in Scotland, the last almost a household word wherever true poetry is appreciated, wherever the heart of the poet can appeal to that of his fellowman.

Born in 1686, in the village of Leadhills, Allan Ramsay spent most of his life in Edinburgh, at first carrying on the trade of wig-maker and then that of bookseller, and acquiring a snug competence by his wordly wisdom and business capabilities, though he lost money, like many another since, by starting a theatre, as has been already narrated. A man of humour, geniality, sense, and shrewdness, he lived on familiar terms with the best society in the Scottish capital, and died in 1758 in his own house, Ramsay Lodge, which he had built on the side of the Castle Hill. His poetical works range over a wide field, including songs, satires, epistles, fables, tales, and lastly, what is reckoned by many the first pastoral drama ever written, the immortal *Gentle Shepherd*. This appeared in 1725 and at once became famous. Its success was fully deserved, presenting as it does a charming picture of Scottish rural life, well drawn and varied characters, and an interesting plot, the whole having many charming songs interspersed, and being written in simple language redolent of the country, without giving unnecessary prominence to the vernacular idiom. Burns was a great admirer of “honest Allan,” and is ready to acknowledge the debt he owed to the earlier poet whose influence over him is not difficult to trace.

Robert Fergusson's life was very different from that of Allan Ramsay, being short and unfortunate, the poet having died in 1774, at the early age of twenty-four. He was educated at St. Andrews University, but was bred to no trade or profession, and supported himself mainly by copying documents in an Edinburgh law office. His constitution was naturally feeble, and seems to have been impaired by the convivial mode of life in which he indulged, and which was so characteristic of the Edinburgh of his day. Fergusson had a true if not particularly rich vein of humour, touches of pathos,

a keen observation, and a great command of language. He may be called the laureate of eighteenth-century Edinburgh life, though his *Farmer's Ingle* portrays for us a rural household of the time. This poem served as the prototype for Burns's *Cotter's Saturday Night*, though in most respects greatly inferior to the latter, while Fergusson's *Leith Races* again suggested Burns's *Holy Fair*. Fergusson's poems in ordinary literary English are greatly inferior to those in which he makes free use of the Scottish vernacular. Had his life been prolonged we might have had poems from his pen far superior to anything of his that we possess; and it is well to remember that Burns had written comparatively little and was quite unknown to fame when he had reached the age at which poor Fergusson died. Burns admired Fergusson greatly as his “elder brother in the muses,” and lamented his untimely fate both in verse and prose, while he also erected at his own expense a tombstone to the hapless poet in the Canongate churchyard.

Ramsay and Fergusson were thus, as we have said, the poetical forerunners of Burns, who was directly stimulated by their poems, and by the poetic spirit working within him, to do something himself “for poor auld Scotland's sake,” though it were only “to sing a sang at least.” Of course his position in poetic literature is very far higher than that of either, yet many of his writings are of like character with theirs, and their example was of the highest value to him in that age of artificiality in poetry, since it led him to take his subjects from the life that he saw around him and to go directly to nature for his inspiration. It was owing to this that Burns is not merely to be regarded as the great poet of Scotland, but must also be recognized as introducing, or at least assisting to introduce, a new era in English poetry, an era in which convention and imitation had to give way to nature and to truth, and a pedantic classicism was succeeded by a free infusion of the romantic element into our literature.

The chief incidents in the life of Robert Burns are known to most readers. He belonged by birth to the class of hard-working Scottish farmers, his father, an intelligent man, being a farmer's son born in Kincardineshire, who had migrated to Ayrshire, and at the time when the poet was born occupied a few acres of land within a mile or two of the town of Ayr, near Alloway Kirk and the bank of the river Doon. The poet chronicles his own birth as having taken place when “our monarch's hindmost year but aye was five and twenty days begun,” that is on 25th January, 1759, the last year but

one of the reign of George II., so that he was fifteen years old when Fergusson died. He received what might be called for the period and his station in life a good English education, and being a great reader and fortunate in getting access to books he thus made up for some deficiencies under which he might otherwise have laboured. Mount Oliphant near Ayr, Lochlea in Tarbolton parish, and Mossiel in the vicinity of Mauchline, are three farms which the Burns family successively occupied in Ayrshire, the poet's father having died at Lochlea in 1784. They had a constant struggle to keep their heads above water, and the poet was inured to hard farm work from his childhood up, but although he is commonly known as the "Ayrshire ploughman," he never was a ploughman in the ordinary sense of the word, that is, one who is ready to hire himself out to plough or perform other farm work for wages.

Burns began rhyming at the age of sixteen or seventeen, but he wrote nothing of much consequence till half a dozen years later. It was not till 1786 that he published anything, this being the year in which the first edition of his poems appeared, the famous Kilmarnock edition that now fetches such a high price. Some of the finest products of his genius had a place in this volume, such as *The Cotter's Saturday Night*, *Hallowe'en*, *The Two Dogs*, *The Holy Fair*, *The Vision*, *To a Mouse*, *To a Mountain Daisy*, &c. The book was published more in the hope of raising enough money to enable the poet to pay his passage to the West Indies than with the intention of bringing his name before the public, Burns at this time having got himself into difficulties in connection with his future wife, Jean Armour, and being desirous of leaving the country. Instead of this result, however, the success of the book was such that he gave up thoughts of emigrating, and got a second edition published at Edinburgh the following year. By this time he had been the lion of Edinburgh society for a season, and had impressed all who came in contact with him by his extraordinary powers and personality.

Having made a considerable sum of money by his poems he married Jean Armour, the "bonnie Jean" of his own poems, and settled as a farmer at Ellisland, a farm on the banks of the Nith not far from Dumfries. Fortune did not smile upon him here—probably had he wooed her with more assiduity he would have received more of her favours. However that may be, having first united the occupation of exciseman to that of farmer he finally gave up the latter vocation altogether and retired to Dumfries as an officer of excise. As a man of wit and humour as well as genius, a man whose

brilliance shone all the more in the convivial circle, his society was much sought after, and unfortunately he allowed himself to be too much led away by unworthy or thoughtless associates. The result was that he undermined his constitution, and died on July 21st, 1796, at the early age of thirty-seven.

The period of Burns's greatest poetical activity was from his twenty-fifth to his thirty-first year. The last of his great poems, *Tam o' Shanter*—by some critics considered his masterpiece—was written at the latter age. Many admirable pieces, and more particularly numerous songs, followed this, but many of these latter have but little real weight in determining Burns's place as a poet. The best of Burns's poetry came rushing straight from the fountain of genius, and he is equally strong in humour, satire, pathos, tenderness, and sublimity. Though some of Burns's most racy, vigorous, and picturesque pieces are those in which Scottish words and idioms are freely introduced, yet much of his best poetry is almost purely English in language, as witness the *Cotter's Saturday Night*.

Of other Scottish poets belonging to this period who made use of the vernacular dialect, we may mention the Reverend John Skinner, Episcopal minister of Longside, Aberdeenshire, a correspondent of Burns, and the author of *Tullochgorum*; Alexander Ross, schoolmaster at Lochlee, Forfarshire, author of several popular songs and the pastoral tale of *Helenore, or the Fortunate Shepherdess*; Lady Anne Barnard, authoress of the pathetic ballad, *Auld Robin Gray*; and Miss Jane Elliot, authoress of *The Flowers of the Forest*. Among poets of Scottish nationality who did not use their native dialect the first place must be given to James Thomson (1700-1748), author of *The Seasons*, and *The Castle of Indolence*, besides tragedies and other pieces. He was a son of the parish minister of Ednam, went to London, published, gained powerful friends, and lived for the most part an easy indolent life. The amiable James Beattie, author of *The Minstrel*, and long a professor at Aberdeen; William Falconer, author of *The Shipwreck*; Robert Blair, author of *The Grave*; the good blind poet, Thomas Blacklock, whose approval of Burns's early poems had considerable influence on the bard's career; John Logan, and Michael Bruce may all here receive mention.

Turning to prose literature of the imagination, we find that Scotland occupies no discreditable position. The novel had by this time been represented in England by the masterpieces of Richardson and Fielding, and our own Smollett now appeared to complete the trio of great fictionists of the eighteenth century. Tobias

George Smollett was born in 1721 near the foot of Loch Lomond, and belonged to a family possessing a good landed estate there. He was brought up to the medical profession, and went to the West Indies as surgeon on board a vessel, but though he made one or two attempts to establish himself in practice, he made little by medicine, and supported himself almost entirely by his pen, residing for a great part of his life in London. His literary work was of the most varied character, including history, travel, satire, farce, tragedy, translation, and he also edited newspapers, his connection with one of these costing him a fine of £100 and three months in prison. It is as a novelist that he excels, however, his chief works in this department, being *Roderick Random*, (1748), *Peregrine Pickle* (1751), *Ferdinand, Count Fathom* (1753), and *Humphrey Clinker* (1771). His novels present a series of exceedingly varied and diverting scenes, and his characters are well drawn though marked generally by more or less superficial characteristics. Humour and wit are abundant, but unfortunately so are also passages stained by coarseness and indecency, though we should in regard to this matter remember the taste of the time. Another Scottish novelist of a far different stamp, a faint echo of his model, Sterne, was Henry Mackenzie, author of *The Man of Feeling* (1771)—a dreadfully namby-pamby production—*The Man of the World*, and *Julia de Roubigné*, novels whose day has long gone by.

Scotland also produced some historical writers of great eminence, as well as others who distinguished themselves in the fields of philosophy and theology. David Hume (1711-1776), published the first volume of his *History of Great Britain* in 1754, and the work soon gained the position of a classic, being written in an easy, flowing, elegant style, and forming an exceedingly readable narrative, though displaying little warmth of feeling or sympathy, and not based on original research and consequently lacking in authority. The *History*, notwithstanding the various competitors that have arisen, is still regarded as a standard work, but Hume occupies a higher position as a thinker and philosopher than as a historian, his sceptical or destructive position and incisive criticism of prevalent theories in philosophy, and especially the doctrine of causality, forcing philosophers to reconsider the grounds of their beliefs, and thus giving rise to the Scottish school of philosophy, at the head of which was Reid, and also to the critical philosophy inaugurated by Kant in Germany. His principal philosophical work is his *Enquiry concerning Human Understanding*, along with which should also be mentioned his *Political Discourses*, and *Essays, Moral, Political*,
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and *Literary*. His views on political economy had much influence on Adam Smith, and his opinions in ethical and religious questions gave rise to much discussion and much opposition. His rejection of the possibility of miracles is well known. He was born at Edinburgh, and spent a considerable portion of his life there, though he also sojourned for a time in France and in England. He was personally a most amiable and kind-hearted man, and had as firm friends the most notable men of intellect of whom Scotland could then boast, such as Principal Robertson, Adam Smith, Lord Kames, John Home (author of the redoubtable tragedy of *Douglas*), Adam Ferguson, Sir Gilbert Elliot, and others.¹

Next to Hume as a historian—if indeed he should be placed only next to him—comes the Reverend Dr. William Robertson (1721-1793), a distinguished clergyman of the Scottish Church, and long principal of Edinburgh University, a man whom we have already seen as head of the Moderate party. His chief works are his *History of Scotland during the Reigns of Queen Mary and of King James VI. till his Accession to the Crown of England*, published in 1759 with immediate and great success; his *History of the Reign of Charles V.* (1769); and his *History of America* (1777). A meritorious history of England was written by the Rev. Robert Henry, in which an attempt was made to depict the social life of the people with more fulness than had ever been done before. Smollett also wrote a history of England; and Lord Hailes (Sir David Dalrymple) published his invaluable *Annals of Scotland*, a work based entirely upon personal examination of the original authorities. Here also we may mention James Boswell (1740-1795), author of the immortal biography of Dr. Johnson.

To Scotland belongs the honour of having laid the foundations of the science of political economy through the great work of Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations*, published in 1776. Adam Smith was born at Kirkcaldy in 1723, was educated at Glasgow University and Balliol College, Oxford, and after being professor of

¹ The Rev. Dr. Alexander Carlyle of Inveresk was also intimate with him, and in his *Autobiography* (published in 1860) remarks that though "he had much learning and a fine taste, and was professedly a sceptic, though by no means an atheist, he had the greatest simplicity of mind and manners with the utmost facility and benevolence of temper of any man I ever knew." Carlyle also adds: "I was one of those who never believed that David Hume's sceptical principles had laid fast hold on his mind but thought that his books proceeded rather from affectation of superiority and pride of understanding and love of vainglory," and in confirmation of this view he gives a statement of Hume's to a common friend that though he threw out his speculations to entertain and employ the learned and metaphysical world he did not himself think so differently from the rest of the world as he might seem to do.

moral philosophy at Glasgow for twelve years, and travelling two years on the continent, returned to his native place, and produced his *magnum opus* after ten years of severe study. He was then made a commissioner of customs, and he died in 1790. The *Wealth of Nations* met with great applause from the first, and was by no one more warmly received than by Hume; a long time passed, however, before its arguments were able to make way in regard to matters of national finance and trade, so deeply rooted were the erroneous dogmas that the book sought to overthrow. Its author also wrote on morals, but his importance as an ethical writer was comparatively small.

Among the first to take up a position in antagonism to the scepticism of Hume, and to work out a philosophical system of his own, was Dr. Thomas Reid (1710-1796), a native of Strachan, in Kincardineshire, at first a minister of the Scottish church, then professor of moral philosophy in King's College, Aberdeen, and latterly professor of the same subject in the University of Glasgow. In 1764 he published an *Inquiry into the Human Mind on the Principles of Common Sense*; in 1785 *Essays on the Intellectual Powers of Man*, in 1788 *Essays on the Active Powers of Man*. These works formed a foundation for the doctrines taught by the Scottish or common-sense school of philosophy, doctrines that were intended to take the place of those that had become prominent through the teaching of Berkeley and Hume. The doctrines combated by Reid and his followers are such as that we have no real evidence for the existence of an external world, that we only take its existence for granted, and that we only know ideas or mental impressions. Reid, on the other hand, maintains that our impressions tell us directly that there is an external world, and that the universal impressions of mankind must be held as true without further question. An immediate follower of Reid was Dr. Beattie, the poet of the *Minstrel*, who combated Hume's teaching in his *Essay on the Nature and Immutability of Truth* (1770), while the opinions of the same school were also maintained in a somewhat modified form by Dugald Stewart (1753-1828) and Sir William Hamilton (1786-1856). Hume's attack on miracles called forth a vigorous defence on the part of Dr. George Campbell, professor of divinity, and afterwards principal of Marischal College, Aberdeen, whose able *Dissertation on Miracles* came out in 1762. Principal Campbell is also known for his excellent work on the *Philosophy of Rhetoric*.

Among men of science and learning may be mentioned the names of Dr. John Arbuthnot, the friend of Addison and Pope; Thomas

Ruddiman, the Latinist; Robert Simson, the celebrated mathematician, whose character has been described in a previous page; Dr. William Cullen, who did much for the science of medicine; Joseph Black, renowned in connection with his discovery of "fixed air," or carbonic acid, and the theory of latent heat; the brothers William and John Hunter, who spent most of their lives in London, and whose labours formed an epoch in the history of anatomy; and James Hutton, one of the founders of geology, whose views regarding atmospheric action and the formation of strata are at present those most commonly held. In this century the Edinburgh University became renowned as a medical school through the teaching of Alexander Munro, Cullen, Black, and others. Among travellers of the century James Bruce, "Abysinianian Bruce," of Kinnaird holds a distinguished place, and though he only succeeded in reaching a minor source of the Nile he brought back much valuable information regarding Abyssinia. Mungo Park is another distinguished name in African travel. His first great journey in the Niger region was made before the close of the eighteenth century; his second, in which he lost his life, was made early in the nineteenth.

Among Scottish painters of the eighteenth century we may mention William Aikman, Allan Ramsay (son of the poet), Gavin Hamilton, and Sir Henry Raeburn, who had attained pre-eminence in portraiture among his Scottish competitors years before the close of the century, though he continued to practise his art till 1823. As architects we must mention Robert Adam and his brother James; and as an engraver, Sir Robert Strange.

In the department of mechanical and engineering science Scotland has the great name of James Watt to point to, the man whose inventive genius brought about a revolution in the use of machinery, whose genius, as Sir Walter Scott (who knew him) says¹: "Discovered the means of multiplying our national resources to a degree perhaps even beyond his own stupendous powers of calculation and combination; bringing treasures of the abyss to the summit of the earth—giving the feeble arm of man the momentum of an Afrite—commanding manufactures to arise, as the rod of the prophet produced water in the desert, affording the means of dispensing with that time and tide which wait for no man, and of sailing without that wind which defied the commands and threats of Xerxes himself. This potent commander of the elements," he adds, "this abridger of time and space—this magician whose cloudy machin-

¹ Introduction to *The Monastery*.

ery has produced a change on the world, the effects of which, extraordinary as they are, are perhaps only now beginning to be felt—was not only the most profound man of science, the most successful combiner of powers and calculator of numbers as adapted to practical purposes,—was not only one of the most generally well-informed,—but one of the best and kindest of human beings.” James Watt was born at Greenock in 1736, where his father was a respectable merchant and magistrate. He received a good education, and having adopted the profession of mathematical instrument maker he got an appointment as such to the University of Glasgow. He then set up as an engineer, made surveys for canals and harbours, and at the same time worked at the improvement of the steam engine, which at this time was still a very imperfect piece of mechanism. The great invention of Watt which has had such far-reaching effects was that of the condenser separate from the cylinder, and for this he obtained a patent in 1769. Some years after he joined Mr. Boulton as a partner, and the establishment of Boulton & Watt at Soho, near Birmingham, for many years manufactured steam-engines that achieved a world-wide fame. Watt retired from business in 1800, and occupied his declining years in the various pursuits and studies in which he was interested, till his death took place in 1819 at his residence of Heathfield Hall, Staffordshire.

Not inferior even to Watt in mechanical genius was another Scotsman who latterly became a partner in the firm of Boulton & Watt, and whose name is not so well known as it deserves to be. This was William Murdoch, the son of a millwright near Old Cumnock, and born in 1754. When in Cornwall superintending the erection and fitting of some of Boulton & Watt’s engines, he constructed in 1784 a model high-pressure engine to run on wheels, the precursor of the modern locomotive. He also invented the oscillating engine, and many other useful apparatus and contrivances, but his work as inventor of the system of gas-lighting is his most remarkable achievement. In 1792 he first lighted his offices and cottage at Redruth with gas. In 1798 he constructed an extensive apparatus at Birmingham for the making, storing, and purifying of gas with a view to the supply of factories or other large buildings, and not long after the offices at Soho were lighted by means of this illuminant. It is characteristic of this unassuming, unselfish man that he never sought to patent his great invention, and thus derived no pecuniary benefit from it. He retired from business in 1830, and died in 1839. The first really successful attempts to utilize the steam-engine for purposes of navigation were made in Scotland in the eighteenth century, but this subject may be more suitably treated in connection with Scottish progress in the nineteenth century.

PERIOD XII.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

REIGN OF GEORGE III.—CONTINUED (1801-1820).

Nineteenth century opens gloomily for Britain—Bad harvests and dearth, aggravated by the closing of the ports of Northern Europe—Gloom soon dispelled—Sir Ralph Abercromby sent against the French in Egypt—Forces a landing and gains a brilliant victory, but is mortally wounded—French forced to surrender—Joy at the result—Enthusiastic reception of the 42nd regiment at Edinburgh—Inclination for peace—The peace of Amiens—Brief continuance of peace—Napoleon continues his ambitious projects—Britain declares war—Threatened invasion of Britain—Large volunteer force enrolled—Enthusiasm in Britain—Measures of defence adopted—French fleet defeated by Sir Robert Calder—Great victory by Nelson at Trafalgar relieves Britain from fear of invasion—Scotland's share in Trafalgar—Napoleon's victory at Austerlitz and death of Pitt—Trial of Lord Melville and its interest for Scotsmen—He is acquitted—Character of Melville and his management of Scottish affairs as described by Lord Cockburn—Britain left to oppose Napoleon single-handed—Warlike operations in various parts, more especially in Italy—Victory of Sir John Stuart at Maida—Napoleon overthrows Prussia—Berlin Decree against Britain—Napoleon concludes treaty of Tilsit with Russia, and still further menaces Britain—Danish navy seized by Britain—British order in council and Napoleon's Milan Decree—Napoleon attacks Portugal and seats his brother on the throne of Spain—Britain assists Spain and Portugal, and the Peninsular War begins—Sir Arthur Wellesley (Duke of Wellington)—Sir John Moore—His retreat to Corunna, victory, and death—Wellington again sent to the Peninsula—Crossing of the Douro—Talavera—Busaco—Lines of Torres Vedras—Fuentesde Oñoro—Barossa—Albuera—Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz—Salamanca—Vittoria—War carried into France and finished at Toulouse—Napoleon's great accession of power and his fatal Russian expedition—Overthrown by European coalition and forced to abdicate and retire to Elba—The Walcheren expedition and other British operations—Napoleon leaves Elba and again menaces Europe—Measures taken against him—Wellington and Blücher now his antagonists—Ligny and Quatre Bras—Napoleon overthrown at Waterloo—Account of the battle—Scottish regiments play a distinguished part—Return of 42d to Edinburgh—Peace followed by period of depression and discontent in Scotland—Threatened outbreak—Municipal reform demanded—Death of the king—His character—Particulars regarding the royal family—Successive ministries during this period.

The opening of the nineteenth century upon Britain was dark and lowering. In 1799 a period of dearth from bad harvests had begun, and was general throughout Europe. A still worse harvest succeeded in 1800, so that in the following year provisions in England and Scotland rose to a great price, and starvation in a greater or less degree prevailed in almost every district. In addition to this, the evils of war had deepened around us; and by the "Northern Confederacy," concluded at the end of 1800 by the madman Paul of Russia with Sweden and Denmark, the ports of Russia, Prussia, Denmark, and Sweden, hitherto our granaries in seasons of agricultural depression, were closed against us. It seemed, indeed, as if the hostility of nations had united with the inclemency of the seasons to accomplish the downfall of Britain, or to drive it into the lawlessness and anarchy of the French Revolution. But the people were already disenchanted of their republican dreams,

and although cases of riot and outrage occurred in various parts of England and Scotland, they were trivial compared with the hardships that caused them. But this state of depression did not continue long. The death of the Emperor Paul and the battle of Copenhagen, resulting in the dissolution of the Northern Confederacy, opened the Baltic to British shipping, so that our markets were speedily filled with imported grain, while the harvest of 1801 also was a great improvement on those immediately preceding. A land victory too, a gratification to which our armies had of late been unaccustomed, and the political and commercial prospects it opened up, restored the confidence of the people, and enabled them to look forward with hope.

This victory was gained in Egypt, where a French army still maintained its footing; for Bonaparte, though he had himself returned to France after the battle of the Nile, had not relinquished his plans of Eastern conquests. To

maintain, therefore, her command of the Mediterranean and the possession of her Indian Empire, it was necessary that Britain should make a counter-invasion of Egypt upon an adequate scale. Accordingly a force of 15,000 men under Sir Ralph Abercromby was sent to drive the French out of the country or take them prisoners. The troops effected a landing near Alexandria on the 8th March, 1801, in the face of a heavy fire of musketry and artillery from the enemy, whom they drove from their position at the point of the bayonet. After two skirmishes on subsequent days a decisive action took place on the 21st, when the French under General Menou made a sudden and determined attack on the British, hoping to take them unawares. The fighting was more terrible than any the French had hitherto engaged in. Menou's cavalry was literally destroyed; and after a long and obstinate contest the infantry was completely routed with immense loss, including that of three generals killed. A corps, which like most of the regiments under Menou had formed part of the victorious army of Italy, and which in its pride had taken the vainglorious title of "The Invincibles," was almost annihilated by the famous 42nd regiment, assisted by the 28th. Desperate hand-to-hand fighting with the bayonet took place after ammunition failed; and as the struggle grew fiercer still the combatants wielded the butts of their muskets, and even in some cases man closed with man and measured strength in a determined death-gripe. The British triumph was great and glorious, but was clouded by the loss of brave Sir Ralph, who was mortally wounded in the battle during a charge of the French cavalry. Regardless of the hurt, he would not leave the field till the enemy were in retreat, when he fainted from pain and loss of blood. He was carried on board the admiral's flagship, where he died on the 28th. Sir Ralph was born at Menstrie, Clackmannanshire, and had served in all the important campaigns of the period. He is regarded as the regenerator of the British army, which had fallen into a very unsatisfactory state, and he left behind him a number of officers who had been formed under his commands. Of these the best known is Sir John Moore, who in this battle and in the landing of the British troops rendered splendid services, and eight years after became immortal at Corunna.

This victory proved that whatever might be the case with the soldiers of other nationalities, British soldiers, and Scottish soldiers in particular, could more than hold their own in fair stand-up fight with the best men that France could bring to meet them; and the lesson seems

to have been strongly impressed upon the French in Egypt themselves. So spiritless, indeed, had the French become after the battle of Alexandria, that before Cairo 5000 of their disciplined troops allowed themselves to be beaten and driven off the field by an army, or rather a mob, of ill-trained Turkish soldiers. It was evident that they could no longer keep possession of Egypt, especially when the British reinforcements from India arrived, and the French, to the number of 24,000, capitulated, on condition of being conveyed to France. When tidings of the success of the British reached Edinburgh, the general triumph was mixed with regret for the loss of the victor of Alexandria, whose private worth, as well as his high military achievements, had endeared him to the hearts of his countrymen; and it was deemed fitting that a monument to his memory should be erected in the high church of the Scottish capital. When the gallant 42nd Highlanders arrived—the conquerors of the famed Invincibles—the national enthusiasm of the city was stirred up to a high pitch; and as the crowds looked upon the countenances of the brave mountaineers, now bronzed with the sun of Africa and Asia, they caught ardour and courage for the years of trial that were yet to come and the threats of invasion that were to summon them to resistance. The Egyptian expedition was the only one of the military undertakings planned by Pitt that proved successful; but before it had been brought to so happy a conclusion, and also before the battle of Copenhagen had been gained by Nelson, the premier, who had now been at the helm of the state for seventeen years, had resigned his post and been succeeded by Addington.

The condition of both France and England by this time was such that peace was desirable for both countries. Britain, now without allies on the Continent, could not assail her rival by land, while the latter, with her fleets blockaded in her ports, was unable to encounter her island enemy by sea. In other respects the advantage lay on the side of Britain, whose mercantile shipping had increased nearly one-third since the outbreak of hostilities in 1793, while that of France had been nearly annihilated.¹ The revenue of France, also, notwithstanding her victories and conquests, was still less than it had been previous to the revolution, while that of Britain was nearly doubled. The negotiations for peace, therefore, which had been going on for some time, were listened to more cordially by France after she had been forced to evacuate Egypt, and on the 25th of March, 1802, a defi-

¹ In proof of the growing prosperity of the country at this period, we may mention the fact that the exports of British produce and manufactures had risen from £33,143,000 in 1793 to £48,500,000 in 1802.

nitive treaty of peace, the peace of Amiens, was signed. Great was the joy manifested by both nations when hostilities were thus put a stop to. When the mail carrying the news reached Edinburgh, the populace in token of their joy seized the vehicle, and having taken out the horses dragged it to various parts of the city, such as the lord-provost's house and that of Admiral Duncan. The guns of the castle fired a royal salute, the volunteers mustered and fired a *feu de joie*, and the city was illuminated in the evening. Similar demonstrations were carried out at other places, and in due course formal proclamation of the event was made with pomp and ceremony in London and Edinburgh. A great decrease in the army was now decreed, and it was generally hoped that the peace would be lasting, though many were much less sanguine.

It was soon seen that the peace of Amiens was nothing but a truce, and that Bonaparte had never meant it to be anything else. In May, 1802, he was made "First Consul" for life, with the right of naming his successor, and being now absolute ruler of France, he determined to go onwards in his career of conquest. But Britain must first be crushed. Accordingly he persisted in keeping his troops in Holland, contrary to the treaty of Amiens, and in the French and Dutch ports made open preparations for invasion, while he extended the French dominions further by the addition of Switzerland and part of Italy. Notwithstanding these proceedings, he demanded that Malta should be evacuated by Britain, as had been arranged at the peace, and when Britain refused he grossly insulted the British ambassador. As he refused to make amends, the result was that in May, 1803, after fourteen short months of peace, war was declared by Britain against France, a step that evoked the utmost enthusiasm in the former country. The designs of Bonaparte being seen through gave rise to universal alarm, and it was thought better to endure at once the stern realities of war than live a prey to doubt and uncertainty.

The first blow that Napoleon struck was at the commercial prosperity of Britain, and the means adopted for this was by occupying Hanover, seizing the great trading cities of Bremen and Hamburg, and closing the Elbe and Weser against British trade, while British home and colonial produce, even if brought in neutral vessels, was to be excluded from French ports. His next step was to be the invasion of Britain itself, and in order to accomplish this, an army of 150,000 men and a great flotilla of flat-bottomed boats, besides other vessels, were assembled at Boulogne.

In England an excitement similar to that of the days of the Armada prevailed, and corresponding preparations were made to meet the crisis. Besides the regular troops under arms, volunteers enrolled themselves with eager haste, and soon amounted in number to 335,000 men. Scotland naturally was not behind England in such an emergency, and arming and drilling was everywhere the order of the day. Before the end of 1803 36,000 Scottish volunteers were enrolled, and as an instance of the enthusiasm that prevailed, we may mention that one Edinburgh battalion of 550 men had its number made up in three and a half hours from the time of opening the books, and that the city of Aberdeen raised a battalion of 800 men in eight days. Each town and village contributed its quota of patriotic defenders of hearth and home, and meetings were everywhere held, at which were discussed the best measures to be adopted. And the clergy were not behind the laity, since the presbytery of Edinburgh, for example, on the ground that "by law ministers are exempted from those personal services which are, in this most interesting crisis of public affairs, required of others, unanimously resolved to offer a bounty for encouraging able-bodied men to enlist in his majesty's service." All the land forces of Scotland were put under the command of the Earl of Moira. A sea-fencible force to serve ashore or afloat was also embodied both in Scotland and England, this being intended to comprise all fishermen and others occupied in connection with the shores or harbours of the country, who, from the nature of their occupations, were not liable to be impressed for service in the fleet. Batteries and other works were erected at different points on the coast, and a system of signals established, in order that, should the enemy land, his presence might be immediately proclaimed far and wide. The greatest exertions, however, were devoted to the strengthening of the naval force of the country, Britain's first line of defence, which, it was hoped, would be able to keep the soil of Britain from being profaned by the presence of a foreign foe. The only chance, indeed, for the French to effect a successful landing was to distract the attention of the British admirals, and to get together such a naval force as would give themselves at least a temporary command of the Channel. Of this there was some prospect after Spain had joined France (in 1804), and when the large Spanish fleet was united to that already at Napoleon's command. But after a Franco-Spanish fleet had been defeated by Sir Robert Calder (a Scottish admiral), with the loss of two of its best ships, Napoleon (now emperor)

suddenly withdrew his army from Boulogne, and the great and crowning victory of Trafalgar, which followed soon after, utterly dashed to the ground any hope Napoleon may have cherished of leading a conquering army over the fair fields of England.

The battle of Trafalgar was fought on the 21st October, 1805. The enemy numbered 33 ships of the line and 5 frigates, while the British fleet consisted of 27 line of battle ships and 4 frigates. Details of the struggle cannot here be given; sufficient to say that the combined fleets were crushed, nineteen ships being taken and one blown up, while 20,000 prisoners fell into the hands of the British. Soon after, five French and Spanish ships that had escaped were taken and others were wrecked. Hardly a vessel of the whole 33 was ever seen afloat again, and the French naval power was henceforth of little account during the war. The fears of invasion were thus dispelled at a stroke. The public mind of Britain, so long in a state of painful tension, was restored to comparative tranquillity, but the price was the life of Britain's greatest naval hero. The rejoicings throughout the country were adequate to the occasion, but joy was mingled with grief. Nelson was buried in St. Paul's, and monuments to his memory were erected in many a town, Edinburgh and Glasgow among the number. Money was liberally contributed both by corporations and private individuals for the relief of the relatives of the seamen and marines that had fallen in the glorious battle, and in this benevolent movement Scotland took its due share, as her sons had also done in the victory. The Scotsman of most note who was present at Trafalgar was Admiral the Earl of Northesk, who commanded the *Britannia*, a ship of 100 guns, one of the three largest vessels in the victorious fleet. Another Scottish admiral of this period, who rendered numerous important services, but whose name is not, like that of Admiral Duncan, associated with any outstanding exploit, was Lord Keith, a member of the Marischal family, whose chiefs had been outlawed for their connection with the rebellion of 1715.

A few months after the battle of Trafalgar, Napoleon at Austerlitz, December 2, 1805, had completely defeated the combined Austrian and Russian armies; had thus shattered the new league of nations that Pitt had been able to raise up against him, and had made himself dominant in Europe as the head of the Confederation of the Rhine. Austerlitz proved a death-blow to Pitt, who was already in failing health, and now looked forward with foreboding upon the dangers that he dreaded for his country. He died on January 23, 1806, having

guided the destinies of Britain almost continuously since 1783. At his death he was again premier, the ineffective ministry of Addington having not long survived the renewal of the war.

The same year an event took place, which though entirely belonging to the domestic history of Britain, was in Scotland and for Scotsmen a matter of as much interest as the battle of Austerlitz itself. This was the impeachment of Henry Dundas, Lord Melville, before the House of Peers. The name of Dundas (he had been raised to the peerage in 1802) was an honoured one in the eyes of his countrymen. He had long been treasurer of the navy, had held the patronage of all places in Scotland in his hand, and was at present first lord of the admiralty. Not only had his political character and the general estimate of his abilities stood deservedly high, but as already mentioned, he had also used his great influence for the benefit of his country, and had procured comfortable appointments for many of its well-born but penniless sons. It was no light circumstance, therefore, for the Scotsmen of the day, that such a man should be accused of high crimes and misdemeanours—more especially when the charges were mingled with abundance of national dislike and aspersion on the part of the people of England. Lord Melville stood impeached in Westminster Hall of having, while treasurer of the navy, applied to his private use and profit public money intended for the naval service; of having authorized his paymaster to draw large sums of public money from the Bank of England, and use the same for his private purposes; and of having got from the paymaster a share of the large sums that he had thus drawn from the bank. Such was the substance of the ten charges contained in the impeachment of Lord Melville, and the trial began on April 29, 1806. It lasted fifteen days, with the result that his lordship was acquitted of all the charges, the majorities in his favour being generally large, and the peers being on one of the charges quite unanimous. His acquittal was the cause of much rejoicing in Scotland, and was the occasion of many congratulatory addresses and public entertainments. Lord Melville did not again hold any political office, though he continued to interest himself in public affairs. He died suddenly at Edinburgh, 28th May, 1811.

Regarding this great Scotsman, and the Scotland of his day, we may quote the following interesting and appreciative remarks from Lord Cockburn:—"The whole country was managed by the undisputed and sagacious energy of a

single native, who knew the circumstances and the wants, and the proper bait, of every countryman worth being attended to. Henry Dundas, the first Viscount Melville, was the Pharo of Scotland. Who steered upon him was safe; who disregarded his light was wrecked. It was to his nod that every man owed what he had got and looked for what he wished. Always at the head of some great department of the public service, and with the indirect command of places in every other department; and the establishments of Scotland, instead of being pruned, multiplying; the judges, the sheriffs, the clergy, the professors, the town-councillors, the members of parliament and of every public board, including all the officers of the revenue, and shoals of commissions in the military, the naval, and the Indian service, were all the breath of his nostril. This despotism was greatly strengthened by the personal character and manners of the man. Handsome, gentlemanlike, frank, cheerful, and social, he was a favourite with most men and with all women. Too much a man of the world not to live well with his opponents when they would let him, and totally incapable of personal harshness or unkindness, it was not unnatural that his official favours should be confined to his own innumerable and insatiable partisans. With such means, so dispensed, no wonder that the monarchy was absolute. But no human omnipotence could be exercised with a smaller amount of just offence. . . . The miserable condition of our political institutions and habits made this country a noble field for a patriotic statesman who had been allowed to improve it. But this being then impossible, for neither the government nor a majority of the people wished for it, there was no way of managing except by patronage. Its magistrates and representatives, and its other base and paltry materials, had to be kept in order by places for which they did what they were bidden; and this was really all the government that the country then admitted of. . . . He was the very man for Scotland at that time, and is a Scotchman of whom his country may be proud. Skilful in parliament, wise and liberal in council, and with an almost unrivalled power of administration, the usual reproach of his Scotch management is removed by the two facts that he did not make the bad elements he had to work with, and that he did not abuse them; which last is the greatest praise that his situation admits of."

After the battle of Austerlitz and the peace of Pressburg, Britain was left for a time to maintain the contest against France single-handed. In 1806 her military operations took a wide range, embracing Italy, Sicily, Portugal,

the Cape of Good Hope, the East and West Indies, and South America. One of the most noteworthy achievements accomplished in the year just mentioned was in the kingdom of Naples, the royal family of which had been driven out by Napoleon in order to provide a throne for his brother Joseph. Here a British force of some 5000 men was landed under the command of Sir John Stuart, who on July 6 gave battle at Maida to 7000 French veterans under General Regnier. Some of our soldiers had never yet been under fire, while most of them had seen little; but they nevertheless advanced to the bayonet charge with such resolution that the French wavered, and then turned and fled, being overtaken and cut down with dreadful slaughter. Their total loss was estimated at 4000 men. This, compared with the great events of European warfare, was but a skirmish, and was attended with no immediate results of value, but the moral effects of the battle of Maida, like those of Alexandria, were of the utmost importance in the land battles to which our armies were soon after to be summoned. That it was an action requiring public recognition was seen by the authorities at home, and the thanks of the House of Lords as well as of the Commons were unanimously accorded to the victors of Maida, while a pension of £1000 a-year was settled upon Sir John for "the brilliant and important victory" which he and his troops had gained.

The career of the French emperor continued with gigantic strides. Having prostrated Austria in one short campaign he turned upon Prussia, which soon experienced a similar fate. He entered upon the campaign with his usual profound calculation and his usual rapidity of execution; and the battles of Jena and Auerstadt, by which the armies of Prussia were cut down to a handful of 8000 fugitive soldiers, reduced this kingdom to a more degraded condition than even Austria. Her strong fortresses were seized; her capital was occupied by the French; and a contribution equivalent to nearly twelve millions sterling was forthwith imposed upon the country. When in the Prussian capital, Napoleon aimed a blow at Britain's commercial power by the publication of the famous Berlin Decree. Of all his enemies Britain was the most hated, because the most formidable and the most unapproachable. It had confronted him more or less directly in all his movements, subsidized every power that was at war with him, destroyed his navy, and blockaded his ports. But this Berlin Decree was to be a full requital. By it the British islands were declared to be in a state of blockade. All traffic or communication with them was prohibited;

all British property or merchandise found in any country under the control of France was to be confiscated; and all British subjects residing there were to be made prisoners of war. Men laughed at the idea of blockading such an island as Britain, but when a great number of the European ports were closed to our traffic matters became serious enough, and would have been still more so could the large contraband traffic have been prevented. This, however, was found to be impossible, and a system of granting trading licenses was adopted.

Still another step was taken against us by Napoleon in 1807 in accordance with the treaty of Tilsit, concluded with Russia, after that power had suffered severely at the hands of Napoleon in the battles of Eylau and Friedland. For not only was Russia to exclude our trade from her harbours, but she was also to join her fleet with those of Denmark and Sweden to aid France in overthrowing Britain's naval supremacy. It was time for Britain to take action and anticipate the threatened blow. Accordingly an expedition set sail from Yarmouth for Copenhagen, comprising 25 sail of the line besides other vessels, and carrying nearly 30,000 troops with siege artillery and stores. Admiral Gambier commanded the fleet, and Lord Cathcart the land forces. Denmark was called on to deliver up her fleet to the keeping of the British government until the danger was over and peace concluded, and it might have been thought that, backed up with such an overwhelming force, the demand would have been agreed to. But instead of this the Danes stood to their defence, and Copenhagen was bombarded by sea and land for four days before they would give in. The British thus got possession of seventeen ships of the line, besides a number of others of smaller size, and a vast quantity of naval stores and ordnance. The small island of Heligoland was also taken possession of by Britain, being valuable at this conjuncture as a *dépôt* for British manufactures, colonial goods, and other merchandise, which could be smuggled up the estuaries of the neighbouring rivers and conveyed into the interior of the Continent in defiance of the Berlin Decree. Denmark naturally enough became an ally of France, and declared war against Britain, but the powerful Danish navy being secured the Danes could now do us comparatively little harm.

As a reply to Napoleon's Berlin Decree Britain issued an "order in council," declaring that vessels trading with French ports, or ports under French control, were liable to be captured and condemned as lawful prizes, and subsequently the whole French coast, and the ports of the countries occupied by the French, were proclaimed to be

in a state of blockade. As a fresh measure aimed against our commerce, Bonaparte issued towards the end of 1807 his famous Milan Decree, proclaiming all merchant vessels of whatever nation that should submit to our orders in council to be lawful prizes to the French.

Shortly before this last decree, the refusal of Portugal to take action against Britain by complying with the Berlin Decree had led to this small and weak state being overrun by the French, and to the announcement in Napoleon's official journal, the *Moniteur*, that the house of Braganza had ceased to reign. Spain was the next victim, and not undeservedly so, so far at least as her rulers were concerned, who had aided in the downfall of Portugal. With little difficulty Napoleon was able to seat his brother Joseph on the ancient and illustrious Spanish throne. But though the country was occupied the people were not subdued, and speedily rose against their oppressors, calling on Britain for aid, but at the same time showing that they could do something for themselves by their brave and successful resistance to the French at the siege of Saragossa, and by the defeat of a French army at Baylen. Portugal also rose against the French, and the grand struggle known as the Peninsular war began, and with it the train of events that ended in Napoleon's final overthrow.

The hero of this great conflict, as we need hardly remind our readers, was the Duke of Wellington, who began under the title of Sir Arthur Wellesley, and was as yet chiefly known by the successes he had achieved in India. He landed at Mondego Bay in Portugal on August 1, 1808, and after defeating a French force at Rolica gained a much more important victory over the French general Junot at Vimeiro. Immediately after this Sir Arthur was superseded in the supreme command, and when a much more severe blow could have been inflicted on the French the convention of Cintra was signed, allowing them to evacuate Portugal with their baggage and stores, and to be conveyed to France in our own vessels.

The next step in the war was taken by the appointment of Sir John Moore to the command of an army of 20,000 men, to be employed in the northern provinces of Spain, and to co-operate with the Spanish armies in the expulsion of the French from the kingdom. He entered Spain towards the end of 1808 from Portugal, advanced to Salamanca, and from that place, encouraged by the representations of the Spaniards and also of the British minister, pressed onward towards Madrid to relieve the capital, now threatened by the French. But

Madrid surrendered without a blow, and Sir John, finding that he had been allured into the heart of the country by fallacious promises, and that the French with Napoleon at their head were about to envelop him with an overwhelming force, was reduced to the hazardous expedient of a retreat to the coast. And seldom was a retreat performed under such difficulties, or attended with such privations and sufferings. He was indeed reinforced by about 10,000 men under Sir David Baird, who had been sent to Corunna with troops from England; but his force was still too weak to cope successfully with his antagonist's, and he lost many men by cold, hunger, and the constant attacks of the French, while the dastardly Spaniards hindered rather than helped the retreating army. At last Sir John reached Corunna, to which place British transports came round from Vigo to embark his army; but hither also came Soult, who had followed Moore in hot pursuit, having received express commands from Napoleon to drive the British into the sea. Sir John, seeing battle inevitable, prepared for a parting blow, although his army, spiritless and toil-worn, was now reduced to 14,000 men, while Soult had at least 20,000 veterans, in good trim and eager for the combat. Moore having made his arrangements with the utmost care and skill, cheered his drooping regiments with soldierly encouragements, and roused the spirit of the gallant 42nd with the short and pithy exhortation, "Highlanders, remember Egypt!" And well did the brave countrymen of Sir John remember his words, as was proved by their deeds on that glorious day. Napoleon's best general was defeated, his troops were broken and scattered, and the British army was embarked in safety. But their gallant and beloved general, mortally wounded by a cannon-ball, was carried into Corunna by his sorrowing Highlanders, after he had been gladdened by the assurance that his soldiers were victorious. He was buried at midnight on the rampart of the citadel of Corunna, amid the throng and hurry of departure. The battle was fought on the 16th January, 1809. Sir David Baird, a Scottish soldier who had already distinguished himself in India, was in command of the 42nd at the beginning of the action, but soon received a wound which compelled him to quit the field and cost him an arm.

In March, 1809, Sir Arthur Wellesley again received the chief command of the British forces in the Peninsula, and having arrived at Lisbon was able to take the field with an army of about 25,000 men, including a number of Portuguese. His first exploit was the crossing of the Douro at Oporto, in order to attack the French, who were under the command of Soult. The Douro

is a wide, deep, and rapid stream, and Wellesley's means of transport were very defective, while the opposite bank was defended by 10,000 French, left there by Soult, who himself was in leisurely retreat. Nevertheless a large portion of the British army had crossed the river and established themselves before the enemy were aware of their purpose, and the French were immediately driven out of Oporto; while the whole loss sustained by the British in this brilliant affair was only twenty-three killed and ninety-six wounded. Wellesley then gave chase to Soult, whom he drove into Spain with the loss of cannon, ammunition, baggage, and military chest. Although far from receiving the support that he was entitled to expect from both Portuguese and Spaniards, he advanced into Spain by way of the valley of the Tagus, and on July 28 fought the important battle of Talavera, forty-five miles west of Toledo, where the French were commanded by Joseph Bonaparte, the king of Spain, in person, and under him the marshals Jourdan and Victor. The British army on this occasion amounted to nearly 20,000 men, their allies the Spaniards, who lent scarcely any aid at all, to about 34,000, while the French army consisted of 50,000 well-trained soldiers, accustomed to victory wherever they fought. The combat, which began in the evening of the 27th July, was not decided till the evening of the following day. The French lost in killed and wounded about 7000 men or more, while the British loss was nearly 5000. As a reward for this important victory Sir Arthur was raised to the peerage as Baron Donro and Viscount Wellington.

Adhering now to his original purpose of defending Spain in Portugal, Wellington entrenched himself upon the frontiers of the latter kingdom, having, with reinforcements, only 25,000 men under his command, while Masséna, one of Napoleon's best generals, by whom he was now opposed, was at the head of 70,000 well-trained soldiers, fresh from a successful campaign in Germany. Here Wellington stood firm but passive, as the army he commanded was the only stake upon which for the present the fate of the Peninsula depended, while the Spaniards reproached him for his timidity and the British for his inertness; the Portuguese for their part, unable to understand the profound sagacity of the plans by which he effectually protected their country, opposed his measures and plotted to counteract them. At length, after retreating before the advance of Masséna, he resolved to give battle upon the rugged range of the Sierra de Busaco, where he took up his ground with admirable skill. Masséna, himself a mountaineer, and whose military fame had first

been established by successful mountain warfare, now advanced, in the full hope of driving the British into the sea, as his emperor had commanded; and on the 27th of September, 1810, the battle of Busaco was fought. His army numbered 72,000 men, while that of Wellington consisted of about 50,000, a large portion being Portuguese. The French made a fierce attack on the British position, but were beaten back with the loss of 2000 killed and nearly twice that number wounded, though in addition to their far-famed leader they were officered by Ney, Regnier, and Loison, men of high reputation as officers. The loss of the allied army was in all about 1300. Masséna had thus received a severe check but was still greatly superior in numbers, and Wellington, according to his pre-arranged plan, fell back within the famous Lines of Torres Vedras, a double line of works, which he had already constructed, running from the Tagus to the sea, and comprising 100 redoubts or forts, mounted with more than 600 pieces of artillery. Here he remained for a time, keeping guard over the Portuguese capital and getting supplies without difficulty, having the city and port of Lisbon in his rear. Masséna came up and reconnoitred the fortifications of Torres Vedras, found them little to his liking, and by and by retired into winter quarters. After having wasted and eaten up the country so that he could no longer remain where he was, Masséna was compelled to retreat, while Wellington, who had received reinforcements from Britain, followed closely after him into Spain, beating the French whenever they attempted to make a stand. The two generals met again on May 5, 1811, at Fuentes de Oñoro (just within the Spanish frontier), and considering that the French numbered 45,000, while the allied army was only 30,000 strong, it was honourable for the latter that the event was a drawn battle, and that Masséna was foiled in his attempt to relieve Almeida. Meanwhile a brilliant victory had been gained in the south of Spain over the the French who were blockading Cadiz, on the 5th of March. Here General Graham, afterwards Lord Lynedoch (a soldier of whom Scotland has reason to be proud), had a desperate struggle with Marshal Victor for possession of the heights of Barossa. These heights were carried by the British bayonets, and in less than an hour and a half Victor was in full retreat. It was one of the hardest battles ever fought in the Peninsula or in any other part of the world. Graham, who went into the action with only 4000 men, lost 1243 in killed and wounded; while the loss of Victor out of his 8000 men was estimated at more than 3000. For this action Graham received the thanks of both

houses of parliament, and he also got the offer of a Spanish dukedom. General Graham, we may remark, had lived the life of a country gentlemen till he was forty-five years of age, and then entered the army as a volunteer. On May 16th the bloody battle of Albuera was fought, the British commander here being Marshal Beresford, whose object was to check Soult in his advance to the relief of Badajoz. Soult had an army of 20,000 veterans, while Beresford, though his force consisted of 30,000, had only some 7000 British troops that he could depend upon. In four hours the allies lost 7000 men in killed and wounded, while their antagonists lost from 8000 to 9000.

The most important events of the war, in the early months of 1812, were the successful sieges of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz, in connection with which Wellington's movements were so rapid and decisive, that the French generals found themselves completely outstripped in their own favourite mode of warfare. Then followed the victory of Salamanca (July 22), gained by Wellington over Marmont, who had been sent by Bonaparte to supersede Masséna. On this occasion both leaders had about 40,000 men under their command, and the result was that the French were utterly defeated, with the loss of 7000 prisoners and an immense number of killed and wounded, while the loss of the allies in killed and wounded was about 5000. This victory opened the road to Madrid, which Wellington entered in triumph, while King Joseph and his court fled to Valencia. But want of means to carry on further aggressive measures now stopped Wellington's advance, and he withdrew his army in safety into winter quarters at Ciudad Rodrigo by a series of masterly manœuvres in the face of a superior enemy. Though he had fallen back from his former advanced position, Wellington was full of hope that he should soon clear the whole Peninsula of the French, for Napoleon, who was now entangled in the difficulties of his Russian expedition, could spare no reinforcements for Spain or Portugal. The seat of war, therefore, was soon transferred once more to the former country, and King Joseph, who mustered all his resources for the defence of his tottering crown, halted with an army of 72,000 French soldiers to encounter the advancing British at Vittoria, in the north of Spain. Here, on June 21, 1813, a pitched battle was fought, and the French were as completely routed as afterwards at Waterloo, Joseph himself having barely escaped being taken prisoner, while his artillery, his stores, his baggage, his well-filled money-chests, became the prize of the victors. Soult, who had been previously called away to look after Na-

napoleon's interests in Germany, was now sent back once more to Spain, in the hope that his tried abilities would re-establish the cause of France in that country; but all his efforts were foiled, and Wellington, after having taken San Sebastian and Pamplona, drove him across the frontier into France, and followed closely on his track. Thus was France invaded in turn, and invaded from a country in which her conquests had been the easiest and her iniquities the most flagrant. Then followed the battles of the Nivelle, the Nive, and Orthes, in which Soult was compelled to fight for the safety of France itself upon French territory, and to fight in vain. The final life-and-death conflict at Toulouse (April 10, 1814) ended as the others had done, in favour of the British, and their shouts of triumph were mingled with tidings of the fall of Napoleon and the restoration of the Bourbon dynasty.

To explain how this last result had come about, a few words regarding the doings of Napoleon in the interval are necessary. Unable to calculate upon the fierce resistance of the people of Spain, though deprived of natural leaders or head; despising the military capacity of the British; and above all unable to foresee that the "Sepoy general," as he disdainfully termed Wellington, only needed a sufficient field to display his abilities as a military leader, he had looked upon the Peninsula as so completely his own, that any rising of the people he thought would be a mere popular outburst, and the aid of Britain itself one of those transient interferences which of late years had been so unprofitable and unsuccessful. He therefore turned, without doubt or misgiving, to his plans of universal conquest, of which the success was so great as to make him careless of the Peninsular disasters. But these were not lost upon his enemies, who saw in them that he was not invincible, and their remembrance was treasured up as an incentive to fresh resistance when a fitting opportunity should offer. It was in the beginning of 1809 that Bonaparte left Spain and proceeded to attack Austria, which had thought herself strong enough to resume operations against him. Here victory followed him as before; Vienna had to admit him as a conqueror, and by the battle of Wagram Austria was completely reduced to subjection, and had to agree to the humiliating treaty of Vienna. The years 1810 and 1811 were those of Napoleon's greatest power. His empire then extended from the frontiers of Denmark to those of Naples, with Paris, Rome, and Amsterdam as its first, second, and third capitals. Spain was almost to be regarded as a French province, while Prussia and Austria were completely cowed. He now forced a quarrel upon Russia, and his invasion

of that country and the consequent destruction of his great army proved his ruin. Returning to his capital from Moscow, he immediately ordered a fresh conscription, still determined upon continuing the war. But the spirit of Europe was now fairly roused. Kings, princes, ecclesiastics, and peoples rose unanimously against the devastator of the Continent, the terror of whose name had been destroyed by his terrible reverse. A fresh coalition, consisting of Prussia, Russia, Sweden, Spain, and Britain, was formed, which early in 1813 sent its forces towards the Elbe. Napoleon could still muster an army of 350,000 in Germany. For some months he was everywhere victorious. He defeated the allies at Lützen and Bautzen, and even after they had been joined by Austria he was successful in the three days' battle of Dresden, which, however, was a dearly bought victory for the French. Yielding to the numbers brought against him, he was compelled to fall back upon Leipzig. There he was completely hemmed in, and in the great Battle of Nations, which was fought on the 16th, 18th, and 19th October, he was completely defeated. The retreat was almost as disastrous as that from Moscow. With a fertility of resource and a genius for combination almost miraculous, he was able, however, to enter upon another campaign, which was this time to be conducted in France. From January to March (1814) he confronted the combined forces of the allies, inflicting defeat after defeat upon them. But numbers were against him, and the new and formidable enemy Wellington was rapidly advancing upon the capital from the south. At last Wellington and the allies entered Paris, and on the 4th April Napoleon abdicated. By the treaty of Paris, signed May 30th, 1814, nothing was left him but the title of emperor, the little island of Elba on which to exercise a mock sovereignty, a guard of 400 soldiers, and a revenue of six millions of francs. The brother of Louis XVI. became King of France under the title of Louis XVIII. France was reduced within the same boundaries as she had had in 1792. Wellington was rewarded with a dukedom and a sum of £400,000, and other officers had also their services recognized.

The affairs connected with the Peninsular war were by far the most important in which Britain had been engaged during the struggle of the nations against Napoleon, and were those from which she had derived by far the most glory. Her activity, however, had embraced other parts of Europe, as well as various extra-European lands. In 1809 the disastrous affair of the Walcheren Expedition had taken place, an expedition sent to the island of that name on the south-west coast of Holland. It was

aimed against Napoleon's efforts to turn Antwerp and Flushing into great naval arsenals, whence he hoped to send forth an invading force against England. A most incompetent commander of the force of 40,000 men, the Earl of Chatham (Pitt's elder brother), was assisted by an incapable naval leader, Admiral Sir Richard Strachan. They lost time in taking Flushing when they should have struck rapidly and struck hard at Antwerp; and when Flushing was taken, Antwerp had been made unassailable by defensive works on the Scheldt and a powerful garrison. The British force lost men terribly by ague and fever in the Walcheren marshes, and in November the remains of the army returned to England. Thousands of lives and many millions of pounds had been flung away for nothing, while Wellington sorely needed men and money in Spain. A British force also was kept with its headquarters in Sicily, and not only kept the French from gaining that island, but also helped to harass them in Italy and Spain. In 1812 war unfortunately broke out with the United States, having taken its origin in the British orders in council already mentioned, under which we claimed the right of searching neutral vessels for French goods or for war material intended for the use of the French. Great Britain also claimed the right of searching American merchant vessels, and of impressing for the naval service British seamen that might be found on board them. The orders in council were revoked, so far as the United States were concerned, in June, 1812, but the American government had already proclaimed war. This war continued with varying success for nearly three years, during which the Americans made a vain attempt at the conquest of Canada, and the British were repulsed in several attacks on the maritime towns, suffering most severely at New Orleans, though they had taken and set fire to Washington. In the numerous sea-fights that took place the Americans, owing to particular circumstances, had frequently the advantage; but the tide of success seemed turning when peace was concluded in December, 1814.

Britain, Europe, the world was now at peace, and there seemed good grounds for belief that the peace might be lasting. In Scotland and England as elsewhere the close of hostilities was welcomed with the rejoicings usual on such occasions—bonfires, illuminations, triumphal arches, the firing of cannon, and the like. As nothing but the general principles of the new peace had been settled by the treaty of Paris, a congress of the allied sovereigns and their representatives assembled at Vienna for the purpose of adjusting national boundaries and

renewing national alliances, which had been equally disturbed by the events of the late war. Harmony was soon disturbed by the selfish interests that came into play, and the discussion of the diverse views of the great powers seemed to be on the eve of producing new quarrels, when the astounding news was received by the august assembly that Napoleon had broken his solemn engagements, had escaped from his narrow insular dominion, and had landed at Cannes on the 1st of March (1815) with the intention of repossessing himself of his former empire. He was received with joy by multitudes of the populace, most of his old soldiers joined him without hesitation, and without an effort he stepped once more into the throne of France, which the hasty flight of Louis XVIII. had left vacant for his occupation. There was no longer a word of quarrel between the allied sovereigns, who at once proceeded to concert measures against their dreaded foe. Napoleon was declared to be an outlaw, and a resolution was agreed on to maintain a million soldiers in arms, if need be, for his destruction. The armies of the nations were again marched towards France, the British under Wellington and the Prussians under Blücher being first in the field, their intention being to invade France on the Belgian frontier.

Napoleon acted with great rapidity, and his plans were skilfully conceived. As he was considerably inferior in numbers to the British and Prussian armies taken together, his object was to attack and crush them separately. On the 16th June he attacked in person the Prussians at Ligny, and gained his last battle, Blücher being defeated, though able to make an orderly retreat. On the same day Ney encountered the British at Quatre-Bras, and attempted to drive Wellington from this position, but was himself defeated and forced to retreat. Wellington, however, had to fall back in order to keep open his communication with Blücher, and he took up his position a few miles from the village of Waterloo and awaited Napoleon's attack. Here on the 18th June, 1815, one of the most decisive of the world's great battles was fought. The French army consisted of about 72,000 veterans, the survivors of Napoleon's victories, and now headed once more by their great commander, whose presence they had been accustomed to regard as a certain pledge of victory. On the other hand, although the army of Wellington numbered about 70,000 men, it was considered by him "the worst army ever brought together." Of the total number only a third were British and might be relied on (many of our best soldiers were at this time in America). The rest of his troops consisted

of men of different nationalities, to a large extent still untried in war, and therefore unfit to be hazarded in combat against an equal number of the enemy, while of the Netherlanders among them many sympathized with the French. In guns also Wellington was greatly inferior, as he had only 120 pieces of cannon, while his adversary had 270—Napoleon having thus a vast superiority in that arm which he was most skilful in using, and by which he had mainly achieved his greatest victories. By these disparities the movements of the two parties were principally regulated; so that while the aim of Bonaparte was to crush his opponents by rapid onsets made with great bodies of men, or to sweep them off the field, the aim of Wellington was to stand firm on the defensive and stubbornly maintain his ground. If this could be done successfully for a few hours, Blücher and the Prussians, who were at Wavre, only ten miles off, might arrive in time for his relief, although Grouchy, with 34,000 French, had been detached by the emperor to keep them in check. Wellington had previously studied the features of the battle-field, and in drawing up his army he turned his knowledge to the best account. His troops were drawn up on a range of gentle eminences called the heights of Mont St. Jean, extending about a mile and a half from east to west, and intersected by roads leading to Brussels. In his rear was the Forest of Soignies, that might form a shelter and rallying point in the event of a repulse; in the front of his right centre the villa, gardens, and farm-yard of Hougomont formed a strong advanced post; while another occupied post in his front was the farm of La Haye Sainte. The French occupied a series of heights opposite the British, there being a shallow valley from 500 to 800 yards wide between them.

In the midst of a general cannonade Napoleon began the battle, between eleven and twelve o'clock, by advancing a strong body of men against Wellington's right, the first object being to gain possession of Hougomont. The adjacent orchard was taken by the French, but notwithstanding incessant efforts the house, garden, and farm-offices were held by the British during the whole day, the place and its surroundings becoming a dreadful scene of carnage. About two o'clock four columns of French infantry under Ney advanced against the British centre. Their attack was supported by an onslaught of cavalry, who were repulsed by the British cavalry, while the infantry, after forcing their way to the centre of the British position, were broken by an attack of the British infantry assisted by a charge of heavy cavalry. The French columns were

broken and more than 2000 men made prisoners. This was followed by repeated attacks on the allied centre and right, the French cuirassiers and the light and heavy cavalry of the guard being hurled against the British squares without success. The soldiers of Wellington held their ground, and though they suffered severely, especially from the cannonade of the enemy, the slaughter among their assailants was as great or greater. Between four and five the Prussians from Wavre began to show themselves on the right flank and rear of the enemy, thus creating a diversion in favour of Wellington. Napoleon, aware that Blücher was approaching with the rest of his troops, now resolved to make another desperate attack upon the centre of the allied forces, and for this purpose collected ten battalions of the old and middle guards, which made the onset in two successive columns, supported by flank attacks of other troops. Wellington, having brought together all the men he could, quietly awaited the approach of the French, and as soon as the dense columns had arrived within a short distance he opened upon them so murderous a fire that they fairly recoiled, being immediately assailed by the British and forced down the slope. A general movement of advance was now made on the allied side, and the arrival of the Prussians in full force decided the battle. The defeat of the French soon became an utter and disastrous rout, in which every man tried to save himself as best he could. Bonaparte fled along with other fugitives. The allies soon entered Paris, and the affairs of France and Europe were settled as they deemed good. This time care was taken that Napoleon should never again disturb the quiet of nations. The losses on both sides in the Waterloo campaign were enormous, more especially on the side of the French, whose army, indeed, was annihilated.

After particulars of the crowning glory of Waterloo had reached Scotland, the national pride was highly gratified when it was found that the Scottish regiments had borne themselves so gallantly in the thickest of the fray, and had added fresh laurels to those with which they had already been crowned. And indeed there was much cause for this honourable complacency, since our regiments, besides earning the enthusiastic commendations of our allies, had extorted the applause of their opponents by their deeds on the bloody field of Waterloo. That splendid regiment of heavy cavalry, the Scots Greys, had attracted the attention of Napoleon himself early in the day, and led him to remark: "Look at those grey horses; who are those fine cavalry? They are brave troops, but in half an hour I shall cut them in

pieces." But in this last particular even his military calculation was at fault; the Greys were not cut to pieces, but fought on through the tempest of fire and steel; and when they were thundering after the retreating French, his exclamation is said to have been "How terrible those grey horses are?" The Greys had taken part in a prominent incident in the battle, when they supported their countrymen of the 92nd in a famous charge, carrying all before them, with the ringing war-cry, "Scotland for ever!" Other Scottish regiments who shared in the glories and suffered from the carnage of this terrible day were the 42nd, the 78th, and the 79th. The 42nd, the 78th, and the 92nd had also highly distinguished themselves at Quatre-Bras, and were specially commended by Wellington in his official account of the battle. By the afternoon of the 18th the 92nd regiment could only muster about 200 men, yet they charged and broke into the centre of a body of the enemy ten times as numerous. When the gallant 42nd returned to Scotland in March of the following year, the public had an opportunity of actively testifying their pride in the exploits of a regiment which had covered itself with glory in America, Egypt, and the Peninsula, as well as at Waterloo. They entered Scotland from England, and were welcomed with much enthusiasm by every town and village through which their route lay. As they approached Edinburgh, the road was so thronged with people who had come to meet them that their march from Piershill to the Castle (less than two miles) occupied nearly two hours. Their march through the metropolis of Scotland to the Castle formed a sort of triumphal procession, and was attended probably with far more genuine feeling than had ever greeted the triumph of a Roman general in the ancient capital of the world. The 78th regiment arrived a few days later, and a splendid fête was given in honour of the heroes of both corps, as a slight public recognition of the value of their services to their country.

When the long contest was brought to an end and a lasting peace established, Britain and the other nations, for whom the war had been so costly, obtained a period in which to recruit their resources and try to make a fresh advance in prosperity. England and Scotland, however great the sacrifices which they had been forced to make, had this advantage over most of the continental countries, that they had never been the scene of actual warfare nor seen great armies sweep over their smiling fields. Scotland, indeed, during this period of warfare had been making rapid progress in several directions. True she had been obliged to bear her

share in the money contributions that went to support the armed forces of Britain and its allies, and her stalwart young men had been enlisted and drawn from the country in thousands never more to return to their native land. But still there was consolation mingled with the regret that such sacrifices necessarily caused, a consolation which no nation has ever been insensible until it no longer deserved to be prosperous and free. It was that feeling of patriotism which makes a country rejoice in the valour and devotedness of its people. An unwelcome war had been thrust upon the people of these islands by the ambition and encroachments of France, and as they had not courted it, so neither did they shun it when it came. And wherever a British army had fought during the long and trying war—in Hindostan, in the West Indies, in Egypt, in the Peninsula, the deeds of Scotsmen had gained themselves and their country military renown.

The events of a political character that occurred in Scotland were so few and withal so unimportant from the beginning of the century to the battle of Waterloo, that it is unnecessary to notice them in a historical summary; indeed, they were little noticed even by the people themselves, whose attention was so generally fixed upon the great events taking place upon the Continent, and in which they had such a national and personal interest.

After the close of the war, Scotland in common with England was visited with a period of depression in commerce and manufactures as well as in agriculture; and a large number of persons were thrown out of employment and many reduced to great extremities. This state of matters produced abundance of discontent, and the cry for reform in regard to parliamentary representation, and for various other measures alleged to be of public benefit, made itself loudly heard. To give some idea of the depression that stimulated the popular call for reforms, it may be stated that the price of wheat, which at the beginning of 1816 was 52s. 10d. per quarter, had risen at the end of the year to 112s. 8d. While the price of imported articles also rose, that of our home produce and manufactures fell to a very considerable extent. These were tangible evils that came home to every family and individual, and among their effects, as stated in the petitions of several of the Scottish presbyteries to parliament in 1819 praying for relief, were, that nearly one-half of the weavers were unemployed, and for those who were employed the remuneration was so small that the wages of one man were utterly insufficient for the maintenance of a family

without additional aid; and that, in consequence of this poverty, the education of the children of the lower classes was at a stand, while their parents felt themselves unable to attend public worship from want of decent clothing. This last statement, as emanating from Scotland, proves that there the poverty must have been dire indeed. Among the more extreme advocates for reform some went so far as to demand universal suffrage and annual parliaments, but generally far more moderate measures were deemed sufficient, such as reduction of taxes and the standing army, the abolition of all pensions and sinecures not granted as a reward for public services, a system of rigid economy and retrenchment in every department of state, in addition to a reform of parliament. Demagogues were unscrupulous enough to blame the aristocracy and rulers for wilfully causing the misery of the people. Several persons were tried and punished for sedition, administering unlawful oaths or like offences, and in several places numbers of the populace broke out into actual riot. Such was especially the case at Glasgow, Paisley, and Greenock. Both public and private benevolence came to the rescue of those suffering from want of employment; works were started to give employment to the starving, and such outbreaks of lawlessness as did occur were few compared with the amount of suffering that provoked them, or with those that occurred in England. For a time, however, matters assumed a somewhat threatening aspect, and gave the authorities responsible for the maintenance of the public peace a considerable amount of anxiety. In the end of 1819 a rising in the Glasgow district was feared, and a powerful military force was therefore concentrated in this quarter. Some three hundred of the would-be reformers, or "radicals," as they were generally called, were said to have armed themselves with guns and pikes, and to have started for Glasgow with the intention of joining kindred spirits there, but to have heard that the military were ready for them and gave up their scheme. At one time all the regular troops, both cavalry and infantry, in Edinburgh Castle and Piershill Barracks, together with the Midlothian, Linlithgow, and Stirlingshire yeomanry cavalry, were marched to the west.

There was also about this time a renewed and very vigorous agitation in favour of municipal reform in the Scottish burghs, the generality of which were eager that the *set* or constitution of their particular municipality should be entirely altered. According to the long-established "close" system already referred to, the great body of the inhabitants had no share

in the management of the burgh affairs. The new town-council was generally elected by the old, and the two bodies then elected the magistrates and office-bearers. These self-elected authorities were responsible to no higher authority whatever for their management of and intrusions with the burgh funds, and the result was that some of the burghs—Aberdeen and Dumfries in particular—became avowedly bankrupt.¹ Many petitions in behalf of burgh reform were presented to parliament, and a parliamentary committee to examine into the matter was appointed, but nothing of consequence was at this time effected, such a reform being to some extent complicated by its bearing on parliamentary reform, since the town-councils elected the parliamentary representatives of the burghs.

An event which had for some time been foreseen, and which in a measure had even been desired—though when it occurred it brought sadness along with it—took place on January 29th, 1820. This was the death of George III., our venerable sovereign, who, whatever faults or weaknesses might be laid to his charge, was both a good man and a good king. No man in his dominions had a more thoroughly English heart or a more ardent desire to promote the welfare of the people and the interests and honour of the country. Unpopular in his youth and earliest government, he became endeared to the people in the midst of the misfortunes of the first American war; and perhaps no sovereign had ever been more popular than he was during the last twenty-five years of his reign. He had reigned altogether for sixty years, and much that had taken place during the latter part of this period had been glorious to the nation at large, but to himself in his blindness and mental alienation can have brought little gratification. The fifty years' jubilee of his reign had been duly celebrated in 1809, and congratulations had been transmitted on the occasion from all parts of the empire; soon after this, however, his mind again became hopelessly clouded, so that for ten years the king's place was taken by the Prince of Wales as Prince Regent. Little more than two years before the demise of the aged king, death had taken away the Princess Charlotte, only child of the Prince Regent and heiress presumptive of the throne, a loss sincerely regretted by the nation at large. She had been married in 1816 to Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, but left no issue, and this melancholy interruption in the succession was sought to be repaired by other marriages among members of the royal family. Of these unions,

¹ *Scots Mag.* for 1817, ii. p. 384.

that of the Duke of Kent, fourth son of George III., gave an heiress to the British crown in the person of our present queen. Her father died in her infancy, six days before the death of George III.

A few words may be said here in regard to the various ministries that had followed from the death of Pitt in January, 1806, to the period at which we have now arrived. The first of these was the short-lived "ministry of all the talents," so called, with Lord Grenville nominally at its head, but with Fox, who was foreign secretary, really in possession of power. Fox died, however, before the end of the year, and in March of the following year the ministry was dismissed by the king, on account of their liberal proposals regarding the Roman Catholics. The bill for the abolition of the slave trade was passed by this ministry. An administration of which the Duke of Portland was the head followed, other members of the cabinet being Lord Eldon as chancellor, George Canning as foreign secretary, Lord Castlereagh as secretary for war, and Mr. Percival as chancellor of the exchequer. Lord Palmerston, then in his twenty-third year, was one of the lords of the admiralty. Owing to the disastrous Walcheren

expedition and other causes, great dissensions had arisen in the cabinet by the end of 1809, the result of which was the resignation of Canning, Castlereagh, and the Duke of Portland. The remaining ministers were able to induce others to join them, and the changes thereby brought about resulted in Mr. Percival becoming premier and chancellor of the exchequer, while the Marquis Wellesley became secretary of state for foreign affairs, and the Earl of Liverpool secretary of state for war and the colonies. On the 11th of May, 1812, Mr. Percival was shot dead in the lobby of the House of Commons by a man named Bellingham, a decayed merchant, who had met with severe business losses, and had unsuccessfully applied for compensation to the treasury, apparently believing that he had just claims on the government for relief. This rendered new arrangements necessary. Lord Liverpool now became premier, Earl Bathurst received the double appointment of secretary for war and the colonies, while Lord Castlereagh remained secretary for foreign affairs. The Earl of Liverpool had a long tenure of the premiership, having continued to hold this post till the year 1827, when George IV. was king.

CHAPTER II.

REIGNS OF GEORGE IV. AND WILLIAM IV. (1820-1837).

Accession of George IV., who had been Prince Regent since 1811—The Cato Street Conspiracy of Thistlewood and his accomplices—Plan to assassinate ministers and establish a republican government—Fate of the conspirators—Revolutionary spirit in Scotland—A body from Glasgow march towards Carron and are attacked by the military at Bonnymuir—Executions of several engaged in revolutionary outbreaks—Trial of Queen Caroline—Her previous life—Imprudent conduct of the queen—Her life abroad—Returns to England to assert her claims as queen—Popular feeling in her favour—Trial for dissolution of the marriage—Popular rejoicings when the proceedings are given up—Lord Brougham's part in the affair—The queen seeks admission at Westminster Abbey at the coronation—Her death soon after—Visit of George IV. to Scotland—Great preparations for it—Services rendered by Sir Walter Scott—The king's arrival and reception—Enthusiastic rejoicings—Gratification on the part of the king—Forfeited peerages restored—Additional churches for the Highlands—Commercial and manufacturing crisis—Defective harvest—Renewed political agitation—Extension of the franchise asked for—Proposed new banking system and currency arrangements—Death of the Duke of York—Roman Catholic emancipation—Feeling in Scotland—Emancipation Act carried—The crimes of Burke and Hare—Death of George IV. and accession of his brother William IV.—The new king—The Reform Bill, the great measure of his reign—Earl Grey's ministry come into power—Facts showing the need for a measure of reform—Inequalities and injustice of the existing system—Lord John Russell brings in a bill—Ministry defeated and parliament dissolved—Rioting follows—Reform Bill carried by the new House of Commons, but rejected by the Lords—Third Reform Bill brought in and passed by the Commons—Petitions and meetings in its favour—Threatened creation of peers—The bill passes in the House of Lords—The English Act—The Scottish Act and the changes introduced by it—Eight additional members for Scotland—The outbreak of cholera and its ravages—Burgh reform—Abolition of slavery—Death of the king—Hanover now separated from the British crown.

George III. was succeeded by his eldest son, George IV., who had been Prince Regent since 1811, and virtually sovereign of the British em-
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pire, so that his accession gave us a new king nominally rather than really. He had never done anything to make himself generally popular

far less respected, but rather the reverse. His dissolute life, his debts, and his follies were notorious, and though now at the mature age of fifty-eight, he had shown few or no signs of amendment. He had been married in 1795 to his cousin, Princess Caroline of Brunswick, who had borne him one daughter, Princess Charlotte, whose death has been mentioned above. The marriage was without affection on either side, and the prince had finally separated from his wife immediately after his daughter's birth. At the time of his accession he was so seriously ill that it was doubtful if he would recover.

The political discontent so prevalent at this time led to the formation of a mad and desperate plot known as the Cato Street Conspiracy, which came before the public about a month after the beginning of the new reign. The leader in the insane enterprise was Arthur Thistlewood, who had once been a subaltern officer in the army, and had resided in France during the hottest of the revolution. The plan to be attempted was the assassination of the ministers, the seizure of the Bank of England, the Mansion-house, and the Tower, to be followed by a general revolution and the establishment of a republican government, the mob being expected to give their aid. Thistlewood's instruments for the accomplishment of such a vast design were a handful of needy, ignorant, desperate men of the working class, about thirty in number, one of them being in the pay of the Home Office, which accordingly received full information of every step of the conspiracy. The ministers were to be assassinated at a dinner given by Lord Harrowby, and the gang were preparing for action when nine of them were seized in the Cato Street stable-loft where they met. Thistlewood escaped at this time, but was soon taken, and he and several others were executed as traitors, glorying in their fate as martyrs to the cause of liberty.

The revolutionary spirit was manifested elsewhere by lawless acts, especially in the manufacturing districts, and in Scotland as well as in England. In Glasgow, Paisley, and the surrounding villages, placards were posted upon the walls, addressed to the people of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and calling upon them to come forward and effect by force, if resisted, a revolution in the government. The working people were also enjoined to abstain from work, and a great many of them immediately did so. The authorities thought it necessary to bring together a large military force, and this had the effect of checking any serious outbreak—if such were really intended, which is very doubtful. On the 25th April (1820), however, a party of about fifty of these-called "radicals," consisting mainly

of weavers, marched from Glasgow, indifferently armed with pikes and muskets. It appears they were led to believe that they might join an army of four or five thousand men, who were to capture the Carron iron-works, and so provide themselves with artillery. Their movement was soon made known to the authorities, and a party of the 10th Hussars and another of the Stirlingshire Yeomanry went off in pursuit of the insurgents, whom they overtook near Bonnybridge. On seeing the approach of the military the radicals cheered, and took up a position behind a wall, over which they began to fire upon the approaching party. Some shots were fired in return. But the affair did not last long. The cavalry got through an opening in the wall and attacked the misguided men, who were soon overpowered, nineteen of them being taken prisoners. One or two of the military and several of the radicals were wounded. Such was the affair that became commonly known as "the battle of Bonnymuir." As the outbreak was so flagrant, an example was necessary, and of the twenty-two prisoners who were brought to trial for high treason on account of this affair, and were sentenced to undergo the extreme penalty of the law, two were executed, the sentence of hanging and decapitation being carried out at Stirling. These men as well as others were tried before a special commission, which had been appointed for the trial of all treasons and misprisions of treason committed in Scotland, and which held its sittings at Stirling, Glasgow, Paisley, Dumbarton, and Ayr. The only other person executed for such offences was a resident of Strathaven, who had marched from that place with a number of others, and had searched a number of neighbouring houses for arms, carrying them off by force and intimidation. A riot at Greenock about this time, owing to the attempt of the mob to rescue certain prisoners, resulted in the death of five persons and the injury of thirteen others.

A subject of absorbing interest now came before the public, and for some time occupied attention throughout the length and breadth of the land, to the exclusion of almost everything else. This was nothing less than the trial of the queen, on the ground of having been guilty of conduct that in a wife is naturally followed by divorce. After the death of her daughter, as we have seen, her husband abandoned her, declaring that no one could force his inclinations. This was the beginning of a disgraceful dispute between the two parties, which lasted till the death of Caroline, and exposed her honour to repeated accusations from her husband. The Princess of Wales lived retired from the court, at a country-seat at Blackheath,

till 1808. During this time many reports were circulated against her honour, on account of which the king instituted an inquiry into her conduct, by a ministerial committee. This committee acquitted the princess of any serious charge, declaring at the same time that she had been guilty of some imprudences, which had given rise to unfounded suspicions. The king confirmed this declaration of her innocence, and paid her a visit of ceremony. She afterwards received equal marks of esteem from the princes, her brothers-in-law. Public feeling was also manifested strongly in her favour. In 1813 the contest was renewed between the two parties, the Princess of Wales complaining, as a mother, of the difficulties opposed to her seeing her daughter. The Prince of Wales, then regent, disregarded these complaints. Upon this, in July, 1814, the princess obtained permission to go to Brunswick, and afterwards to make the tour of Italy and Greece. She now began her celebrated journey through Germany, Italy, Greece, the Archipelago, and Syria, to Jerusalem, in which an Italian named Bergami was her confidant and attendant. Many injurious reports were afterwards circulated, relating to the connection between the princess and Bergami, on whom she lavished all the favours she could, and a number of whose relatives she took into her service. On her journey she received grateful acknowledgments for her liberality, her kindness, and her generous efforts for the relief of the distressed; and there is no doubt that she was a very kind-hearted, generous woman. She afterwards lived in Italy, spending much of the time at a country-seat on Lake Como. When the Prince of Wales ascended the throne her name was struck out of the form of prayer forming part of the church service, and the recognition of her rank as queen withheld. The king was willing that an income of £50,000 should be settled upon her, provided she took some other title than that of *Queen of England*, and agreed to the condition that she would never return to England. She refused the proposal with disdain, and returned to England in June (1820), declaring her intention to confront her enemies, and appeal to a generous people. The heart of the people, especially of the lower orders, was strongly on her side, both because she was a woman and believed to be a persecuted woman, and also because her husband had certainly not behaved toward her as he should, and was himself notorious for his profligacy; while her illustrious birth, the misfortunes of her family, her own natural kindness and benevolence pleaded powerfully on her behalf. The whigs and radicals also calculated that by her means the unpopularity of the king might be

brought to a climax and the long-seated ministry overthrown. In July a bill of pains and penalties was brought into the House of Lords, its object being to deprive her of the title, prerogatives, rights, and privileges of queen-consort, and to dissolve her marriage with the king. Witnesses were brought forward and counsel pleaded on both sides, and if conclusive evidence of her misconduct was not produced, it was clear that, as Sydney Smith said, the manners she had adopted did not exactly tally with those of holy women in the days that are gone. The bill passed the House of Lords, but owing to the popular disapprobation so loudly expressed it was abandoned by the ministry. Upon this great rejoicings took place throughout the country, and in some places led to riotous conduct, the mob venting their displeasure on those who refused to take part in the demonstrations. Such was the case in Edinburgh and Glasgow and other places where the magistrates interfered to prohibit public manifestations, windows being smashed and other mischief done. In the trial Brougham acted as the queen's attorney-general, and distinguished himself in the highest degree by his eloquence and boldness, being assisted by Denman, afterwards lord chief-justice. Though banished from the court, the queen still lived at Brandenburg House, maintaining a style suitable to her rank. On the occasion of the king's coronation, which was carried out in Westminster Abbey, 19th July, 1821, with extraordinary splendour and magnificence, she was ill-advised enough to go to the Abbey and demand admittance, but was turned away from the door. Not long after she was taken ill of inflammation of the bowels, and she died on Aug. 7. Her conduct does not seem to have been irreproachable, but the much worse character of her husband, in respect to the offences of which she was accused, gained her an amount of public sympathy, enhanced by the advocacy of Brougham, which was unfavourable to the impartial investigation of the truth.

Soon after this Scotland was startled by a most unexpected intimation. It came from George IV. himself, who, having already visited Ireland and Hanover, announced his gracious purpose of visiting his Scottish dominions. Such an event had not occurred since 1633, when Charles I. paid a visit to the land of his birth for the ostensible purpose of enjoying a Scottish coronation, but in reality to rivet more firmly Episcopacy and arbitrary government on the Scottish people. No misgivings of such a design could mar the happy anticipations of the present royal visit. Nay, on an occasion such as this, it was natural that the faults and follies of the king—notorious as they had been when

he was Prince of Wales and Prince Regent—should be but little spoken of whether by the politician or the severe moralist; and all ranks, all parties hurried to the capital, each endeavouring to be foremost in the universal welcome.

But how was the sovereign to be received when he came? This was the perplexing question; and every old book or scrap of mouldering parchment that could throw light upon ancient royal Scottish pageantries was studied for the occasion by high-titled nobles and civic dignitaries, who for the first time found themselves involved in the mazes of antiquarian research. Feudal duties were to be performed that had been a dead letter for centuries, and processions were to be arranged which our living Scottish aristocracy had never witnessed even in their dreams. And then, too, there were questions of precedence and court privilege to be settled, which, especially among the Highland chieftains, whose traditionary claims went back as far as the days of Malcolm Canmore or even of Ossian, threatened to be interminable, or only adjusted by the claymore. Happily there was help at hand in the general perplexity; and never did Sir Walter Scott so justly deserve the title of "The Great Magician" as when he reduced this chaos into a harmonious and beautiful uniformity. At length, on August 14th, 1822, the royal yacht and its splendid cortege of war vessels cast anchor in Leith Roads, and on the following day the king landed, and went up from Leith to the ancient capital and palace of his ancestors; and never on any occasion since its first stone was laid had Edinburgh exhibited a like display of the picturesque and magnificent! Arthur's Seat, Salisbury Crags, and the Calton Hill were surmounted by a far-reaching crest of tents, banners, and artillery, and crowded with military and spectators; the streets were thronged with thousands, who, from loyalty or curiosity, had repaired from every part of Scotland; while the welcoming thunders of the castle ordnance were almost drowned in the acclamations of the countless multitude. It was a reception such as well might compensate for the scoffs and groans of the London mobs.

During his stay in Scotland the king took up his abode in Dalkeith Palace, within six miles of Edinburgh, but he several times repaired to Holyrood, where he held receptions and received addresses; and almost every day he was present at some function or entertainment in his honour. He also greatly gratified Scottish sentiment by attending upon public worship in the High Church, Edinburgh, and upon this occasion he was much struck with the quietness of the Scottish Sabbath, and the absence of the applause so loudly manifested

towards him on other days. After a fortnight's stay the royal visitant re-embarked, himself much pleased with the way in which he had been received, and leaving everyone who had come in contact with him charmed with his graceful manners and kind condescension. One result of the visit of the king to Scotland was soon after manifested, and proved highly gratifying to Scottish national feeling. This consisted in the restoration of a number of the peerages that had been forfeited in consequence of the rebellions of 1715 and 1745, leaving their hereditary holders still in the condition of commoners through the errors of their predecessors. The attainders incurred by rebellion were now reversed, and the titles thus restored included in their number some of the most ancient and noble of the country.

Another popular act of this year (1823) was the provision that was now made for the religious improvement of the Highlands. From the size of many of the Highland parishes and the scantiness of the population the churches were far apart, and often almost impossible to be reached by part of the parishioners, so that whole families were deprived of the ordinances of religion. An act of parliament was accordingly passed for the erection of forty or more churches in the most destitute of the Highland localities, with a manse for the minister and a stipend of £120 a year. In this way the religious and presbyterian as well as the patriotic feelings of the Scots were gratified by the visit of George IV. It was an auspicious introduction to the happy change which was to commence in less than a quarter of a century, when Scotland was to become, not a place of casual advent, but a home of royalty.

The next event to be referred to in the annals of Scotland is unfortunately a serious commercial and manufacturing crisis. The evil began in England about 1825, where the multiplication of paper money and the boundless credit allowed by the provincial banks was followed by an inevitable crash. Scotland naturally had her own share of the calamity, and at the commencement of the following year the manufacturing towns and districts exhibited its disastrous fruits in bankruptcies and the stoppage of public works. A few local particulars will give some idea of the prevalent suffering that spread over the whole community. At the beginning of 1826 a thousand power-looms in Glasgow, Paisley, and the neighbouring districts were stopped in a single day. In Kilmarnock eight hundred weavers were thrown out of work and their families reduced to starvation. Even in the little town of Girvan, where eighteen hundred looms were ordinarily

employed, seven hundred were at one time brought to a stand-still. While such is but a specimen of the absolute want of employment that everywhere prevailed, those factories that still continued operations were obliged to put their workmen on half-time in the manufacture of goods for which no market could be found, no money obtained. Many persons, again, who worked upon their own account, and could still find employment, were obliged to labour night and day and far beyond their strength to secure a bare pittance for themselves and families. Fevers and other diseases became very prevalent, resulting in a greatly increased mortality. In this state of things the best remedy to be adopted was to find useful employment of some kind for hands that could find none for themselves; and accordingly the spade and hammer were now wielded by men who had hitherto been used to ply nothing heavier than the shuttle, and hundreds might be seen here and there busy in quarries and upon highways engaged in work that for them must have been little better than actual torture. The distress was aggravated by the defective harvest of 1826, a year which is still sometimes spoken of in Scotland as "The year of the short corn." The season had been so unusually hot and dry that vegetation was withered up, and the grain crops were in large areas so short that they were plucked up by the roots instead of being cut with sickle or scythe. This visitation at length passed away, but not so soon the evils it entailed, which continued to be felt for years by impoverished and bereaved families.

It would have been strange if during this season of severe trial the voice of political discontent had been silent; and about this time Scottish grievances were prominent enough to make their voice loudly heard in the debates of parliament. One of these consisted in the parliamentary representation of Scotland, which still continued to be limited to 45 members, and especially in the unequal distribution of the right of suffrage; many towns which had quadrupled their population, and many professions which had risen in wealth and rank, being still excluded from giving their vote in electing a member to parliament, or having only the fragment of a vote, which they shared with the meanest corporations.

The petition which was sent from Edinburgh to the House of Commons on this subject, in April, 1826, showed that in that city alone, having a population of about 150,000 souls, the right of electing a member to represent the whole community in parliament was vested in only thirty-three persons, namely, those composing the town-council, and consisting chiefly of small

merchants and shopkeepers, who formed a self-elected body. The petition of course was unsuccessful, but it helped to call public attention to a serious political grievance, and was one of the factors that combined to bring about a real parliamentary reform before many years were over.

Another occasion of public complaint originated in the proposal made in parliament, after the panic of 1825 had subsided, to carry out a measure for the abolition of small bank-notes. This proposed new banking system, which was intended for the whole empire, raised a ferment in the north, where it was declared to be uncalled for, and fraught with the most ruinous consequences to Scotland; and for a time the debates, remonstrances, and petitions on the subject absorbed almost every other feeling. These representations were too weighty, and uttered in too earnest a tone to be disregarded; and accordingly a committee of inquiry was appointed to ascertain the effects that would be likely to ensue from the abrogation of the small-note circulation of the banks, and the introduction of a new system of currency into Scotland. The report of the committee was favourable to the Scottish banking system, which was accordingly left untouched; not, however, without leaving a serious amount of indignation and jealousy in the minds of the Scottish people at this attempt upon their commercial usages and rights. Sir Walter Scott took up his pen on this occasion on behalf of the popular cause in Scotland, and his contribution to the controversy—the letters of "Malachi Malagrowther"—had undoubtedly a considerable influence in bringing about the result at which the authorities arrived.

The year 1827 began with a breach in the ranks of the royal family through the death of the Duke of York, by which the prospect of the succession to the throne devolved upon his younger brother the Duke of Clarence, afterwards William IV. The Duke of York had long held the responsible office of commander-in-chief of the British forces, and although not an able general, as we have already seen, yet to no one individual was the gratitude of the nation so justly due on account of the efficient state to which our armies were brought under his administration. It was indeed mainly owing to this that the late war had been so glorious to our arms and so successfully terminated. In the same year Lord Liverpool retired from public life after his lengthy premiership, and was succeeded by the able and eloquent Canning, who was not in good health at the time, and in a few months succumbed to illness aggravated by the difficulties of his position. The vacant

premiership was then filled by Lord Goderich, whose premiership was suddenly terminated at the beginning of the following year.

In January, 1828, the Duke of Wellington became premier in room of Lord Goderich, and the question of Roman Catholic emancipation, which had gradually forced itself to the front, now had to be dealt with. This question had been agitated for a considerable time, and had raised and year after year increased a party in its favour, so that the latter part of the last reign as well as the present had been embittered by the cry that the Roman Catholics must be freed from their disabilities, and made the participants of equal rights and privileges with their Protestant fellow-countrymen. It was not statesmen alone who favoured this demand, and made it the great subject of contention in the cabinet and senate; even in the church it found its advocates, and some of the most eminent of the clergy, both in England and Scotland, backed the appeals of statesmen—founded perhaps on mere political expediency — by arguments derived from the charity and liberality inculcated by the gospel. The bulk of the nation, indeed, continued to oppose the measure, and the feeling in Scotland in particular was very bitter against it; but this hostility was stigmatized by the friends of emancipation as the result of narrow views and an illiberal spirit. The most urgent argument in its favour was the condition which had arisen in Ireland, where the whole body of the Roman Catholics had united in displaying the utmost hostility to the state. The question had to be boldly faced by the Duke of Wellington and his cabinet, and though the duke was strongly conservative and averse to change, he saw that opposition could no longer be reasonably maintained. Partial relief to the Roman Catholics was granted in 1828 by the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts, but they were still prevented from sitting in either house of parliament by the Papists Disabling Act of 1678, which required all persons taking their seats as peers or as members of the House of Commons to make a declaration against the doctrine of transubstantiation, the adoration of the Virgin Mary, and the sacrifice of the mass. Early in 1829, Mr. Peel, the home secretary, introduced the Catholic Emancipation Act in the House of Commons, and it was carried through both houses with great rapidity, being passed into law in April 13. By this act Roman Catholics were enabled to become members of parliament, and to hold any of the civil offices of state except those of regent, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, lord-chancellor of England, and lord-chancellor of Ireland—but the restriction as re-

gards this last office has since been removed. All the discontent in Ireland, it had been prophesied, was to come to an end with emancipation, but instead, the great emancipationist O'Connell immediately began his movement for repeal.

Of ordinary crimes and offences it is not to be expected that a writer of history should take notice, but in the year 1828 light was thrown upon a series of murders perpetrated in Edinburgh which we cannot pass over in silence, since they spread horror over the length and breadth of the British islands — if not indeed over the civilized world,—and are yet frequently spoken of with detestation. Their memory indeed is partly kept alive by a well-known verb to which they gave rise, and which has since become a fully accredited vocable of the English language. We allude to the murders associated with the names of Burke and Hare. These miscreants, as all Scotsmen are glad to know, were not natives of this country but of Ireland, and their crimes were perpetrated for gain. Their practice was to allure poor wretches of the lowest class into a miserable den, ostensibly bearing the character of a lodging-house, and then to suffocate or strangle them in order to sell their bodies to the surgeons for dissection. How many unfortunate creatures they thus deprived of life was never known, but the estimates varied from fifteen or sixteen to thirty. At last the suspicions of the authorities were excited in connection with one of their murders, and the parties were arrested. Hare having turned king's evidence, several murders were easily brought home to Burke, who naturally expiated his crimes on the scaffold. After death his body was devoted to the same purpose as that which his victims were destined to subserve, and his skeleton may still be seen in the Edinburgh University Museum. The no less guilty Hare was able to escape secretly from the scene of his crimes and from the vengeance of the populace, and his ultimate fate was never known. These dreadful murders drew the attention of government to a want of which the medical profession had long complained, namely, of due arrangements by which a sufficient number of subjects for dissection and anatomical teaching might be provided, and this led a few years after to the passing of an enactment with such an object in view.

The reign of George IV. came to an end in 1830. For some time the constitution of the king had become so debilitated that he was unable to walk, and gout, dropsy, and ophthalmia had deprived him of all enjoyment in life, making death itself desirable. On June 26 he was

relieved from his sufferings, and the crown passed to his brother William, Duke of Clarence, who succeeded him as William IV.

The new sovereign, who ascended the throne at the age of sixty-six, though he was entirely destitute of the graceful manners and dignified deportment of the late king, was welcomed by the nation as a happy contrast in many respects. He was a sensible man, of average abilities, frank, and manly. He had been brought up in the navy, had been the friend of Nelson, and the people were well pleased that a sailor-king was to rule over them. His queen was Adelaide, a princess of the German house of Saxe-Meiningen, to whom he had been married in 1818. She had borne him two daughters, both of whom died in infancy.

The great and overshadowing event of the new reign, which continued only seven years, was the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832, a measure which brought about events of the most far-reaching character. It is well known that previous to the great outburst of the French Revolution a strong popular desire for political reform was prevalent among the nations of Europe. By the progress made in civilization and general enlightenment the old feudal systems had become practically obsolete, and the demand for their abrogation, as the impediments of further progress, was not only urgent, but also natural and just. It was therefore listened to with heedful attention, and Britain would probably have commenced, before the close of the eighteenth century, such a reform as other governments would have been glad to follow. As early as 1782 the question of parliamentary reform had begun to occupy the attention of Pitt, and in 1785, as we have already seen, he introduced a bill "to amend the representation of the people of England in parliament." But all at once the sudden upheaval in France, like the premature explosion of a mine, startled the nations, and infected them generally with such a dread of change that reforms of any magnitude were out of the question, while every government was compelled to feel that concessions to the popular desire, however harmless or just at any other time, might now be dangerous in the highest degree. Hence, therefore, the obloquy which in our own country many who were really only advocates of legitimate reform brought down upon their own heads. Every year from 1821 to 1830 Lord John Russell or some other of the Whig party had brought forward a motion for reform, but hitherto it had always been defeated. By the time at which we have now arrived, however, the safety and propriety of reform could no longer be questioned by any unprejudiced person compe-

tent to judge. Fifteen years of peace had elapsed, during which the nation had full leisure to consider and decide on what political changes were really required, and it now became necessary that the British cabinet should resume the task of reform which the French Revolution and the long war had interrupted. What helped to give a fresh stimulus to the demand for parliamentary reform was the French revolution of 1830, the July revolution as it is called, by which Charles X. was driven from his throne and Louis Philippe raised to the vacant seat. This was generally regarded in Britain as a legitimate measure adopted against a despotic government, and it was conducted with such moderation, that there, as over great parts of Europe, it initiated a general movement for political change.

The new parliament, which assembled in the autumn of 1830, contained a large majority of members who were in favour of a moderate measure of reform; but the Duke of Wellington, who still continued at the head of the government, took an early opportunity of declaring himself entirely opposed to any reform. The government was soon defeated, though not directly on this question, and the Whigs came into power under the leadership of Earl Grey, who had as associates Lord Althorp as chancellor of the exchequer and leader of the House of Commons, Lord John Russell as paymaster of the forces, Brougham as lord chancellor, Lord Melbourne as home secretary, Lord Palmerston as foreign secretary, besides others. The names of Earl Grey and Lord John Russell are those that are most intimately associated with the reform measure that soon passed into law.

The mere mention of a few facts will be sufficient to show the need that existed for reform in regard to the representation of the people. One cardinal fact was that only an insignificant proportion of the population had the franchise, and while this was so the representatives in a large number of instances had come to be returned by the most insignificant places—places that may have been of some importance at one time but had entirely ceased to be so. Thus in the notorious case of Old Sarum, two members were returned by some shapeless ruins; that is, the owner of the ground could send to parliament anyone he pleased to represent this non-existent constituency. In many cases these small boroughs were entirely under the control of some wealthy proprietor or aristocratic family, and in this way some twelve families alone could command 100 votes in the House of Commons. In other cases, where the boroughs were independent of family influence, these were far from being independent of bribery, so

that to become a member of parliament was only necessary to expend a certain sum of money. On the other hand there was the glaring anomaly that many of the great and rapidly increasing centres of manufacture and commerce, such as Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, were left without representatives. It was surely high time to put an end to this absurd and now actually dangerous state of matters, and on the 1st of March, 1831, the ministerial plan of reform in the representation was accordingly brought forward by Lord John Russell. After a debate of seven days, leave was given to bring in three bills for reforming the representation of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and after a debate of two days the second reading of the bill for England was carried by a majority of 302 to 301, on the 22d. On April 18, on the motion of Lord John Russell that the house resolve itself into a committee on the Reform Bill, a countermotion was made that, in the opinion of the house, the number of representatives for England and Wales (which, by the bill, would be seventy less than before) ought not to be diminished. This motion being carried against ministers, after a debate of two nights, by a majority of 299 to 291, parliament was dissolved on the 22d April.

The dissolution was celebrated in many places by illuminations, the belief being that the new parliament would show a large majority in favour of reform. The lord-mayor authorized an illumination of the city of London. In the west-end the rabble vented their fury on the houses of several peers and commoners because they had opposed the bill. Among the windows that suffered most were those of the Duke of Wellington. When the new elections came on, Lord John Russell's bold words in the House of Commons became a popular cry, and candidates were made to pledge themselves to vote for "the bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill." Stormy everywhere, the elections were downright riots in many parts of Scotland and Ireland. In Scotland the anti-reformers showed themselves the more powerful party, but almost a monopoly of political power was upon their side. In the close of the Edinburgh election the lord-provost was attacked on the North Bridge, and with some difficulty was rescued by the military. After an amount of rioting that shook the island to its extremities, the elections for the new parliament were completed, the assembly returned being as thoroughly pledged to reform as the most sanguine reformer could desire.

The new parliament assembled on the 14th of June, 1831, and on the 24th Lord John Russell obtained leave to bring in another bill

for reforming the representation. This bill, which in many respects differed from the former, and in which, in particular, the diminution of the number of members was abandoned, finally passed the House, after long and warm debates, on the 21st September, by 349 to 236, but was rejected by the Lords on October 8 by a vote of 199 to 158. On its passing the Commons rejoicings took place all over the country, but when it was again lost in the House of Lords rioting broke out, and with greater violence than before, among the chief seats being Nottingham, Derby, London, and Bristol, the results of mob lawlessness at the last-named place being simply appalling. There were anticipations of greater disturbances in Scotland than actually took place. Lord Jeffrey, then lord-advocate, writing to Lord Cockburn, was full of anxiety that the people of Scotland should be kept quiet. "I have written edifying letters," he says, "to the sheriffs of the manufacturing counties, and some additional troops have, on my earnest request, been sent among us. Nothing in the world would do such fatal mischief as riot and violence, ending, as it now must do, in lavish bloodshed—from which my soul recoils." Government was now strongly urged to get the king to create a sufficient number of new peers to overcome the opposition in the Upper House. On the 20th of October the parliament was prorogued, and being again opened on the 6th of December, Lord John Russell, for the third time, introduced a reform bill, which passed the Commons on the 23rd of March, 1832, by a majority of 116. The second reading was carried in the Lords by a majority of nine, after which parliament adjourned for the Easter holidays. During the recess agitation went on with extreme vigour, and monster meetings were held in all the large towns, those in Scotland including Edinburgh, Glasgow, Paisley, Dundee, &c. The petitions emanating from these meetings all prayed that more peers should be created, and the bill thus passed. The Edinburgh meeting was 80,000 strong. It was held in the King's Park, near Holyrood House, and passed off in a very orderly manner. At a meeting in Glasgow such sinister emblems as black flags, crossed swords, and human skulls were displayed.

On the re-assembling of parliament, on the 7th May, the peers went at once into committee on the bill; but they now made a stand at the clauses for disfranchising a number of the old boroughs, a question in which so much personal interest was centred, and here the reforming premier was defeated by a majority of thirty-five. Earl Grey now pressed upon

the king the creation of such a number of new peers as was necessary to carry through the bill, tendering his resignation as the alternative. The latter was accepted; and Wellington having made an ineffectual attempt to form a ministry, the Whigs were therefore reinstated (May 18th), with the assurance of having the necessary means for carrying the measure. The bill then passed the Lords by a majority of 106 to 22, a portion of the opposition having withdrawn their resistance, rather than force ministers to make a large creation of new peers to outvote them. The bill was passed at last by a majority of eighty-four. The Commons next day agreed to the unimportant amendments that the Lords had introduced, and on the 7th June, 1832, this memorable bill received the royal assent and became law. Separate acts were passed for amending the representation of Scotland and that of Ireland.

By the act for England the members for the counties were increased in number from 94 to 159, the larger counties being divided into electoral divisions. Besides the great change thus effected in equalizing the distribution of members in the counties (as each county before returned two members, except Yorkshire, which returned four) the qualifications of the voters were also modified, so that (in addition to the forty-shilling freeholders) the franchise was now extended, generally speaking, to all who owned property giving a clear yearly value of £10, and to all tenants who paid a yearly rent of £50. With regard to the boroughs, it was now settled that none with a population of less than 2000 could return a member at all, and that none with less than 4000 could return more than one member. The result was that fifty-six boroughs wholly lost their separate representation, and thirty others lost each a member, and one two members; while twenty-two new boroughs were created to return two members each, and other nineteen to return one member each. In this way the large towns now received something like a fair share of representation, while in London four great districts were converted into separate parliamentary boroughs. The borough franchise was conferred upon those who occupied as owner or tenant any house, shop, or other building of the clear yearly value of not less than £10. The Reform Bill thus effected what was equivalent to a revolution, making the House of Commons the real source of power in the state, and taking the right of choosing representatives to sit in this body from the great and wealthy to confer it mainly on members of the middle class, such as traders, farmers, and professional men.

The Reform Bill for Scotland was again taken

up immediately after the passing of the English bill, the measure being in charge of the celebrated Francis Jeffrey, the lord-advocate, so long connected with the *Edinburgh Review*. It passed the House of Commons about midnight on the 27th June, and the Lords on the 12th of July. Before we refer to the changes introduced by it, we may give a few particulars as to the state of matters which it superseded. Of the forty-five members that Scotland had sent to the House of Commons since the Union, thirty had been hitherto returned by the thirty-three counties and fifteen by the burghs. Of the fifteen burgh members Edinburgh returned one by itself, the rest were returned by fourteen separate groups or clusters of unconnected burghs, each burgh electing a delegate, and the four or five delegates thus elected choosing the parliamentary representative. In this way the great city of Glasgow only elected the fourth part of a member, the other three quarters being allotted to Rutherglen, Renfrew, and Dumbarton. The elective franchise, that is the right of voting in an individual capacity, existed only in the counties, but was so limited and restricted that the number of electors in all the counties of Scotland is said to have been only about 3000 in 1825. In two of the counties there were only three real voters in each. As Lord Cockburn remarks: "Whatever this system may have been originally, it had grown in reference to the people into as complete a mockery as if it had been invented for their degradation. The people had nothing to do with it. It was all managed by town-councils, of never more than thirty-three members, and every town-council was self-elected, and consequently perpetuated its own interests. The election of either the town or the county member was a matter of such utter indifference to the people that they often only knew of it by the ringing of a bell, or by seeing it mentioned next day in a newspaper; for the farce was generally performed in an apartment from which, if convenient, the public should be excluded, and never in the open air."¹ The government of the time could generally arrange matters so that the great bulk of the members were on its own side, the return of three or four for the opposition being extremely rare. One Scottish member is said to have candidly confessed that "his invariable rule was never to be present at a debate or absent at a division," and that on the only occasion on which he had ventured to vote according to his conscience he found he had been wrong.

The Reform Bill for Scotland presented less scope for objections than that for England, and

¹ *Life of Lord Jeffrey*, vol. i. p. 75.

therefore, occasioned less wrangling and commotion. By it the only places that ceased to have the status of burghs were Rothesay and Peebles, and there was no disfranchisement of persons, except that the corporations in royal burghs ceased to vote as before. While those who held the electoral franchise, therefore, were still allowed to retain it, it was now extended to all proprietors of lands, houses, or feu-duties that yielded ten pounds annually; to tenants holding under a lease for their lifetime or for fifty-seven years, and having an interest of not less than ten pounds; and to tenants holding under a lease of not less than nineteen years' duration, and having an interest of not less than fifty pounds.

The burgh franchise, which had previously been in the hands of the town-councils and their delegates, was now conferred on occupiers of houses, shops, and other premises of the yearly value of ten pounds, as in England. The large towns also were now admitted to their proper share of representation. By the bill Edinburgh was allowed to return two members to parliament instead of the single member as before, and the same number was also allotted to Glasgow. Aberdeen, Dundee, Greenock, Paisley, and Perth were separated from the districts of royal burghs of which they had previously formed part, and were permitted to return each a representative to parliament, and a new district of burghs was formed with one member in common, consisting of Leith, Portobello, and Musselburgh. Thus there was an addition made of eight to the number of members of parliament for Scotland, all of them belonging exclusively to the burgh representatives. Though this was a considerable increase upon the forty-five members that had represented Scotland since the Union, to some it appeared insufficient, and it was objected that, if the amount of population was to be taken as the standard, the country should have eighty-five members; if taxation, fifty-nine; and if both together, seventy-two. This, however, was but a repetition of the argument that was used at the Union when the proposal was made that only forty-five members should represent the whole of Scotland. The exclusion of the Scottish universities, also, from separate representation in parliament was complained of as unjust, seeing that those of England were admitted, and an attempt was made to show, from the number of graduates belonging to the former, that they were entitled to equal privileges with the latter. But to this it was replied that Scottish diplomas by no means implied the length of residence and amount of studious preparation which were required by those of Eng-

land, and that after all it would have been better for the interests of learning if the universities of Oxford and Cambridge had never enjoyed those envied privileges. While the bill was passing an attempt was made to exclude the Scottish clergy from the franchise, as if their ministerial duties might be interfered with by their possessing all the rights of ordinary citizens; but this attempt failed, as it deserved. The result of the first general election in Scotland after the passing of the bill was considered a triumph by the reform ministry, since few Tories and still fewer Radicals were returned to parliament, the former numbering ten or eleven, the latter only three. Even in Glasgow, where the new electorate comprised seven thousand citizens, radicalism strove earnestly but in vain to have a predominance in appointing the city representatives.

Another important subject besides that of political reformation occupied the public mind during the eventful years 1831 and 1832. This was the coming of the cholera, which in its terrible but erratic course through Europe had passed from the Continent to Britain. It first visited Sunderland, to which it had apparently been imported from Riga, and after keeping the north of England in a ferment of alarm, as well as causing much suffering and many deaths, it suddenly departed and reappeared in Haddington, leaving the whole intervening country untouched. Musselburgh was next visited, and afterwards Edinburgh; but in the capital the sanitary precautions were so effectual, especially in the supply of proper food and clothing for the poor, that in no part of the kingdom was this destroying pestilence less hurtful. From Edinburgh it seems to have been carried to Kirkintilloch, and it then visited Glasgow, where it wrought considerable havoc; it latterly visited other places in the west as well as in the north of Scotland. In London it appeared in February, 1832, the disease having been brought over from Hamburg. Many other cities and towns both in England and Ireland were visited by this scourge, and many thousand deaths were caused by it; yet after the visitation of cholera had ceased, it was found that the mortality due to this disease over the whole of the United Kingdom was less than in the city of Paris alone.

The Reform Act was naturally followed by an act by which the much needed and long agitated burgh reform was effected. This act was passed in 1833, the Lord-advocate Jeffrey having charge of it, as he had of the Scottish Reform Bill. After the second reading it was intrusted to a special committee consisting of the twenty-three burgh members for Scotland. By this act

the "close system" in the burghs was naturally put an end to, and the election to the town-councils put upon a popular footing, the municipal franchise being assimilated to the parliamentary.

One of the first acts passed by the reformed parliament—a measure worthy of an assembly representing a body of electors so recently released from the bonds of disfranchisement—was the act for the abolition of slavery in the British colonies. This act was largely the result of the disinterested efforts of William Wilberforce, who already, with the assistance of Zachary Macaulay, Thomas Clarkson, and others, had been the means of getting the trade in slaves abolished throughout the British dominions. The act was passed in 1833, and came into force the following year, the immediate effect being the freedom of some 800,000 slaves, whose owners received among them £20,000,000 in compensation. Many people in Scotland as well as in England were affected by the change, which had the result of greatly injuring the prosperity of the West Indies, though these colonies had already it would appear begun to decline from their former highly flourishing condition.

At home the usual temporary excitement was occasioned by the fluctuations of parties and the changes of ministry which they produced. The chief of these changes was the resignation of Earl Grey, and the accession of the Whig administration of Lord Melbourne in 1834, and again in 1835, after the Tories had held office during a short interval under Sir Robert Peel.

Lord Melbourne was in office when the king was attacked by his last illness, which lasted for a week or two. His death took place in June 20th, 1837, and seemed to have resulted from an attack of hay-fever, to which he was annually subject about this time. He was in the seventy-third year of his age, and in a few days would have completed the seventh year of his reign. His character presented few prominent traits to mark him out from the common class of sovereigns, and but for the passing of the Reform Bill his reign would have been one of the most uneventful in our history. In politics he had no system of government, nor firmness to adhere to any system whatever; but this, though it might be regarded as a defect in his character as a man, was fortunate for him as a king, and also for the nation over which he presided, enabling him to drift quietly onward on the tide of events, and thus to gain the popular but hardly-merited title of "the reforming king." By his death, and the consequent accession of his niece the Princess Victoria, the crowns of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of Hanover ceased to be worn by the same person, as the operation of the salic law excluded females from the throne of the latter country. The throne of Hanover accordingly devolved on the Duke of Cumberland as next heir male. By parliamentary provision made in 1831, Queen Adelaide, now queen dowager, received £100,000 per annum for the term of her life, with Marlborough House and Bushey Park for residences.

CHAPTER III.

REIGN OF VICTORIA (1837-1860).

The Princess Victoria becomes Queen—Her upbringing under the care of her mother—The young Queen before the Privy Council—Declaration read by her—Formally proclaimed Queen—The accession of a Queen popular among all classes—Her approaching marriage to Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha—Character of the Prince—Announcement to Parliament of the Queen's intended Marriage—The Marriage celebrated in the Chapel Royal, St. James's—Income provided for the Prince—The Queen and Scotland—Her first visit to this country and pleasure derived therefrom—Subsequent visits—Permanent residence of Balmoral acquired—Ecclesiastical controversies in Scotland—The Chartist movement in England and Scotland—Gives rise to riots at various places—The movement for repeal of the Corn Laws—Their repeal carried by Sir Robert Peel—Bill passed for the regulation of banking in Scotland—Bill passed for the amendment of the poor's laws in Scotland—Failure of the potato crop and consequent destitution—Ravages of the cholera—Establishment of new Roman Catholic hierarchy and excitement connected therewith—Ecclesiastical Titles Act—International Exhibition of 1851—Death of the Duke of Wellington—Lord Palmerston's letter to the Edinburgh presbytery—Forbes-Mackenzie Act—War breaks out between Russia and Turkey—British and French fleets sent to the Dardanelles—Warlike feeling prevalent in England and Scotland—War declared against Russia—British and French armies sent to Turkey and then to the Crimea—The Allies march on Sebastopol and encounter the Russians at the Alma—The Battle of the Alma—The Highland Brigade under Sir Colin Campbell—The 42nd, 93rd, and 79th Regiments—Battle decided by the onset of the Highlanders—Sir Colin regarded as the hero of the Alma—His previous career—The Allies proceed to besiege Sebastopol—Battle of Balaklava—Repulse of Russian cavalry by the 93rd Highlanders—

The splendid charge of the Scots Greys and other British heavy cavalry—The charge of the Light Brigade—Its glorious but unfortunate result—The battle of Inkerman—Winter sufferings of our soldiers—The siege operations—Sebastopol taken and peace concluded—Honours bestowed upon Sir Colin Campbell—Outbreak of Indian Mutiny—Rise and growth of our Empire in India—Share taken by Scotsmen in it—Rule of the Marquis of Dalhousie—Causes assigned for the outbreak—Progress of the Mutiny—Events at Cawnpur, Lucknow, and Delhi—Sir Colin Campbell arrives in India—Relieves Lucknow—Defeats the Enemy at Cawnpur—Final capture of Lucknow and suppression of the Mutiny—A Peerage and other honours bestowed upon Sir Colin—Severe financial crisis in Scotland and England—Failure of the Western Bank—Establishment of the Volunteer Force and circumstances connected with it—Great and rapid extension of the movement—Volunteer review in London—Great review held at Edinburgh in the Queen's Park before Her Majesty and the Prince Consort—Description of the scene.

The Princess VICTORIA ALEXANDRINA, who now became queen, was the only child of Edward, Duke of Kent, fourth son of George III., and of the Princess Victoria Maria Louisa of Saxe-Coburg. Her mother was the sister of Leopold, King of the Belgians, and was the widow of Prince Leiningen when she was married to the Duke of Kent, who died when his daughter was but eight months old. The Duchess of Kent brought up her daughter in the most careful and conscientious manner, with great simplicity and absence of ostentation, and indeed in comparative seclusion. While her moral and physical training had been duly attended to, and she had been educated in all the subjects and accomplishments suitable to a young lady of high rank, she had also been instructed in the more solid branches of knowledge, so as to make her better fitted for the lofty station she was destined to occupy. The young queen had quite recently attained her majority, having been born in Kensington Palace, May 24th, 1819. In honour of this event the late king had given a grand ball at St. James's Palace, but had been unable to be present at it himself owing to his illness. The news of the king's death and of her own accession to the throne was brought to the princess at Kensington Palace about two o'clock in the morning by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Lord-chamberlain, who arrived before anybody was stirring and had to rouse the household. Lord Melbourne having then been sent for, the privy council was summoned to Kensington at 11 o'clock, and at that hour the queen with the Duchess of Kent entered the council chamber. The effect produced on the assembly by the manner and behaviour of the youthful sovereign—her grace, her modesty, her apparent deep sense of her situation and responsibility, and at the same time her calmness and self-possession, being all remarked on. The reading of the following declaration, which had been prepared for her beforehand, was her first formal act in the capacity of queen:—

"The severe and afflicting loss which the nation has sustained by the death of his majesty, my beloved uncle, has devolved upon me the duty

of administering the government of this empire. This awful responsibility is imposed upon me so suddenly, and at so early a period of my life, that I should feel myself utterly oppressed by the burden were I not sustained by the hope that Divine Providence, which has called me to this work, will give me strength for the performance of it, and that I shall find in the purity of my intentions, and in my zeal for the public welfare, that support and those resources which usually belong to a more mature age and to long experience.

"I place my firm reliance upon the wisdom of parliament and upon the loyalty and affection of my people. I esteem it also a peculiar advantage that I succeed a sovereign whose constant regard for the rights and liberties of his subjects, and whose desire to promote the amelioration of the laws and institutions of the country have rendered his name the object of general attachment and veneration.

"Educated in England under the tender and enlightened care of a most affectionate mother, I have learned from my infancy to respect and love the constitution of my native country.

"It will be my unceasing study to maintain the reformed religion as by law established, securing at the same time to all the full enjoyment of religious liberty; and I shall steadily protect the rights, and promote to the utmost of my power the happiness and welfare of all classes of my subjects."

On the following day (21st June) the young queen, plainly dressed in deep mourning, went to St. James' Palace, where she was to be proclaimed, and was there met by members of the royal family, cabinet ministers, and officers of the household. It must indeed have been a trying occasion, and one likely to flutter a young heart, so that there is little to wonder at in finding it recorded that when Lord Melbourne and Lord Lansdowne led her to the window of the presence-chamber overlooking the courtyard, which was filled with heralds, pursuivants, robed officials, and civic dignitaries, she looked fatigued and pale. But the proclamation was read by garter-king-at-arms, the band played the national anthem, the guns in the park

boomed out a sulphurous chorus which was echoed by the guns at the Tower, and the city dignitaries marched off to repeat the proclamation at various places within their jurisdiction.

The accession of a queen to the British throne was of itself a popular event among all classes. For the unthinking multitude it was a change and a novelty. Among the more thoughtful and better educated it was accepted as an omen of future national prosperity, since all who were familiar with their country's history called to mind how great and glorious England had been under Elizabeth and the whole United Kingdom under Anne. The circumstance also of a young and interesting female being suddenly ushered into such a responsible station of itself awakened the chivalrous feelings of every class and party, and tended to compose political strife and invest even loyalty itself with a warmer glow. Accordingly all was enthusiastic gladness for the present and joyful anticipation for the future when Victoria was proclaimed queen—a ceremony which was carried out with the usual formalities, the citizens of Edinburgh and other places in Scotland being duly informed in this way of the accession of the new monarch. Extraordinary rejoicings took place all over the country on the occasion of the queen's coronation, which was a ceremony of the most solemn and splendid description, celebrated in Westminster Abbey, 28th June, 1838.

Within little more than a year public announcement was made of the queen's approaching marriage with her cousin, Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha. Soon after her accession the question of this family alliance had been broached by her uncle, King Leopold, both to the queen and the prince, but her majesty had expressed her opinion that both were yet too young. It was not till October, 1839, during the visit of Prince Albert and his brother to England, that the matter was finally settled. Other alliances had also been proposed, but the queen herself, as she has stated, "never had an idea, if she married at all, of anyone else." And even if her affection had not inclined towards her cousin, it would have been hard to find a more suitable consort. The prince, young as he was, had already shown himself to be possessed of high abilities. He had read and studied deeply, and while cultivating his mind had made himself proficient in all manly exercises. He was also of an amiable and cheerful disposition, and of domestic tastes, and—what is always of considerable importance—his personal appearance was highly attractive. In making the prince aware of her sentiments and intentions towards him the queen was in the

somewhat delicate position of having herself to take the initiative, but needless to say the prince received her proposal with heartfelt joy and gratitude. The queen had previously informed Lord Melbourne that she intended to take this step, and the premier had expressed his full approval of it. Writing to her uncle, King Leopold, on the occasion, the queen says: "I love him more than I can say, and shall do everything in my power to render this sacrifice (for such, in my opinion it is), as small as I can. . . . Lord Melbourne has acted in this business, as he has always done towards me, with the greatest kindness and affection. We also think it better, and Albert quite approves of it, that we should be married very soon after parliament meets, about the beginning of February." On the 23rd November there was a special meeting of the privy-council, in which her majesty announced her intention of marrying Prince Albert; and on the 16th of January, 1840, she opened parliament in person, on which occasion the first paragraph of the royal speech referred to the forthcoming event as one which it was hoped might be "conducive to the interests of my people as well as to my own domestic happiness." How fully both anticipations were justified is needless here to state. That the latter would be so was fully expected at the time, the marriage giving general satisfaction, because it was known to be a union of real affection, and not brought about by mere reasons of state. The marriage ceremony took place on the 10th February in the Chapel Royal, St. James's, the Archbishop of Canterbury officiating. In London, of course, there was high holiday and great rejoicing, and throughout the kingdom the demonstrations were equally enthusiastic. The prince himself was highly gratified with his reception on the part of the public, and with the acclamations with which he was greeted. He had previously been naturalized as a British subject, and an income of £30,000 a year had been settled on him by parliament. The first of the family born to the royal pair was a daughter, the Princess Royal (now Empress Frederick of Germany), whose birth took place on the 21st November, 1840. The next of the family was the Prince of Wales, born 9th November, 1841. Of the other members we need not here speak.

To Scotland, as it proved, the accession of Queen Victoria gave a monarch in a more real sense than had ever been the case since James VI. removed to England in 1603 on the death of Queen Elizabeth. James had indeed revisited the kingdom of his fathers, Charles I. had also paid it a fleeting visit, and Charles II. had been for a short time in the country before

the battle of Worcester; but during the long course of two centuries that had since elapsed our country had but enjoyed a glimpse of royalty, when George IV. paid his brief visit to Edinburgh. Queen Victoria, however, had not been many years on the throne when she and the Prince Consort visited the northern kingdom, and were so much pleased with its various attractions that a permanent residence was acquired in it—Balmoral Castle, on the upper course of the Aberdeenshire Dee. Here her majesty resides year after year, while there are comparatively few parts of the country with which she has not made herself more or less familiar.

The queen's first visit to Scotland was in 1842, in the company of the Prince Consort, and was made by sea, the royal squadron having sailed from Woolwich to Leith. The royal visitors landed at Granton pier on Sept. 1. They had an enthusiastic reception in Edinburgh, where the assembled crowd was not merely extraordinary in number—people having gathered together from great distances—but was also remarkable from the fact that everyone was well dressed. As was noted at the time, those who had no good clothes to appear in seemed to have remained indoors or hid themselves on this occasion of public rejoicing. With the Scottish capital and its surroundings the queen was highly impressed. During the few days of their stay in this quarter the royal pair resided with the Duke of Buccleuch at Dalkeith Palace. They afterwards crossed the Forth at Queensferry, passed through Fifeshire and Kinross, were received with all due loyalty by the good folks of Perth, and lodged with Lord Mansfield at Scone Palace. Going through the Tay valley by Dunkeld and Aberfeldy, they reached Lord Breadalbane's princely mansion of Taymouth, in one of the most beautiful parts of the Highlands. After exploring the varied scenery of this romantic district, the royal strangers passed through Dunblane to Stirling, and travelling by way of Falkirk, Linlithgow, and Edinburgh, returned to Dalkeith. On Sept. 15 the queen and Prince Consort again embarked for London, and in her majesty's journal of this date she makes the following entry:—"As the fair shores of Scotland receded from our view we felt quite sad that this very pleasant and interesting tour was over; but we shall never forget it." In 1844 they paid another visit to Scotland, this time landing at Dundee. They took up their quarters at Blair Athole, Blair Castle, the residence of the Athole family, having been given up by Lord Glenlyon for their use. Here they remained from Sept. 9 to October 1, the queen

becoming more and more enchanted with the Highlands, and Prince Albert enjoying the sport of deer-stalking. In 1847 the queen along with Prince Albert came up the west coast of the island in the royal yacht, and visited a number of places in Scotland, including Greenock, Rothesay, Inveraray, Staffa, Iona, and other interesting localities, thus gaining a good idea of the sea-loch and island scenery characteristic of this part of North Britain. In 1848 Prince Albert bought up an unexpired lease of Balmoral Castle, in order that he and the queen might have here a Highland home "far from the madding crowd," and in 1852 he purchased the estate surrounding it. The former castle is described in the queen's journal as "a pretty little castle in the old Scottish style. There is a picturesque tower and garden in front, with a high wooded hill; at the back there is wood down to the Dee; and the hills rise all around." This castle was too small for the royal family, however, and by 1855 the large and handsome pile so familiar to all by pictorial representations was erected and occupied. Ever since 1848, then, the queen has spent many a happy month at Balmoral in the successive years that have elapsed, and laying aside royal state, has been a friendly and welcome visitor to her neighbours, whether living in cottage or in hall.

About the time of the queen's accession, and for some years afterwards, Scotland was greatly agitated by ecclesiastical controversies, and at last, after a period known as "the ten years' conflict," these resulted in the disruption of the Scottish national church, and the foundation of the Free Church in 1843. This movement need not be more particularly referred to here, since a full account of it will be found in the chapter treating of the history of religion during the present century.

A new political movement also made itself felt about this time under the name of Chartism. Great as were the concessions to popular demands in the Reform Bill, they had not satisfied the general craving; and large numbers of those who are, in modern phrase, termed "the masses," and who numerically form the bulk of the nation, felt as if their wants and their claims had been overlooked. They alleged that the suffrage had not been sufficiently extended, the duration of parliaments shortened, and the voters protected from the pressure of undue influence. The reform, they maintained, was not thorough enough, and could not be so unless there were annual parliaments, universal suffrage, vote by ballot, equal electoral districts, abolition of the property qualification for parliamentary candidates, and paid representatives who would really act as the mouthpieces of their

constituents. These six points were embodied in a document called the "People's Charter;" and without parliaments elected on such a basis the Chartists declared it impossible that the will of the nation could be sufficiently expressed or its collective interests promoted. The name of Chartists was not confined, however, to one particular class or party, but was applied to the disappointed and discontented of all ranks and parties, who found at least some one point among those above indicated upon which to take their stand, or who were discontented with their present lot, and sought by political agitation to have it ameliorated in some shape or other. Thus besides the old radical reformers, who felt that reform had been arrested midway, there were Tory chartists who hated the new poor law recently passed for England, and who were opposed to the repeal of the corn-laws now agitated, regarding them as the best check upon the despotism of the mill-owners and the preponderance of the manufacturing over the agricultural interests. The same ranks thus comprised indifferently men who thought that reform had gone too far, and others who thought it had not gone far enough. They comprised also the destitute peasantry by the thousand, who felt that, be the government what it might, they were still in starvation and still consigned to neglect; with factory operatives and miners who squandered their weekly wages and had nothing in reserve for an evil day. Such was the spirit which had been gathering and growing among the people both of England and Scotland since the passing of the Reform Bill, though the term Chartism did not crop up till 1838. Physical force was freely advocated as the only effectual means by which the masses could obtain satisfaction of their demands, and in 1839 a serious riot took place at Newport, Monmouthshire, in which ten persons were killed and many wounded. In 1842 great riots took place in the north of England, and extended also into Scotland, and if not directly caused, they were at least encouraged and promoted by the Chartists. The last great outbreak of Chartism was in 1848, when a monster meeting was announced to be held at London, and great terror was excited among the inhabitants of the metropolis; but the whole affair proved a complete fiasco. In this year Glasgow also suffered from an exhibition of mob-lawlessness, in which Chartism was notably the moving impulse, and which was not quelled until detachments of military were brought into the town and bivouacked in the streets. Before the arrival of the military the rioters had been fired on by a company of pensioners in the town, and

several of them killed. A number of those who took part in the rioting and plundering of shops were undoubtedly thieves and other worthless characters. Edinburgh suffered somewhat also in the same way, and it was said that all over the manufacturing districts in the west of Scotland there were many of the operatives ready to rise in insurrection. Several of the Scottish Chartists were tried for sedition, and one or two of them found guilty.

The agitation for the repeal of the corn-laws, a movement which to a certain extent runs parallel with the Chartist movement, was only begun with vigour after the accession of the queen, though the question had long been discussed, and before this time the powerful and rather truculent "Corn-law Rhymes" of Ebenezer Elliot had helped to increase the enmity of the artisan and manufacturing class towards these laws. Many laws regulating the trade in corn had from time to time been enacted as part of the vicious commercial policy of the country, and whatever had been the effect of these formerly, there can be no doubt that the time had now come for a change of policy. At one time Britain had been normally a grain-exporting country, the average annual production being rather over than under the wants of the inhabitants. From about 1798, however, Britain had become a country that regularly imported grain, and since that time the population, owing especially to the extension of manufacturing industries, had greatly increased, this increase being of course accompanied by a corresponding increase in the demand for food. Imported grain, however, was still liable to a heavy duty, and the price of bread was thus unduly kept up. Since 1828 the duty had been regulated by a sliding scale, according to which imported grain was charged with a duty of 23s. 8d. per quarter when the average home price was 64s.; with 16s. 8d. when it was 69s., and 1s. when it was above 73s. The sliding scale, it will be seen, increased the duty when the home price was low and decreased it as the price rose.

There was a very strong and widespread feeling against the repeal of the restrictions on free trade in corn, and plausible arguments were readily brought forward against such a measure. It was alleged, for example, that the corn-laws tended to keep poor land in cultivation, and thus to maintain as large an area under tillage as possible; that the more grain was produced in this way the less we should be dependent upon foreigners for food, and the less risk there would be of our suffering in the event of war; and that the more prosperous the landed and agricultural elements

of the population were, the more they had to spend in the support of manufactures and trade.

The feeling against the corn-laws gradually gathered strength, however; and in 1836 an Anti-corn-law Association was formed in London, among its members being Grote, Roebuck, and Joseph Hume. The harvest of this year had been deficient, and that of the two following years was still worse. This and other causes combined to bring about much dulness of trade in the manufacturing districts, where thousands of operatives were discharged from their employment, and others were working short time. The distress was therefore strongly felt, and the hatred to the corn-laws became deeper than ever. In this state of matters an association for the repeal of the corn-laws was formed at Manchester, being soon after joined by John Bright and Richard Cobden, and before long being known as the Anti-corn-law League. On the 21st January 1839, a great anti-corn-law meeting, attended by a number of members of parliament and extensive manufacturers, was held at Manchester, and on the same day a similar gathering was held at Edinburgh, the latter being presided over by the lord-provost, Sir James Forrest. The movement was thus fairly started, and an organized opposition to the corn-laws set on foot, this opposition being maintained by lectures, pamphlets, rhymes, and other means to an extent never before heard of in relation to any other important political question. In 1843 the League raised the sum of £50,000; in 1844, £100,000; in 1845, £250,000, the funds this year being augmented by the sum of £25,000, the proceeds of a grand free-trade bazaar held in Covent Garden Theatre. At a monster meeting of the League held in Covent Garden Theatre on September 28, 1843, a statement was made that during the past year its agents had distributed over 9,000,000 of tracts, and had addressed some 500,000 electors in 24 counties and 187 boroughs. Soon after *The Times*, which was opposed to the League, was forced to admit that it was "a great fact." Numerous petitions against the laws were laid before parliament, and Mr. C. Villiers annually brought up a motion in the House for their repeal. By the end of 1845 the movement had gained such strength that it was evident the repeal of the obnoxious laws could not be much longer deferred, and the final result was helped onward by the failure of the potato crop in that year and the consequent famine in Ireland. Sir Robert Peel, Conservative premier and former supporter of the corn-laws and protection as he was, had gradually become con-

verted to the principles of free trade, and in 1846 passed a measure by which the corn-laws came to an end, having also been the means of introducing other changes in the direction of removing restrictions on trade. This measure led to the defeat and resignation of the premier, however, a portion of his former supporters having now turned against him. He had held the premiership since 1841, when the Melbourne ministry ceased to hold office. A Liberal administration under Lord John Russell now came into power. The Anti-corn-law League was immediately dissolved as having accomplished its work.

In the course of 1845 Sir Robert Peel brought in two bills for the regulation of banking in Scotland and Ireland, conformable to those principles on which he had remodelled the banking system in England. His chief aim in these proposed changes was to add to the stability of the circulation in the United Kingdom, and to make Ireland and Scotland bear their proportional share of guarantee against commercial panic. The bills passed through both Houses with little discussion, and their provisions came into operation at the beginning of the next year. Knowing the opposition sure to be excited by a proposal to abolish bank-notes under £5 in value, which had been found so useful in Scotland, he left these notes as before. The future issues of the banks were now as in England to be restricted to the amount of what had been their average issues for the period since 27th April, 1844, and any excess of the issues over the amount now fixed must be based on a corresponding amount of gold or silver bullion. The banks were in future to make weekly returns of their notes in circulation, and certain other statistical particulars were also to be given.

Another important proceeding of 1845 in relation to Scotland was a bill for the amendment of the poor's laws. While the wealth and general prosperity of Scotland had greatly increased, various causes had combined to produce an increase in the number of paupers, and private benevolence was no longer able to cope with the growing evil. Legal provisions had therefore been devised, but these were only first experiments, that were soon found insufficient for the increasing amount of destitution. The chief contents of the new bill drawn up to remedy this defect, which was introduced by the Lord-advocate of Scotland, were thus enumerated by Sir James Graham at the second reading:—Provisions had been made for local inspection; for a responsible supervision by a board sitting in the capital; for perfect publicity; for an appeal to the

sheriff of the county (which was now given for the first time) on the part of the poor person to whom relief was refused; for empowering the sheriff to order relief, and if the quantum granted were too small, for a power of appeal, without expense, to the central board, which had complete power, without limitation, to deal with the quantum of relief; on the other hand, if the quantum was too great, the parish might appeal to the Court of Session. Provisions had also been made for subscription to lunatic asylums, for the education of pauper children, for medical attendance, and for building poor-houses in large cities. This bill encountered considerable opposition in its various stages, chiefly from the Scottish members, but after undergoing a few slight alterations, it passed through the third reading without a division. One peculiarity of the Scottish poor law, we may here remark, is that able-bodied poor are not entitled to relief. The act by which the corn-laws were repealed also greatly tended to the relief of the poor, not of Scotland alone but of the whole country, by cheapening food; though the measure did not come into full effect till the end of three years, a much diminished duty being levied in the interval.

The need for such measures as those just mentioned was demonstrated by the destitution and misery caused through the failure of the potato crop. Though Scotland suffered much less widely and severely than Ireland, there were districts here too in which numbers were reduced to starvation point, and must have perished but for outside aid. At a meeting held in Edinburgh, in December, 1846, under the presidency of the lord-provost, a statement was made to the effect that in the highlands and islands of Scotland there were 330,000 persons deprived of their usual means of subsistence through the potato disease. Of these, 200,000 required assistance to enable them to live over the season. If they were not immediately assisted, these poor people, it was stated, would have to sell their cows and eat their seed-corn, thus utterly destroying all provision for the future. The other 130,000 required food immediately to save them from starvation. The state of affairs was represented as being particularly serious in Skye, where out of a total population of 4000, it was said 2000 were in absolute destitution, and the whole would soon be left in a similar condition. What could be done locally was altogether insufficient. Lord Macdonald, for instance, the chief proprietor in Skye, had already made arrangements for expending in relief a sum greater than the whole rental of the island. The relief of the distressed districts

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was at once taken in hand by the public, and vessels laden with meal, rice, and other kinds of food were without delay despatched to the places where assistance was most urgently required. In 1847 the total subscription for the relief of the starving people in the Highlands amounted to not less than £100,000, the subscribers being headed by the queen herself. Upwards of £20,000 of the whole was raised in Glasgow, this city being the centre from which the necessary supplies were sent and the headquarters of the Highland Relief Committee.¹ In consequence of the scarcity of food, riots unfortunately took place in different parts of the country. At Cromarty, Invergordon, Dingwall, and Wick, the disturbances were very serious, owing to the violent attempts of mobs to prevent the shipping of grain; and the services of the military had even to be called in.

During the following two years (1848 and 1849) cholera caused a number of deaths in Scotland, as well as in other parts of the British Islands. It first appeared in Edinburgh in the beginning of October, 1849, having apparently crossed the North Sea from Hamburg. In a few days it spread to the neighbouring towns, and soon after Glasgow and other manufacturing towns of the west were attacked, the disease spreading southwards through Ayrshire into Dumfriesshire. The total deaths in Scotland from this scourge were estimated at between 7000 and 8000, while in the whole of Great Britain upwards of 60,000 died.

Towards the end of the year 1850, a step was taken by the authorities of the Roman Catholic Church, that gave rise to an agitation and angry feeling throughout the whole of England and Scotland such as no other proceeding on the part of any ecclesiastical body has since aroused. This consisted in the establishment of a Roman Catholic territorial hierarchy in England, which was to be partitioned out into a number of separate dioceses, each with its own bishop, deriving his title from his own English see. Hitherto Roman Catholic bishops in England had held titles as bishops *in partibus infidelium*, that is, their titles were those of some imaginary foreign see, but now their titles were to be borrowed from the country in which their functions were exercised, though the new titles were not to clash with any of those of the English Church. Probably the high-handed manner in which the papal authorities proceeded had nearly as much to do with raising an outcry against "papal aggression" as their action itself. It was somewhat startling to many good Protestants to learn

¹ Mackenzie's *Reminiscences of Glasgow*, vol. ii. p. 539.

that the pope had made the following official announcement: "Of our own proper motion, in our certain knowledge, and in the plenitude of our apostolic power, we have resolved and do hereby decree the re-establishment in the kingdom of England, and according to the common laws of the Church, of a hierarchy of bishops deriving their titles from their own sees, which we constitute by the present letter in the various apostolic districts;" and to find Cardinal Wiseman, titular archbishop of Westminster, gravely proclaiming, "So that at present, and till such time as the Holy See shall think fit otherwise to provide, we govern, and shall still continue to govern, the counties of Middlesex, Hertford, and Essex, as ordinary thereof; and those of Surrey, Sussex, Kent, Berkshire, and Hampshire, with the islands annexed, as administrator with ordinary jurisdiction." Accordingly, all parties, whether of the established church or dissenting bodies, and whether Whig, Tory, or Radical in their political views, laid aside their feuds for the time to oppose the common enemy. As Lord John Russell's administration had of late been somewhat unpopular, the present opportunity of winning back the public esteem was not to be neglected, more especially as the sentiments of the government upon the momentous question were anxiously expected. The premier's opinions were not long in being made known, and as contained in a letter to the Bishop of Durham, published on the 4th of November (1850), they were all that an ardent Protestant could have desired. He characterized the proceeding of Rome as an insolent and insidious aggression, and as an assumption of superiority even beyond that which the papacy had dared to claim in Roman Catholic times; and though he thought the foreign enemy was too weak to be dangerous to Protestant England, he recognized that a certain peril existed in the Romanizing tendency prevalent in the English Church itself. Addresses were immediately transmitted from all parts of the country, calling upon the queen and government to take steps to resist the Roman Catholic aggression, and of these as many as 6700 from nearly as many influential meetings are said to have been voted by the end of the year. Though Scotland was not as yet brought within the range of the new papal movement, the feeling here was as strong as in England, if not stronger, and Dr. Candlish and others fulminated vehemently against what was regarded as a blow aimed at the religion of the country. Dr. Wiseman attempted to repair the blunder which both he and his Church had committed by the publication of an *Appeal to the Reason and Good Feeling of the People of England*; but he had too deeply committed

himself to be extricated by an apology however ingeniously worded, and the storm was not allayed. Lord John Russell introduced and passed the Ecclesiastical Titles Act (August 1, 1851), making illegal the assumption of such titles as those proposed for the Roman Catholic bishops, under a penalty of £100. The feeling, however, that the question had roused, and that had owed its strength partly to other claims of the Roman Catholics, gradually died down, and the bill became a dead letter.

A far more agreeable topic of this year than ecclesiastical or religious controversies, and one on which there could be no difference of opinion, was the great international exhibition in Hyde Park, and the manifold attractions of this splendid show, which attracted multitudes of visitors from all parts of the British Islands, not to say all parts of the world. Prince Albert was the moving and organizing spirit in the enterprise, which has been followed by many other exhibitions of the same kind, some of them much larger no doubt, though none have been more interesting or successful.

To our neighbours on the other side of the Channel the exhibition year was rendered eventful by the *Coup d'Etat*, by which Louis Napoleon abolished the three years' old republican government in France, and soon after raised himself to the position of emperor. This event was fraught with important consequences for Britain as well as for the rest of Europe. In 1852 the whole kingdom was saddened by the death of the Duke of Wellington, which might well be regarded as a national calamity, though his grace had far overpassed the ordinary span of man's life, being in his eighty-fourth year. For the greater part of this year the Earl of Derby held the premiership at the head of a Conservative ministry, having Mr. Disraeli as his chancellor of the exchequer. A coalition ministry succeeded, with the Earl of Aberdeen at its head. Under him first Lord John Russell and then Lord Clarendon was foreign secretary, the home secretary being Lord Palmerston.

Lord Palmerston took an active part in the performance of his duties as home secretary, and in connection with this we may here recall an incident which at the time was the cause of no little stir, and in which Lord Palmerston and the presbytery of Edinburgh were the prominent parties. The cholera had made its appearance in the summer of 1853, and was causing a certain number of deaths, and the Edinburgh presbytery wrote to the home secretary desiring to know whether on account of the epidemic a day of national fasting and humiliation was to be appointed. Lord Palmerston's reply was thoroughly characteristic of the man, and was

evidently not conceived in a spirit of much tenderness for the feelings of the members of presbytery. "There can be no doubt," he said, "that manifestations of humble resignation to the Divine will, and sincere acknowledgments of human unworthiness, are never more appropriate than when it has pleased Providence to afflict mankind with some severe visitation, but it does not appear to Lord Palmerston that a national fast would be suitable to the circumstances of the present moment. The Maker of the universe has established certain laws of nature for the planet on which we live, and the weal or woe of mankind depends upon the observance or the neglect of these laws. One of these laws connects health with the gaseous exhalations which proceed from overcrowded human beings, or from decomposing substances, whether animal or vegetable; and these same laws render sickness the almost inevitable consequence of exposure to these noxious influences. But it has at the same time pleased Providence to place it within the power of man to make such arrangements as will prevent or disperse such exhalations, so as to render them harmless; and it is the duty of man to attend to these laws of nature, and to exert the faculties which Providence has thus given to man for his own welfare." Lord Palmerston accordingly suggested that much-needed sanitary measures should be generally adopted, believing that "when man has done his utmost for his own safety, then is the time to invoke the blessing of Heaven to give effect to his exertions." The reverend correspondents of Lord Palmerston were naturally somewhat galled at the tone of this communication, which was so plainly intended to have the effect of a rebuke or "lecture;" and a great outcry arose in many quarters at what was considered the irreverent spirit displayed by his lordship. There was so much sound sense in the advice given, however, that municipal authorities both in Scotland and England must have been stirred up by the letter to a more active sense of their duties.

In 1853 was passed an act for Scotland that has been somewhat important from the effects on society resulting from it. This was the well-known "Forbes-Mackenzie Act," so named from the gentleman who was the author of it. Its object was to reform the drinking habits of the community, and among other things it provided that henceforth no liquor should be sold in public-houses before 8 o'clock A.M. or after 11 o'clock P.M., and that such houses should be shut altogether on Sundays; that no liquor should be sold by grocers or provision dealers to be consumed on the premises; and

that inns or hotels should only sell liquor on Sunday to persons lodging in the house or to *bona-fide* travellers requiring refreshment. A royal commission appointed to inquire into the working of the act reported in 1859 that its effect on the whole was beneficial, and that intemperance in Scotland was gradually descending in the scale of society.

By this time the series of events had begun that led to the Crimean war, and these and the war itself now occupied men's minds for two or three years to the exclusion of almost everything else. After continued negotiations between the Turkish and Russian governments, and the putting forward of various claims and complaints on the part of the latter, the Czar, in July, 1853, sent two army divisions across the Pruth, and took possession of the Danubian principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, then under Turkish supremacy. He professed that this was not an act of war, but only the means of securing a substantial guarantee for the granting of his demands. But as his demands had already been declared inadmissible—more especially his claim to a protectorate over all the subjects of the Sultan belonging to the Greek Church—it was evident that war must soon follow. Negotiations continued for some time longer, but deeming it necessary to take active measures for her own defence, Turkey published a declaration of war (23rd Oct., 1853), and one by Russia also followed.

The French and British fleets had been sent to the Dardanelles as soon as it became known that preparations were being made for the Russian occupation of the Principalities; and the French government equally with the British was determined that Russia should not be allowed to take possession of the dominions of the "sick man." As long as possible, however, they endeavoured to gain this end by diplomatic means. Napoleon III. had various reasons of his own for allying himself with Britain, and not the least of these was, that by leading his country into a war which by our assistance was likely to be successful and glorious he might efface from the minds of Frenchmen the rather dubious methods by which he had raised himself to the position of their emperor. The British prime-minister (the Earl of Aberdeen) and most of the cabinet were averse to war, but allowed themselves to drift too far before they were aware of it, while at the same time the popular feeling was tending even more strongly in the same direction. After a Turkish squadron in the harbour of Sinope had been totally destroyed with great loss of life by a Russian squadron, while the French and British fleets were lying inactive in the Bosphorus, the anger

of the British people broke freely out and called for vengeance upon the Russians, who were considered to have acted treacherously as well as cruelly. The press and the public were alike loud in clamouring for war, and this was the case in Scotland as well as in England, the general belief being that right and justice was on our side. Of course the cause of peace had its champions also, and at the head of these were Bright and Cobden, but in this conjuncture their words had comparatively little weight. It was not till the 28th April, 1854, that the declaration of war against Russia was published, and Britain found herself, after forty years, once more engaged in conflict with a European power. The British troops had not been rusting in inaction all this time, having had to engage in struggles of greater or less importance in various parts of the world—as in India, Burmah, China, South Africa—struggles entailed upon us through the magnitude of the British empire, and the all-pervading scope of British interests. Now, however, we had to contend with troops trained and armed in a manner similar to our own, and it was now to be seen whether our men would rival the glories gained in European warfare by their predecessors.

The main seat of the war, as is well known, was the peninsula of Southern Russia, called the Crimea, the object of attack there being the great fortress, arsenal, and naval port of Sebastopol. Even before the formal declaration of war by Britain and France against Russia, each had sent an army to the East to act as circumstances might require. The British army consisted of five divisions of infantry, commanded respectively by the Duke of Cambridge, Sir George de Lacy Evans, Sir George Brown, Sir George Cathcart, and Sir Richard England, and a division of cavalry under the command of the Earl of Lucan. The commander-in-chief was Lord Raglan, who as Lord Henry Somerset had distinguished himself in the Peninsular war under the Duke of Wellington. The troops set sail from England on the 28th February, 1854, and after remaining about a month at Malta proceeded to the Turkish town of Gallipoli, on the Dardanelles. Here they found the French army arriving in successive detachments, having at its head Marshal St. Arnaud, with Generals Canrobert and Bosquet as commanders of the first and second divisions. After a short time spent here the allied forces were removed to the Bosphorus, the British landing at Scutari on the Asiatic side of the strait, and the French occupying the European side, in the neighbourhood of Constantinople. Thus the Turkish capital was protected by the presence of 20,000

French and 10,000 British soldiers. From this locality the Anglo-French army, considerably reinforced, was in the end of May again removed, being now conveyed to Varna, the Turkish port on the west coast of the Black Sea. Here the troops remained in inaction for a weary time, while the cholera made dreadful havoc in their ranks. At last, when the Turks had been brilliantly successful in driving back single-handed the Russian invaders of the Danubian Principalities, the allied armies, to the number of 60,000 men, sailed from Varna, and landed without opposition in the Crimea.

Sebastopol lies on the west side of the peninsula, and on the south side of an inlet running eastward into the land and forming a good harbour. The adjoining country is hilly and intersected by streams taking a westward course to the Black Sea, one of these being the Alma, a river of no great size. The invading troops were disembarked on the shore of the bay of Eupatoria, more than 30 miles north of Sebastopol, and they soon found that their way to this fortress was barred by a Russian army under Prince Menschikoff, strongly intrenched on the heights that run inland from the sea and rise above the river Alma on the south. The allies commenced their march on the 19th September, and on the next day was fought the glorious battle of the Alma. Prince Menschikoff had an army of 39,000 men with 106 guns, and had selected his ground with great skill. He believed that his position was so strong that he could maintain it for at least three weeks, and by that time he hoped he would have received sufficient reinforcements to be able to completely crush his assailants. His calculations proved to be quite wrong, but when the allies drew near they could see that they had a stiff piece of work before them, considering how the Russians were posted, and taking into account the reputation they had acquired for unflinching stubbornness in passive and defensive warfare. In the advance the British army was on the left of the French, the French taking by tacit consent the position of honour on the right. As it so happened, the British were thus at a disadvantage when compared with the French, since the army of the latter was covered on its right flank by the sea, on its front and rear by the fire of the combined fleet, and on its left by the British; while the British, though covered on their right by the French, were exposed to attack on front, left, and rear. Altogether the army of the allies numbered 63,000 men and 128 guns. In the operations of the ensuing battle Marshal St. Arnaud with 37,000 men and 68 guns confronted an opposing force of only 13,000 men, with

36 guns, while Lord Raglan, with 26,000 men and 60 guns had to deal with a Russian force of about the same number, but supported by 86 guns.¹ The attack began about one o'clock by the advance of General Bosquet, who was in command of a division numbering 14,000 men. These he divided into two bodies, which, separately crossing the Alma, advanced up the opposite heights, and surmounted them in a few minutes, the artillery coming up a little later. Prince Menschikoff was greatly disturbed and surprised when he saw that the French had lodged themselves in a position on his left flank, and though the Russian artillery was directed against them General Bosquet was able to maintain his ground, carrying on a conflict with the enemy's artillery. In order to support General Bosquet, Marshal St. Arnaud now ordered forward the divisions under General Canrobert and Prince Napoleon, but for a time these made little progress, partly owing to the difficulty in bringing forward their artillery, and suffered somewhat from the fire of the Russian guns.

According to the plan of battle concerted between the allied commanders, the British were not to begin their onset until the French should have gained the heights and turned the Russian left, but Lord Raglan now received a message that unless something were done to relieve the French, General Bosquet would probably have to retreat. The British commander accordingly gave orders to advance to the attack, and as they moved forward they showed a front about two miles in length. The second division, under Sir George de Lacy Evans, was on the right of the front line; the light division, under Sir George Brown, on the left; the first division, under the Duke of Cambridge, followed in support of the light division; the third division, under Sir Richard England, was to the right of this. Farther to the rear were Sir George Cathcart's division, and the comparatively small force of cavalry. Our men, before they could come to close quarters with the enemy, had to pass through vineyards, gardens, and inclosed grounds lying between them and the Alma, then cross this river and climb the heights on the opposite bank. Among the first to scramble up to the edge of the elevated ground on which the Russians were posted were three regiments of the light division (the 7th, 23rd, and 33rd) under General Codrington, with which two other regiments (19th and 25th) of the second division became united. There they were exposed to a murderous fire from the

Russian infantry, and were also confronted at a comparatively short distance by the strongest of the Russian batteries, the Great Redoubt, mounted with fourteen heavy guns, and flanked on either side by masses of soldiery. Codrington at once resolved to storm the redoubt, and though his men were mowed down in heaps by its murderous fire, nothing could stop their course, and the battery was won, the Russians saving their guns by dragging them off. Unfortunately, though they had seized the redoubt, the key of the Russian position, they could not hold it without supports, as a battery higher up was now brought to bear upon our gallant soldiers, and great masses of Russian infantry were directed against them. Our men, therefore, retired, still firing at the foe and carrying the wounded officers and men along with them. Just at this time they came into collision with the Scots Fusilier Guards, who had also been brought up, and the latter being thrown into some confusion by the shock, and suffering severely from the enemy's fire, also fell back. At this time matters looked somewhat serious for the British and their allies, but fortunately Lord Raglan was able to get two guns planted on a knoll in the midst of the Russian position, and to bring them to play with disastrous effect for the Russians.

The division of the Duke of Cambridge, comprising the Guards and the Highland Brigade, now began to take a more active part in the combat, the Grenadier Guards and the Coldstream Guards, with a small number of the rallied Fusiliers, being on the right, the 42nd, 93rd, and 79th on the left. Drawn up in line almost as precise as if on parade, and only two deep, the Guards advanced to meet the heavy columns massed in their front—two English battalions against six Russian. The Russians could hardly believe that their opponents would dare to abide their onset, but on the contrary they found themselves shot down in crowds, and the Guards steadily nearing them. They lost courage, they wavered, they could not wait for a closer contact with such undaunted foemen, but fled in disorder, and the redoubt was again ours. Meantime Sir Colin Campbell and the Highlanders were advancing in support of the Guards and to cover their left, and with three battalions Sir Colin Campbell proceeded to engage no less than twelve; but the three were in line, and the twelve were massed in five columns.²

The Black Watch was the first of the three to advance to the charge, receiving its orders to attack in the simple "Forward 42nd!" of

¹ Kinglake, *Invasion of the Crimea*, vol. ii.

² Kinglake.

Sir Colin. The men had to advance up the hill in order to assail the two Russian columns by which they were confronted, and they were ordered to advance firing. They poured in a hot fire upon the enemy, but before they had proceeded far another Russian column made a movement which seemed to threaten their left flank, and Sir Colin Campbell was on the point of arranging his men so as to meet this danger when the 93rd Regiment came up on the left and began to take part in the battle. In like manner the left flank of the 93rd was threatened by a fresh Russian column, when the 79th Regiment came up to the rescue, and before the combined attack of the three Highland regiments, the Russians, superior in numbers as they were, could make no effective stand, and soon broke and fled. According to Kinglake the Russians conceived a sort of superstitious terror as the Highlanders came steadily and swiftly onwards to attack them. "The Highlanders," he says, "being men of great stature, and in strange garb, their plumes being tall, and the view of them being broken and distorted by the wreaths of the smoke, and there being, too, an ominous silence in the ranks, there were men among the Russians who began to conceive a vague terror—the terror of things unearthly; and some, they say, imagined that they were charged by horsemen, strange, silent, monstrous, bestriding giant chargers." With the charge of the Highlanders the battle was all but finished, for the allies had now pushed so far forward, and were able to make use of so much of their artillery force, that the whole of the Russians were soon in full retreat. Lord Raglan proposed to the French that our cavalry and Sir Richard England's division of infantry, which had had comparatively little share in the battle, along with a portion of the French army, should be sent against the retreating Russians, but his proposal was rejected. The British loss in the battle was about 2000 in killed and wounded, the killed numbering 362, of whom 25 were officers. The French had some 60 killed and 500 wounded. The Russians lost about 6000 men.

In Scotland—if not elsewhere—Sir Colin Campbell was generally, and with some justice, regarded as the hero of the battle of the Alma, and the exploits of the Highland brigade under his command were the source of endless praise and enthusiasm. Hitherto Sir Colin, though well enough known in the service, had little opportunity, and probably as little desire, of bringing himself before the notice of the public; but his career as a soldier had been exceptionally distinguished. Born in Glasgow in 1792, in a com-

paratively humble rank of life, he had been bred to war from his youth up, having obtained an ensign's commission in the 9th regiment of foot, at the age of sixteen. He was first under fire in the Peninsular war at the battle of Roliça, and he showed most conspicuous gallantry in several of the Peninsular battles, being severely wounded when leading a forlorn hope at the siege of San Sebastian. In 1815, the Waterloo year, he was absent from the army on leave, and for many a year after he had little opportunity for fighting; but this came again in China, in 1842, as subsequently in India, in the second Sikh war. His services in this latter war were of the highest value, and earned him the title of K.C.B. On the breaking out of the Crimean war, Lord Hardinge, the commander-in-chief, an old friend and companion in arms, procured for him the command of the Highland brigade, and in June, 1854, he was raised from the rank of colonel to that of major-general.

After the battle Lord Raglan thought that the allies should at once attack Sebastopol from the north, but in this opinion he was not supported by the French commander-in-chief (though it is now generally admitted to have been the proper step to take), and the armies instead marched round by the east or inland side of the fortress and took up their position on the south and south-east of it. The British were now posted on the east or right side of the French, with the small port of Balaklava on the south shore of the Crimea as their base of supplies. The French had now the British on their right, and on their left was the convenient harbour of Kamiesh as their base. During the march of the allies to these new positions St. Arnaud, who was suffering from severe illness, resigned his command to General Canrobert, and two or three days afterwards he died. The allies now resolved to invest Sebastopol in regular form, and thus commenced one of the most remarkable sieges of modern times. It is impossible here to enter into details. The utmost skill, courage, and perseverance appear to have been displayed both by the besiegers and the besieged. The latter were, however, in almost every respect the more favourably situated. Their munitions of war were almost unbounded; the northern side of the harbour of Sebastopol was never invested, so that their communication with the country always remained open; and contrary to the rule established in regard to siege operations, the number of troops within the town nearly equalled, and at one time greatly exceeded, the number of those who were attempting to take it. The consequence was that not

only were defensive works constructed rapidly, under the direction of General Todleben, while the siege made comparatively little progress; but the besieged, who had also the assistance of an army without the walls, were able to assume the aggressive. This they did at an early stage, the first result being the battle of Balaklava (October 25, 1854).

The battle of Balaklava was fought some distance to the north of this place, the Russians on the occasion being commanded by Prince Liprandi. The Russian force consisted of infantry, cavalry, and artillery to the number of about 25,000 men, a much larger force than that which they had to encounter. The main brunt of battle had to be borne by the British, and the aim of the Russians was apparently to regain Balaklava by defeating them. The chief incidents of this ever-memorable conflict were: (1) the Russians in overwhelming numbers took a series of redoubts occupied by Turks, and intended for the protection of the British position at Balaklava; (2) a Russian charge of cavalry was repulsed by the 93rd Highlanders; (3) a great mass of Russian cavalry was defeated by a charge of British heavy cavalry; (4) the British light brigade charged and took a Russian battery, and put to flight the cavalry behind it, but were compelled by overpowering force to retreat with heavy loss; (5) their retreat was covered by a brilliant charge of the French Chasseurs d'Afrique.

The first of the redoubts referred to was not taken by the Russians—numerous as they were—without severe fighting; but the others were abandoned by the Turks without awaiting the Russian attack. After the capture of the redoubts, Sir Colin Campbell, who was stationed nearer Balaklava, and had the 93rd Highlanders with him, expected that his little band would be assailed by a large force of Russians, and had told his men that they must be prepared to die where they stood, receiving the ready reply, "Ay, ay, Sir Colin, we'll do that!" As it was, however, there was only a small body of cavalry detached against him, and these the Highlanders easily repulsed by their fire, forming themselves in line two deep on the top of a hillock—the historical "thin red line." Sir Colin had been at first supported by two battalions of Turks, but the Turks fell into a panic, and both officers and men turned and fled.

The fight of the heavy cavalry brigade with the Russian cavalry is one of the most glorious in the annals of the British army. The brigade was under the personal command of Lord Lucan, under whom was General Scarlett. The actual combat was begun by Scarlett with three

hundred men of the Scots Greys and Inniskilling Dragoons, and this small body charged up a slope upon a mass of Russian cavalry not less in number than 2000. The assailants, though they were so enormously outnumbered, yet individually were heavier men and mounted on heavier horses, and the result was that they cut their way into the great mass of Russian horse by which they were opposed, and slowly forced themselves through it, becoming of course in the process more or less broken up into single horsemen or groups. The bodily exertions that each had to make in order to cut down his enemies and save his own life were naturally of the most trying character, and all the more so that the stuff of which the Russian horsemen's outer coats were made was so thick as often to be proof against the sabre's edge. Nevertheless the three hundred seemed actually to be gaining the upper hand of their foes, when the assistance of the rest of the heavy cavalry, the 4th Dragoon Guards, the 5th Dragoon Guards, and the Royals, completed the enemy's discomfiture and converted them into a broken and fleeing mass. The victorious dragoons were greeted with a ringing cheer from the 93rd, and Sir Colin Campbell in delight rode up to his gallant countrymen, and uncovering, said, "Greys! gallant Greys! I am sixty-one years old, and if I were young again I should be proud to be in your ranks." Others, both French and English, expressed enthusiastic admiration for the gallantry of the heavy brigade on this occasion.

Meanwhile the British light cavalry division, numbering nearly 700 men, instead of assisting the heavy cavalry or completing the rout of the Russian cavalry, had been kept simply looking on, with the men fretting and fuming at their inactivity. This arose from the mistaken notions of their commander, the Earl of Cardigan, and the fact was observed "by the Russians with surprise and thankfulness, by the headquarters staff of the English with surprise and vexation, by the French with surprise and curiosity." Lord Cardigan thought that Lord Lucan, his superior officer, had given him instructions to hold the particular position in which he was placed, and on no account to leave it, but to defend it against any Russian attack; and thus an excellent opportunity for making use of the light brigade was lost. This brigade was soon to be still more unfortunate, though at the same time it was to cover itself with glory, and with glory that will last as long as that which clings to the name of Thermopylæ. The famous "charge of the six-hundred" was now to take place. This charge, as is well-known, was made through an erroneous inter-

pretation of orders, and there has been much discussion as to the party with whom the blame should chiefly rest. Mr. Kinglake seems to make it clear enough that the main share of the blame must be borne by Lord Lucan, who received a written message from Lord Raglan, which he did not interpret as it was clearly meant to be interpreted. The commander-in-chief, thinking the Russians were about to carry off the guns they had taken from the Turks in the redoubts, gave orders for the cavalry to advance and endeavour to recover those guns, but Lord Lucan, misled according to his statement by a gesture of Captain Nolan, who carried the message, conceived that the guns referred to were those belonging to a battery situated far down a valley in the heart of the Russian position. An attacking force would thus have to run the gauntlet between a heavy fire from both sides of the valley, not to speak of that from the battery in front, and before it could accomplish anything definite would have to brave and defy a great part of the Russian army. However, Lord Lucan gave orders to Lord Cardigan to advance towards the guns, and though believing the enterprise desperate, his lordship at once obeyed, riding himself at the head of his men. Everyone knows what followed: how our devoted cavalry rode down the valley of death, their numbers thinned every minute by the cross fire of the Russians; how a death-dealing volley from the battery in their front never checked their onward career; how they dashed up to and through the guns, cutting down the gunners; how they drove in flight before them Russian cavalry numbering thousands; and how after all this they were still able to cut their way back, a shattered remnant, to their anxious but exultant comrades.

Lord Raglan was deeply grieved and annoyed at the loss of so many of his small force of cavalry, and regarded the famous charge as a great misfortune, though in private he could not but assert that it was "perhaps the finest thing ever attempted." General Bosquet's criticism on the charge is well known: "It is splendid, but it is not war." The troops taking part in the charge belonged to the 4th Light Dragoons, the 13th Light Dragoons, the 8th Hussars, the 11th Hussars, and the 17th Lancers. When it went into action the brigade consisted of 673 horsemen, of whom at the first muster only 195 were present. It was subsequently found that the killed and wounded together numbered 247, namely, 113 killed and 134 wounded. Few prisoners were taken. With the charge of the Light Brigade, and the opportune and swift attack of the Chasseurs d'Afrique upon the Russians lining one side of the valley, the battle of Balaklava came to an

end, the result being thus on the whole indecisive. The Russians in Sebastopol were greatly elated by the result of the battle of Balaklava, and on the day following a sortie from the town was made by a force of about 5000 men, who were defeated by part of the troops under General De Lacy Evans.

The third great battle of the war was fought on the 5th November, the scene of it being Mount Inkerman, an irregular elevated mass on the east of Sebastopol. The Russians had by this time obtained great reinforcements, and could now oppose at least 120,000 men to the Anglo-French army of 65,000 men and 11,000 Turkish auxiliaries. The Czar's generals were confident that they could now crush the audacious invaders and free the soil of Holy Russia from the presence of the foe; Prince Menschikoff even wrote to the Emperor Nicholas that in a few days they would perish by the sword or be driven into the sea. The battle began at early morning in mist and darkness, and raged without intermission till about one o'clock, when the Russians began to retreat. The mist and darkness were in favour of the Russians, who were able to plant their artillery in a favourable position and come up in great force before their presence was known. The brunt of battle had first to be borne by the second division under General Pennefather (General Evans being absent owing to illness), who with 3300 men was able to drive from the field a force of 15,000 Russians by whom he had been attacked. But the enemy could always bring up fresh troops to oppose our wearied soldiers, as the Russians had altogether 40,000 men in the attack of Mount Inkerman, while only 7500 British troops were from first to last engaged against them, this force, in addition to the second division, consisting chiefly of the fourth division, and the first division, or Guards—the Grenadiers, Coldstream, and Scots Fusiliers. The Highland brigade was not engaged in the battle, its duty being to cover and protect Balaklava. Besides being strong in numbers the Russians were also admirably served by their artillery, which was far more powerful than ours, though when Lord Raglan got two 18-pounders brought up this inequality was redressed. Efficient aid was also lent to our side by the French after they discovered that a threatened attack upon them was only intended as a feint, and altogether they sent forward about 8000 men to our assistance. Inkerman has been called "the soldier's battle," since there was less of generalship and able manœuvring in it than of hard fighting by each individual combatant. "On our part it had been a confused and desperate struggle; colonels of regiments

led on small parties and fought like subalterns, captains like privates. Once engaged, every man was his own general. The enemy was in front advancing, and must be beaten back. The tide of battle ebbed and flowed, not in wide waves, but in broken tumultuous billows. At one point the enemy might be repulsed, while at a little distance they were making their most determined rush. . . . Nine hours of such close fighting, with such intervals of cessation, left the victors in no mood for rejoicing. When the enemy finally retired there was no exultation as when the field of the Alma was won; it was a gloomy though a glorious triumph."¹ The Russians had lost in killed, wounded, and prisoners about 11,000 men, including six generals. The British loss was also heavy, amounting to 2357 killed and wounded, the former numbering 597. General Sir George Cathcart was killed while isolated with a small body of men amongst the Russians. General Strangway was killed by the side of Lord Raglan while the latter was directing the operations of the battle. The Duke of Cambridge had his horse shot under him and his arm grazed by a ball. The French loss on Mount Inkerman was over 900 killed and wounded.

A winter of dreadful suffering and loss to the British followed, owing to the want of proper arrangements for the supply of food, fuel, shelter, and warm clothing. Great supplies of these necessities, and of all kinds of munition of war, had unfortunately been lost through a furious storm which raged in the Black Sea on the 14th November, and wrecked a number of transports with the loss of 1000 lives. The tents and huts of our soldiers were at the same time blown away, and the sick and wounded exposed to all the inclemency of the weather. Many lives were lost in this way, and our army was altogether in a hapless state for some time. The indignation of the people at home was roused, the ministry were attacked for their mismanagement of the war, and in January, 1855, Lord Aberdeen's government had to resign, Lord Palmerston now becoming premier, after which the contest on our side was carried on with greater vigour, though it was not till well into the year 1855 that our troops were able to carry on the siege with the necessary supplies and with comparative comfort.

In March, 1855, the Emperor Nicholas died, but the war was continued by his son, Alexander II. While the siege continued to advance and the siege-works of the allies to be pushed nearer, sorties were from time to time made by the be-

sieged, so that the allies had to be constantly on the alert in order to repulse them. Other important positions in the Crimea were occupied, and the possession of Eupatoria on the west, and of Kertch on the east, both seriously threatened the communications of the Russians, and furnished the means of destroying a large portion of their supplies. The peninsula was thus virtually conquered, and a successful issue of the siege began to be confidently anticipated. At an early period of the siege the Russians, by sinking a number of large ships across the mouth of the harbour, had rid themselves of the danger of an attack by sea. The remainder of the fleet within the harbour was still available for defence, and, from its powers of locomotion enabling it to change its position so as to meet emergencies, was able greatly to retard the besiegers. Decided progress, however, continued to be made by the allies, and the besieging forces were greatly increased in numbers, our troops being raised to 30,000, while the French numbered 120,000 in all. The Sardinians had also taken part in the war against Russia, and sent a contingent of 15,000 men. At home the enlistment bounty had been raised to £8 per man, and recruiting went on briskly in Scotland and especially in Glasgow, where a body of fine young men was raised for the army. On the 7th of June, 1855, the French captured the Russian position on the Mamelon, a commanding height, and thus got within striking distance of the Malakoff, a strong fort regarded as the key of the Russian fortress. On June 17th and 18th the town was bombarded, as it had been on several occasions before—and the first assault took place. The result, however, was disappointing, the French failing to capture the Malakoff, and our men being equally unfortunate in their attack on the Redan. On June 28th Lord Raglan died, and was succeeded by General Simpson; the French had already got a new leader in General Pélissier, who took the place of General Canrobert. On August 16th the Russians tried to create a diversion in their favour by an attack from outside the town, but their attempt was defeated, a force of 6000 men under Liprandi being overthrown at the Tchernaya by the French and Italians. During the 5th, 6th, and 7th of September, 1855, a terrific fire was kept up day and night by the allies upon the Russian works and town, both from the land batteries and from mortar-boats, causing immense damage—dismounting guns and destroying forts, as well as killing thousands of men. On the 8th of September another assault was made, and the French were successful in capturing the Malakoff, while our men took the Redan,

but were not in sufficient force to hold it. The Russians, however, on the night of the above day, aware that further defence was impossible, withdrew to the northern side of the harbour, after sinking their ships and blowing up the defences of the town, which was now taken possession of by the allies. There is no reason to doubt that in another campaign the Russians might have been driven entirely out of the Crimea, as the allies latterly had 200,000 men present at the seat of war. Preparations for further warlike operations were going on when overtures of peace were made, and a treaty was concluded at Paris on 27th April, 1856.

The war so far as Britain was concerned had not been entirely confined to the Crimea, but among the other operations connected with it we need only mention those of the fleet in the Baltic under old Sir Charles Napier, and the siege of Kars. Great deeds had—somewhat unfairly—been expected of the Baltic expedition, but little resulted except the capture of Bomarsund, a fortress on one of the Åland Islands. The disappointment at the results accomplished by Sir Charles led to his being superseded by Admiral Dundas, but nothing of moment took place except the bombardment of Sveaborg. The fortress of Kars in Armenia was occupied by a Turkish garrison, and under the direction of the British commander, General Williams, the place was gallantly held against the Russians till starvation compelled the defenders to yield (November, 1855). In the Crimean war some 3500 of our men had been killed in action or died of wounds, and 24,000, it is said, had died of cholera and other diseases, aggravated if not caused by the privations and vicissitudes to which they had been exposed.

After the three great battles of the war Sir Colin Campbell received the command of the first division, on the return of the Duke of Cambridge to England. During the winter of 1854-55 he held command at Balaklava, and continued to render useful services during the siege, but, though his merits were freely admitted, he did not receive the full recognition to which he was entitled at the hands of the authorities of the war department. In November, 1855, he was passed over in favour of General Codrington, when that officer was appointed commander-in-chief in the Crimea in room of General Simpson, though Sir Colin had a much better claim to this position. To be sure many honours did naturally fall to his share, but as he was now well-stricken in years, one would have expected that there was little likelihood that he would have an opportunity of further distinguishing himself in war-

fare. However, a crisis arose in India which seemed to demand his presence above that of every other man. The satisfaction was therefore universal when it was known, in July, 1857, that Sir Colin Campbell had been appointed commander-in-chief in India, for the purpose of quelling the mutiny of the sepoy troops, which threatened the loss of our eastern empire.

Our connection with the Indian peninsula had begun merely in the way of commerce, our first possessions there being factories or commercial centres established by the East India Company, which was first chartered in the year 1600. Gradually this great trading and privileged corporation had acquired the control over wide tracts of country, and had become one of the most powerful of the various governments among which the whole of India was shared, having not only a great number of officials in its civil employment, but also keeping up large bodies of troops, consisting partly of Europeans and partly of native Indian soldiers or sepoys. For a time the British had the French as their most dangerous rivals in India, and in the reign of George II., while we were warring in Europe with our ancient enemies, India also became the scene of a severe struggle as part of the same contest (the war of the Austrian succession). Fortunately the East India Company had the great Clive and other able leaders in its service, and the result was, that by 1767, when Clive finally left India, all danger to our interests from the French was at an end, and the company was all-powerful over a great part of the peninsula, especially Bengal and the south-east. Clive's greatest victory was at Plassey (June 23, 1757), over Surajah Dowlah, rajah of Bengal. A great extension of our power took place under Warren Hastings, who in 1774 was the first to receive the title of governor-general of India. During his rule, which lasted till 1785, Hyder Ali and the Mahrattas made themselves formidable antagonists to us in Southern India, and were not overthrown without difficulty. By this time the home government was taking an ever increasing share in the affairs of India, and from 1784 the independent political action of the company was little more than nominal. The defeat and death of Tippoo Sahib, son of Hyder Ali, at Seringapatam (1799) added twenty-thousand square miles to our territory in Southern India. Then followed among other events the great victory over the Mahrattas, gained by Wellesley (Wellington) at Assaye (1803), the capture of Delhi, the residence of the Mogul emperors, and the suppression of the Mahrattas and Pindarees. The capture of Rangoon (1824) was the beginning of our con-

quest of Burmah. On the other side of India, our interference in the affairs of Afghanistan from fears of Russian designs led to a great disaster in the winter of 1841-42, a British force that had for some time been kept at Cabul having been annihilated by the Afghans, who suddenly rose in revolt, Sir Alexander Burnes and others having been first massacred. Sir Alexander was a native of Montrose, and a member of the family to which Scotland's greatest poet belonged. A war and the chastisement of the Afghans naturally followed, after which came the annexation of Sind, and the first and second Sikh wars (1845-46, 1848-49), ending in the addition of the Punjab to our Indian possessions. The second Burmese war gave us another slice of that country, forty-thousand square miles in extent (1853), and Oudh—a territory as large as Belgium and Holland together—was added in 1856. In the building up of this empire in India and the events connected therewith, Scotsmen had naturally taken their share of the work, whether in war or peace; and the names of Sir Hector Munro, Sir David Baird, Sir John Malcolm, Sir Alexander Burnes, Mountstuart Elphinstone, Lord Minto, and Lord Dalhousie, are not among the least noteworthy in the annals of India.

The rule of the Marquis of Dalhousie, which lasted from 1848 to 1856, was marked not only by extensive annexation of territory, but also by the inauguration of the railway and telegraph systems and other public works. Though his schemes were conceived in the interests of the country, they raised much opposition, and partly led to the outbreak of the mutiny that took place in the reign of his successor, Lord Canning. The causes of the mutiny, however, were many and complex, and on this subject we cannot do better than quote from one of the most recent and trustworthy authorities on India, Sir W. W. Hunter:

"The various motives assigned for the mutiny appear inadequate to the European mind. The truth seems to be that native opinion throughout India was in a ferment, predisposing men to believe the wildest stories and to rush into action in a paroxysm of terror. Panic acts on an Oriental population like drink upon a European mob. The annexation policy of Lord Dalhousie, although dictated by the most enlightened considerations, was distasteful to the native mind. The spread of education, the appearance at the same moment of the steam-engine and the telegraph-wire, seemed to reveal a deep plan for substituting an English for an Indian civilization. The Bengal sepoys especially thought that they could see farther than the rest of their countrymen. Most of them

were Hindus of high caste; many of them were recruited from Oudh. They regarded our reforms on western lines as attacks on their own nationality, and they knew at first-hand what annexation meant. They believed it was by their prowess that the Punjab had been conquered and that all India was held. The numerous dethroned princes, or their heirs and widows, were the first to learn and take advantage of this spirit of disaffection and panic. They had heard of the Crimean war, and were told that Russia was the perpetual enemy of England. Our munificent pensions to their families had supplied the funds with which they could buy the aid of skilful intriguers."¹ The British troops in India were also far too few in numbers compared with the native troops, and at this time were even below the normal number, the brief war with Persia having called away a number of them, while others that had been sent to the Crimea had not been replaced. The incident of the "greased cartridges" was what formed the immediate instigation to the outbreak; cartridges that had been greased with the fat of cows—an animal held sacred by the Hindu—and with the lard of pigs—an animal abhorrent to the Mohammedan—having been with culpable negligence served out to the Bengal regiments. Steps were at once taken to remedy this grievance, but to allay suspicion of a religious nature is much more difficult than to excite it.

The first serious outbreak of mutiny occurred at Meerut, about 35 miles from Delhi, on the 10th May, 1857. Here the sepoys rose and massacred a certain number of Europeans, and though the movement might have easily been crushed at once, the incapacity of the British officers allowed the mutineers to march off unmolested to Delhi, where the descendant of the Mogul emperors nominally reigned. The native regiments stationed here and the people of the town at once joined the mutineers, a massacre of Europeans took place, and the restoration of the Mogul empire was proclaimed. The magazine at Delhi was blown up by our people; but unfortunately the explosion was only partial, and most of its contents fell into the hands of the mutineers. European troops were now summoned from all quarters. Several regiments were detached from an expedition which was proceeding under Lord Elgin to China, and the Persian war having been happily concluded, the troops engaged there were immediately recalled. When news of the mutiny reached the Punjab the mutinous spirit which prevailed among the large body of Hindustani troops

¹ *The Indian Empire*. By Sir William Wilson Hunter, K.C.S.I., &c. Third Ed. (1893); p. 438.

there was promptly subdued by disarmament, Sir John Lawrence and those with him acting with the greatest wisdom and prudence. The Sikhs, though the Punjab had been so recently annexed, continued faithful, and furnished many recruits for service in the emergency. But the revolt had spread rapidly elsewhere, and British authority was almost extinct throughout the Bengal Presidency. Everywhere the mutiny was attended with savage excesses—women were outraged, and Europeans, without distinction of age or sex, barbarously murdered.

The chief centres of the warlike operations that took place before the mutiny was crushed were Cawnpur, Lucknow (the capital of Oudh), and Delhi. Sir Hugh Wheeler, at Cawnpur, was betrayed by Nana Sahib, maharajah of Bithur, who, after offering him his aid, took the mutineers into his pay, and raising the Mahratta standard, besieged him. The siege, or rather bombardment, lasted from 7th to 24th June, when a capitulation was agreed to, on a sworn promise of the infamous Nana Sahib to allow the garrison to retire to Allahabad. On the 27th the embarkation was proceeding when the boats were attacked by the Nana's troops, and the men indiscriminately massacred. The women and children were for the time made prisoners, but were afterwards massacred on the approach of Sir Henry Havelock and his troops. Sir Henry had made a difficult march from Allahabad, defeating hosts of enemies by the way. Having occupied Cawnpur he then marched on Lucknow. Sir Henry Lawrence, chief commissioner of Oudh, had fortified and provisioned the residency at Lucknow, and the Europeans found a precarious refuge here. Sir Henry was killed on the 4th July, but the Europeans were able to hold out till relieved by Havelock and Outram on 25th September. Havelock had done wonders with the little force at his command—in which the men belonging to the 64th regiment and the 78th Highlanders especially distinguished themselves—but was unable to relieve Lucknow till assisted by the reinforcements under Outram. The relieving force fought its way into the town with difficulty, losing General Neil as it advanced, and was so weak that it was surrounded by the rebels, and had itself to wait for relief. The siege of Delhi began early in June, the British attacking force being at first only about 3000 in number, while the rebels in the city numbered 30,000. Both men and heavy guns were sent from the Punjab by Sir John Lawrence, and Sir Archdale Wilson having battered breaches in the walls the assault was made on the 14th September, and the town taken after six days of desperate fighting.

By this time Sir Colin Campbell had arrived on the scene. He had left London in less than twenty-four hours' notice, and travelling by express, was the first to bring to India the tidings of his appointment as commander-in-chief. The main interest of the war had now concentrated on Lucknow, where our people under Outram and Havelock were besieged, the greater number in the fortified residency inclosure, the rest in the Alum Bagh, a walled garden some three miles from the residency. Sir Colin having drawn together all the troops he could, advanced from Cawnpur with a force consisting chiefly of British troops (the 93rd regiment forming part of it), and comprising infantry, cavalry, and artillery. On the 10th November he reached the Alum Bagh. This he entered on the 12th after a smart skirmish, but he had still a desperate resistance to encounter before he could relieve the besieged residency. Proceeding by a circuitous route he first took the Dilkoosha park and palace, after severe fighting; the Martinière, an educational institution that had been fortified with guns, was next taken; and then the Secunder Bagh, the chief rebel stronghold, was assailed. This was an inclosure with a high wall of strong masonry, loopholed all round, and occupied by the mutinous sepoys in great numbers; while the neighbouring houses were also loopholed and occupied by rebels. After the attack had lasted for about an hour and a half the place was taken by storm, with the loss to the enemy of about 2000 men. A strongly-fortified mosque and inclosure had next to be taken, and this also was accomplished by our troops in the most brilliant manner, the 93rd Highlanders especially distinguishing themselves in this exploit. Soon after communication was opened up with the residency, the garrison of which had been by no means idle during this time; and a joyful meeting now took place between Sir Colin, Outram, and Havelock.

The work of Sir Colin Campbell, however, was not ended when he stood as a conqueror within the walls of the residency. Lucknow itself was still in the hands of the rebels, who might at any time return to the attack, and the relief of the residency could only be temporary so long as the helpless crowd that composed so large a portion of the occupants was still immured in the building. The place must not only be evacuated, but the women, the children, the sick, and the wounded removed, and protected upon a perilous retreat. A retreat of this kind might be more difficult and dangerous than the advance itself had proved. To cover his movements, Sir Colin opened a vigorous cannonade upon the Kaiser Bagh or king's palace in

Lucknow, so that the rebels in the city might think they were about to be attacked in earnest, and while their attention was thus withdrawn, he formed a line of posts on the left rear of his position sufficiently strong to resist the enemy's attacks. While the rebels were thus occupied with the cannonade upon Lucknow, and preparing to resist an attempt to capture the city, the women, children, and invalids were silently conveyed along the line of posts on the night of the 22nd of November, and after them the garrison, the retreat being protected by judicious arrangements of the army—and to close the whole, Sir Colin himself went out with the last line of infantry and guns, as the body most likely to be attacked by the rebels. These precautions were indeed necessary, as the only way of retreat lay through a long and crooked line; but, strange to tell, no interruption was offered: still expecting an attack on Lucknow, the rebels opened a fire upon the residency, and continued it for hours after the place was evacuated.

Lucknow was only to be temporarily abandoned to the mutineers until the commander-in-chief could return in greater force, and meantime Sir James Outram with 3500 men was left in occupation of the Alum Bagh. The noble Havelock had unfortunately died of dysentery before the final withdrawal of Sir Colin, and was buried in the Alum Bagh. His inestimable services in suppressing the mutiny had made his name a household word in England.

The ultimate destination of the retreat was Cawnpur, now in possession of the British, where the safety of the rescued multitude might in some measure be assured; but here an unexpected event had occurred which disturbed Sir Colin's calculations. General Windham, who occupied the place, had been attacked by an overwhelming force of the rebels, and driven out of the city into his intrenchments, where he was closely besieged, and in the utmost danger. The first intimation which Sir Colin received of the danger in his march to Cawnpur, was from a sound of heavy firing in that direction; but on continuing his march on the following day, messenger after messenger came to him with tidings of Windham's disaster, upon which he hastened to the scene of action. On seeing that Cawnpur was in possession of the enemy, his first care was for the wounded, sick, and non-combatants from the residency, and these he managed to convey across the Ganges on their way to Allahabad—a tedious and dangerous operation, which occupied several days, and was not fully effected until the 3rd of December. Being thus lightened for action, and having completed his arrangements for an

attack, he advanced on the 6th of December against the enemy, who were 25,000 strong, and had thirty-six guns—and he inflicted on them such a defeat that they were pursued nearly fourteen miles, leaving behind them all their guns and ammunition.

After this the dispositions of Sir Colin for the suppression of the rebellion were so judicious, that at the close of the year (1857) the final issue could be no longer doubtful. In the greater part of the country the British ascendancy was restored, and the rebels, instead of mustering armies, could only continue the war in light predatory bands, which were crushed as often as they were encountered. The great centre of the rebellion, however, still continued to be Lucknow, and the rebels had made good use of the time since they were last attacked in doing all they could to strengthen the place for defence, by throwing up earthworks, forming stockades and barricades in the streets, and loopholing the houses.

After repairing the effects of General Windham's disaster, and establishing the British authority in Cawnpur, Sir Colin Campbell made preparations for ending the rebellion by the capture of Lucknow, where General Outram still held possession of the Alum Bagh. The troops employed over a wide extent of country in putting down the rebels were moved to Lucknow as their place of united action, and early in March, 1858, the reduction of the city began. Various fortified places in the suburbs were successively attacked and occupied, and after days of hard fighting everything was in readiness for a combined attack upon the city itself. Here, although the resistance was terrible, the result could not be doubtful, and in a short time the fine city of Lucknow was stormed and given up to plunder, while such of the rebels as had the good fortune to escape were fleeing in thousands along the neighbouring highways. Among the troops that assisted at the capture of Lucknow were the 42nd and 93rd regiments, and the stalwart Highlanders might have been seen fighting side by side with the short but sturdy Ghoorkas, themselves highlanders of a very different race.

After the recapture of Lucknow comparatively little remained to be done except to tread down and extinguish the smouldering embers of rebellion, lest they should rekindle a new flame, and with Sir Colin's active co-operation and guidance this task was speedily accomplished. The mutiny brought about an entire change in the government of India, the East India Company now being abolished, and all their territories put directly under the crown as represented by a viceroy.

The exultation at the full recovery of our Indian empire was in proportion to the dread of our losing it that had for a time prevailed. It was also felt that, though much was owing to those gallant chiefs who had so bravely and successfully borne the first brunt of what was apparently a hopeless contest, yet it was the measures taken by Sir Colin Campbell that had decisively turned the scale in our favour, and established our rule in India more firmly than ever. Due recognition of his services was not long delayed. In 1858, besides being promoted to be a full general, and made colonel of his regiment, the 93rd, he was also created a peer; and as he had not a foot of land of his own on which to rest his designation, he was invested with the title of Baron Clyde of Clydesdale, from the name of the river on the banks of which he had been born. In 1859 he received the thanks of both houses of parliament, and had a pension of £2000 assigned to him. In 1861 he was nominated a Knight of the Star of India, an order then first founded, and in November, 1862, he was promoted to the highest grade of his profession, that of field-marshal. He died on August 14th, 1863, in the seventy-first year of his age, and as he had never been married, his title became extinct. He was buried in Westminster Abbey, his grave being not far distant from that of his friend and companion in arms, Sir James Outram, who had predeceased him but a short time. It was entirely his personal merits that raised Sir Colin Campbell to the position which he attained, as he had neither wealth nor powerful friends to push him on in his profession.

Shortly before the outbreak of the Indian mutiny, war had begun with Persia owing to its seizure of Herat. The warlike operations did not attain much magnitude, and peace was soon concluded. A war with China, which began about the same time, was of more moment. We had now the French as our allies, and peace was not finally secured till the Chinese capital Peking had been entered by the allied troops (October, 1860).

Among domestic events of this period we must mention a severe financial crisis which affected both Scotland and England in 1857. The beginning of the trouble seems to have been caused by the numerous bankruptcies which took place in America, many of the failures, both of banks and commercial houses, being for very large sums. The drain of bullion from the Bank of England led to the rise of its rate for discount and loans from 5½ per cent to 6, 7, and latterly on the 19th October to 8. On the 27th of the month the Borough

Bank of Liverpool failed, with liabilities estimated at £5,000,000, and soon after this the directors of the Bank of England raised their rate to the unprecedented figure of 9 per cent, which was increased to 10 per cent on the 9th November. On this same day it was announced that the Western Bank of Scotland, whose head office was in Glasgow, had come down, its liabilities being judged to be about £6,000,000 or £7,000,000. A run on the other Scottish banks immediately took place, but all were able to meet the demands on them except the City of Glasgow Bank, which had to stop on the 11th—though the stoppage was only temporary. The crisis caused a great demand for gold in Scotland, and first £300,000 and then £800,000 in sovereigns were obtained from the Bank of England, which also sent £1,000,000 to Ireland. The gold in the bank was now reduced to about £7,000,000, and the issue of notes had risen so high as to have reached within £975,000 of the total amount that the bank was authorized to issue, while the demands upon them still continued; “so that had the directors even proposed to go on, they could not have given accommodation to a farther extent than £1,000,000, while the cessation of such assistance would infallibly have brought a demand upon them which they could not have met; and would certainly have brought down such a number of mercantile firms that the disaster would possibly have destroyed us as a mercantile community. Under these appalling circumstances, the government resolved to authorize the directors to break the law under promise of indemnity, and enabled them to issue their notes to any amount at a not less rate of discount than 10 per cent.” This step, combined with the announcement that parliament would be summoned to meet early in December, appears to have had a tranquillizing effect, for the panic rapidly subsided. The numerous failures, however, brought distress upon many, and the effects of the fall of the Western Bank were severely felt in Scotland. It turned out that this bank had been in an insolvent condition for some years, owing to the immense advances that had been made to certain firms whose securities had a merely nominal value. Nevertheless, at the preceding annual meeting in June, the profits for the year were represented to be £145,826, and a dividend of 9 per cent was declared. Soon after, the directors found themselves falling into serious difficulties, and it became necessary to endeavour to get assistance from the other Scottish banks. In this, however, they were unsuccessful, and the result was, as already stated, that the bank had to close its doors. Besides

losing their paid-up capital of £1,500,000, the shareholders had to pay upon each share a call of £125.

In February, 1858, a change of government took place, Lord Palmerston's government being defeated in the House of Commons on a bill—the Conspiracy to Murder Bill—dealing with conspiracies got up in Britain against the lives of foreign sovereigns. The origin of the bill was an outcry raised in France, owing to the fact that the plot of one Orsini against the French emperor, and which ended in nearly killing the emperor and empress by bombs, had been contrived in England. On the application of the French government Lord Palmerston proposed to treat such conspiracies as felonies, while they had previously only ranked as misdemeanours; and public opinion in this country was roused in favour of the British right of sheltering political refugees, as well as annoyed at the tone of the French press and military men. The Earl of Derby again became premier, with Disraeli as chancellor of the exchequer and leader of the House of Commons. The new government did not last long, however, being defeated in June, 1859, on a bill for further parliamentary reform. Lord Palmerston, with a new parliament, became prime-minister once more, having Mr. Gladstone as chancellor of the exchequer, and Lord John Russell as foreign secretary.

We have next to chronicle the establishment of the volunteer force with which we are now all so familiar, that force which has as its motto the most appropriate sentiment, "Defence not defiance." Volunteers in Britain, as we have seen, were no new thing, but more than a generation had passed since the country was familiar with such a force. At this time the question of the defence of the country had begun to press itself on the attention of the public owing to various causes, one of these being the bellicose tone assumed by a number of French officers, who in congratulating the emperor on his escape from the bombs of Orsini had spoken of England as a den of assassins, and of destroying for ever "the infamous haunt in which machinations so infernal are planned." On the 12th May, 1859, a circular was issued by the secretary for war announcing that permission was to be given for the formation of volunteer rifle corps, under the provisions of the Act 44 George III., cap. 54, as well as artillery companies in maritime towns where there might be forts or batteries. The Prince Consort took an immediate personal interest in the organization of the volunteer force, and when the government decided to authorize the formation of the corps, the prince applied himself to the study of

the means of organizing these bodies in such a way as to make them a permanent defensive force, on which the country might confidently rely upon an emergency. The results were embodied by him in an elaborate series of "Instructions to Lord-lieutenants," which he sent to General Peel, as secretary for war, on the 20th of May, 1859. It was by him found to be so complete that he submitted it three days afterwards to the cabinet, by whom it was adopted and ordered to be issued forthwith. Accordingly it was printed and sent out to the lord-lieutenants throughout the kingdom next day (25th May), and formed the code for the organization and working of these volunteer corps. The movement was taken up with great enthusiasm, and by all ranks and almost all ages—excluding, of course, the very young and the very old. On the 8th of December Prince Albert wrote to Stockmar that volunteer corps were being formed in all the towns: "The lawyers of the Temple go through regular drill. Lords Spencer, Abercorn, Elcho, &c., are put through their facings in Westminster Hall by gaslight in the same rank and file with shopkeepers. Close on 50,000 are already under arms."

So rapidly did the enrolment of our citizen-soldiers proceed, that in March, 1860, there were 70,000 volunteers belonging to the various corps in England and Scotland, including the very pick of the male population of the two countries. In order to show her interest in and approval of this movement the queen announced her intention of holding a special levee, in order that every officer in the force might be personally made known to her. This ceremony took place at St. James's Palace on the 7th March, and drew together nearly 2500 officers, presenting an interesting and extremely diversified picture in their uniforms of so many different hues and patterns. Before the end of the summer the volunteer force numbered 170,000 or 180,000 men, and on the 23rd June a great review was held in Hyde Park, at which 21,000 of the men were present, the queen herself with Prince Albert being on the ground to inspect them. Their personal appearance and bearing were everything that could have been desired, and the proficiency already attained in military training was quite remarkable. By this time the National Rifle Association had been instituted, and the first of the annual competitions in rifle shooting for its prizes was held at Wimbledon on July 2nd, the queen herself firing the first shot. The queen's special prize of £250 was first shot for at this meeting, and the successful competitor was Mr. Edward Ross, of the 7th North York volunteers, son of a Scottish gentleman famous as a deer-stalker.

On the 7th August a great review of Scottish volunteers was held at Edinburgh in the Queen's Park, before Her Majesty, the Prince Consort, and various members of the royal family. As is well known the volunteer movement was taken up with great enthusiasm in Scotland, an enthusiasm which has continued to be manifested in the fact that Scotland, in proportion to its population, has always had a much larger number of volunteers than England. By the middle of 1860 about 30,000 Scottish volunteers had been enrolled, and so diligent had they been in making themselves acquainted with their military exercises, that a great many of them were now fairly proficient. The ground chosen for the review is admirably adapted for such a purpose, being the wide and level area stretching eastward from Holyrood Palace, and overlooked on the south by the slopes which form the base of Arthur's Seat. On the northern side facing Arthur's Seat was erected a spacious gallery for the accommodation of the most distinguished personages who were to be present on this occasion. The great mass of spectators, several hundreds of thousands in number, were ranged on the slopes and heights on the south, whence they could not only command a fine view of the military display, but had also spread out before them one of the most interesting and picturesque scenes that are anywhere to be beheld. "A nobler arena for such a display could not be imagined," says one account of the scene; "and the enthusiasm of the multitudes, which covered every inch of ground on slope, and peak, and crag, from which it could be seen, made even more exciting a spectacle that abounded in features peculiarly fitted to satisfy the eye and to quicken the imagination. Of all the cities of Europe none presents so many points as Edinburgh for giving effect to holiday movement and display. The spot, moreover, on which the review took place was not merely dear to Scotchmen from the associations of history and romance, but it has in itself more features of mingled beauty and grandeur than any other in the 'gray metropolis of the North.'

"The gathering was a truly national one. From all parts of the country vast multitudes flocked to Edinburgh to testify their loyalty to the queen, and the hold which the volunteer movement had upon their hearts. As the English counties had sent the flower of their local

corps to the review in Hyde Park in June, so now came a goodly array of the best blood and bone and sinew from nearly every county in Scotland to swell the general muster. From the Orkneys, 'placed far amid the melancholy main,' from Caithness, from Inverness, from Aberdeen, from the hills of Argyleshire, from the banks of Loch Tay, from the straths and upland pastures of the valley of the Tay, from Forfarshire, Fifeshire, and Stirlingshire came the picked men of each district. Nithsdale, Annandale, Galloway, Roxburghshire, and Selkirkshire sent their contingents from the south, swelled by troops from Tynemouth, Alnwick, Sunderland, and Whitehaven; while Glasgow and the West of Scotland furnished about one-third of the entire force of at least 22,000 men, of whom 18,000 or more were Scottish corps, who came together on that day to salute their sovereign under the windows of the ancient palace of Holyrood."

In the morning the queen and the prince had visited her majesty's mother, the Duchess of Kent, who was staying at Cramond House, a small cheerful house looking across the Firth of Forth, and her royal highness was present at the review, there being also present Princess Alice, Prince Arthur, Princess Helena, Princess Louise, and Prince Leopold. The Prince Consort rode on the right side of the queen's carriage, and the Duke of Buccleuch, as lord-lieutenant of the county and captain of the royal body-guard of Scottish Archers, on the left. The gentlemen forming the Scottish Archers, in their peculiar costume, were much remarked. Her majesty and suite first rode slowly along the front of the line of volunteers from one end to the other, and having then taken up a position at its centre, the march past began, lasting for more than an hour. When the last brigade had returned to its original position the men were again re-formed in line, whereupon the whole body advanced, presented arms, and saluted. This having been acknowledged by her majesty, the men burst into enthusiastic cheers, which were immediately taken up by the whole of the assembled multitude. "The effect," wrote a spectator, "of the cheering on the hillside was not less than sublime. Peal after peal broke forth in thunder, carried away by the strong wind, to be again and again renewed."

CHAPTER IV.

REIGN OF VICTORIA (1861-1887).

Death of the Queen's mother—Death of the Prince Consort—The Prince's position in regard to public affairs and matters of state—His earnestness to advance every good work—His illness aggravated by his unselfish efforts—Sympathy for the Queen in her bereavement—Sermon by Dean Milman—Funeral and entombment of the Prince—The marriage of the Prince of Wales announced and settlements made in consequence—Princess Alexandra of Denmark arrives and is united to the Prince—Death of Lord Palmerston and subsequent changes of government—Parliamentary reform again taken in hand—Great meetings in favour of reform at Glasgow, Edinburgh, and elsewhere—Mr. Disraeli's Reform Bill for England passed with many alterations—The Reform Bill for Scotland and the changes introduced by it—Increase in number of the Scottish representatives—The General Election of 1868 gives the Liberals a great majority under Mr. Gladstone—Measures passed under his government—Elementary Education Acts for England and Scotland—Brief sketch of educational progress in Scotland—The establishment of School Boards and other provisions now introduced—The religious difficulty and how treated—Subsequent enactments—Mr. Gladstone's government succeeded by that of Mr. Disraeli—Ashantee war—Church Patronage of Scotland Act and proceedings connected therewith—Mr. Gladstone's views—The Conservative government and the Eastern Question—Their Indian policy brings trouble with Afghanistan—Failure of the City of Glasgow Bank—State of affairs—Trial of directors and officials—Liquidation, and consequent ruin of shareholders—Mr. Gladstone's political campaign in Scotland in view of approaching election—His triumphal progress and speeches as candidate for Midlothian—Returns to power at head of the Liberal party—War in Afghanistan—General Roberts and his famous march—War with the Boers—Our interference in Egypt—Army sent under Sir Garnet Wolseley—Battle of Tel-el-Kebir—The Highland Brigade at the battle, and their deeds as described by Sir Archibald Alison—Affairs in the Soudan and failure to relieve General Gordon—Further extension of the franchise—Household suffrage in the counties—Service franchise—Redistribution of seats—Additional members given to Scotland—Changes thus brought about—Secretary for Scotland appointed—Dissolution and general election—Mr. Gladstone again returned for Midlothian—Lord Salisbury resigns and Mr. Gladstone becomes premier—Mr. Gladstone's Irish policy brings about a general election, and the return of Lord Salisbury to power—The Crofter Question—Royal Commission and its report—Over-population and depopulation—Suggestions of the Commissioners—Crofters' Holdings Act—Proceedings carried out under it—The Jubilee of the Queen.

Some years now passed, uneventful so far as the country at large was concerned, yet eventful and momentous enough for some of the highest in the land. On the 10th of February, 1861, the Queen and Prince Albert celebrated the twenty-first anniversary of their marriage. Within little more than a month a great gap was made in the circle of the royal family by the death of the Queen's beloved mother, an event which, though looked forward to as one that could not be very long delayed in the natural course of things, yet brought deep grief to her majesty when it came. Whatever alleviation and comfort could be given by the sympathy and consolation of an affectionate husband was of course received by her majesty in her affliction; but alas! before the year was out, this husband was himself no more—her stay and comfort was taken from her side, the great calamity of her life had taken place. The Prince Consort died on December the 14th, 1861. He had been in poor health for some time, suffering from bad digestion, rheumatic pains, sleeplessness, and general weakness. He had never been very robust, and seems to have overtaxed his strength in his constant desire to be making himself useful in some respect or other. Too wise to be a meddler in public affairs, and knowing well how to keep within strictly

constitutional limits, he was always anxious to do what lay in his power to help in the government of the country; and his sagacity, experience, and wide information were found to be of much value and importance to the queen and to successive governments. His influence also went far beyond matters of state and politics, and extended to all movements for the advancement of art, science, education, and material progress, so that he was led to undertake an amount of public business beyond the ability of his physical powers to sustain. Recurring illnesses during the past few years might have warned him that the strain upon his powers was too great, and led him to take the necessary relaxation; but this he neglected to do, possibly feeling that he had duties that he must continue to perform. By the end of November he was feeling decidedly ill, his illness being no doubt aggravated by one or two visits he made in wet and boisterous weather, including a visit to the Prince of Wales at Cambridge. He would not treat himself as an invalid, however, and as at that time there was much excitement because of the serious dispute with America regarding the seizure of Mr. Mason and Mr. Slidell, the Confederate envoys, on board the British mail-steamer *Trent*, he was almost constantly occu-

pied in conference or correspondence with members of the government. The last thing ever written by the prince was a draft of alterations and amendments which he proposed should be made in a despatch to be sent to the American government through our representative at Washington on the subject of this momentous affair, which threatened to result in war. The original document seemed to him to contain matter likely to cause dangerous irritation in America, and his suggested alterations, which were accepted by the government, were intended to obviate this. On the 2nd of December Dr. (now Sir William) Jenner and Sir James Clarke were sent for, the prince's condition now becoming serious. It was soon seen to be a case of typhoid or gastric fever, which gradually exhausted the patient's strength, till on the evening of Saturday the 14th December he quietly passed away.

The sympathy with the queen was universal; her sorrow extended to all her subjects—and was no less deep than sincere. The sermon preached by Dean Milman in St. Paul's Cathedral, on the first Sunday after that on which the melancholy intelligence had reached the nation, contained a passage which well expressed the common sentiment of the country: "From the highest to the lowest it is felt that a great example has been removed from among us—an example of the highest and the humblest duties equally fulfilled—of the household and everyday virtues of the husband and father, practised in a quiet and unostentatious way, without effort or aid: as it were by the spontaneous workings of a true and generous nature. To be not only blameless but more than blameless in those relations is not too common in such high positions; but his duties to the queen's subjects as well as to the queen, his duties to the great English family dispersed throughout all the world as well as to the young family within the chambers of the palace, were discharged with calm thought and silent assiduity. No waste of time in frivolous amusement, in vain pomp and glory, but usefulness in its highest sense: schemes of benevolence promoted; plans for the education of the people suggested and fostered with prudent and far-seeing counsel, and with profound personal interest; great movements for the improvement of all branches of national industry, if not set on foot, maintained with a steady and persevering impulse; in short, notwithstanding foreign birth and education, a full and perfect identification of himself with English interests, English character, English social advancement. All these things have sunk gradually, if not slowly, into the national mind. He was ours, not merely by adoption, but, as it were, by a second nature."

After the death of the prince consort the queen, who during the sorrowful time of his illness had been aided by the calm devotion of the Princess Alice, called her children around her, and, though borne down with grief, exhorted them to assist her in doing her duty by them and by the country. The funeral of the prince took place at St. George's Chapel, Windsor, on the 23rd of December, and, though attended by some of the highest dignitaries of the realm and the royal household, the ceremony was almost private. The coffin was only placed in the entrance of the royal vault and not in the vault itself, as her majesty had determined to have a mausoleum constructed in the gardens at Frogmore, and had already selected the place which was to be occupied by the building. The day was kept generally throughout the country as a day of mourning, shops being shut and business suspended. Within a year afterwards the mausoleum was completed, and on the 18th of December, 1862, the remains of the Prince Consort were removed thither from St. George's Chapel, a temporary stone sarcophagus having been provided to receive the coffin, which was not finally placed in the permanent sarcophagus afterwards prepared for it until the 28th of November, 1868.

A very different event from that which we have just chronicled was soon to take place in the circle of the royal family, and was to enlist in an equal degree the sympathy of the nation, though associated with feelings of an entirely opposite cast. This was the marriage of the Prince of Wales, announced as a forthcoming event in the *Gazette* of 4th October, 1862. It had then been arranged that the prince should marry Princess Alexandra of Denmark, eldest daughter of Prince Christian, Duke of Schleswig-Holstein-Glücksburg, the heir to the Danish throne. The prospect of this union was pleasing to the people of England and Scotland on various grounds. There was a feeling that the princess, as a Dane, was in a sense one of our own race, and there was also perhaps a feeling that as alliances with German houses had hitherto been so common among members of our royal family it was as well that on this occasion there should be a change; while it was known that political considerations and reasons of state had nothing to do with the projected match, which was generally understood to be founded on mutual affection. Report also had declared that the "sea-king's daughter from over the sea" was one of the most beautiful princesses in Europe, and it was found when she made her appearance among us that report had certainly done her no more than justice. In view of the prince's approaching marriage it was necessary that a suitable income should be settled upon his royal

highness, and accordingly it was agreed by the House of Commons that, besides £60,000 a year from the Duchy of Cornwall, he should also receive £40,000 a year from the consolidated fund, making a total income of £100,000. Princess Alexandra was brought over from the Continent by the royal yacht, and landed at Gravesend on the 7th March, 1863, arrangements having been made for the marriage ceremony to take place in St. George's Chapel, Windsor. The prince met his bride at Gravesend, and their progress from thence to Paddington station, where they took the train to Windsor, was a continuous scene of enthusiastic welcome on the part of the myriads that lined the route, eager to catch a glimpse of their future queen. On the 10th the marriage was duly solemnized, the ceremony and its surroundings forming a most imposing and brilliant scene. The wedding-day was kept as a holiday in every part of the United Kingdom, and the demonstrations of rejoicing took every form in which the loyalty of the public could find expression: illuminations, fireworks, bonfires, torchlight and other processions, public banquets, entertainments to poor people, children's treats, and other demonstrations of every kind. The favourable impression which the beauty and gracious demeanour of the princess left upon every one who then saw her was but the beginning of that deeper and warmer feeling towards her which has long prevailed among all classes throughout these islands. On the 8th January, 1864, the princess gave birth to a son, who received the names of Albert Victor Christian Edward. A second son—Prince George—was born on June 3 of the following year.

For some years about this time Scotland may be said to have been in the happy condition that belongs proverbially to the country that has no history, so little took place that need be recorded in such a general sketch as can here be given. From 1859 to 1865 Lord Palmerston continued to hold the position of premier of the United Kingdom. The great civil war in America roused an absorbing interest among all classes in Britain during his tenure of office, dividing our people into two opposing parties—those who sympathized with the North and those who sympathized with the South—and almost leading the country into an active interference in the struggle. Great distress had been brought upon thousands of our operatives engaged in the cotton manufacture through this war, owing to the failure of the usual supplies of cotton. Lord Palmerston died in office on October 18th of the latter year, at the age of 81, bright and cheery to the last.

Earl Russell was now called on to form a ministry, which was merely a reconstruction of the

last. Mr. Gladstone again became chancellor of the exchequer, and in addition held the position of leader of the House of Commons. A general election had taken place the preceding July, the question of parliamentary reform being that on which it was chiefly fought, and the result was the return of a handsome Liberal majority. Mr. Gladstone lost his seat for Oxford University, but was returned by South Lancashire. Lord Russell's government was defeated, June 18, 1866, on their measure for an extension of the franchise, and a Conservative ministry, having the Earl of Derby at its head, came into power. Mr. Disraeli became chancellor of the exchequer, thus occupying the same post that he had previously occupied under the same leader.

The reform bill of the Russell ministry had been met first with indifference and then with opposition; and by the endeavours of a small party of Liberals, forming what was known as "the Cave of Adullam," it was defeated; but the government of Lord Derby had to take the same question in hand, as it was now becoming evident that the country would insist on a measure of reform. This was sufficiently emphasized by great meetings held in London, and in the large towns both of England and Scotland. In many places the meetings were really of imposing size. At Glasgow (in October, 1866), there was a reform procession estimated at 30,000 persons, and at the platforms on the Green resolutions were carried pledging the meeting to obtain registered residential manhood suffrage and the protection of the ballot, and thanking Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Bright, Mr. John Stuart Mill, and all other true friends of reform. At Edinburgh there was a similar meeting soon after, which drew together 40,000 or 50,000 persons in the Queen's Park.

On March 18th, 1867, Mr. Disraeli introduced a reform bill for England, and the measure, after receiving so many modifications in its progress through parliament as to be almost recast, received the royal assent on the 15th August. By this bill household and lodger franchise was conferred on the boroughs, while in the counties the franchise was conferred on occupiers of subjects of £12 ratable value, instead of £50 as formerly. A number of the small boroughs returning two members each now lost one, giving scope for the better representation of populous localities. The reform bill for Scotland passed next year was similar in its provisions, but in counties the occupation franchise was made £14 or upwards. Seven additional representatives were given to Scotland (some small English boroughs being abolished for the purpose), namely, one for the universities of Aberdeen

and Glasgow conjointly; one for those of Edinburgh and St. Andrews; one for the city of Glasgow, which thus had three members; one for Dundee, which now had two; and one each to the counties of Lanark, Ayr, and Aberdeen, which were divided into two divisions for parliamentary purposes. The total Scottish representation was thus raised to sixty members.

Before the passing of the Scottish reform bill Mr. Disraeli had attained the position of prime-minister on the resignation of Lord Derby, in February, 1868. About the same time Earl Russell retired from the leadership of the Liberal party, leaving Mr. Gladstone to take his place. The highly successful expedition against King Theodore of Abyssinia, who refused to liberate certain British captives, took place in 1868 under the leadership of Sir Robert Napier, who was rewarded with the title of Lord Napier of Magdala.

After the passing of the reform measures a dissolution of parliament and general election naturally took place, the month of November being that on which the country was called upon to give its verdict as between the two great parties in the state. The result was that the Liberals were returned with a majority of more than a hundred in their favour. In Scotland the success of the Liberals was remarkable, only seven Conservatives being returned altogether. Some of the more prominent members of the popular party, however, were rejected by their old constituencies by decisive majorities, among these being Mr. Gladstone, who lost his seat for S.W. Lancashire, but was returned without solicitation or expense by Greenwich. The position of the Conservative government was so hopeless that Mr. Disraeli resigned without meeting the new parliament, and Mr. Gladstone received the queen's command to form a ministry. In this ministry, as at first constituted, Lord Clarendon was foreign secretary; Lord Granville, secretary for the colonies; the Duke of Argyll, secretary for India; Mr. Lowe, chancellor of the exchequer; and Mr. Bright, president of the Board of Trade. Mr. Gladstone continued in power till 1874, the chief measures passed during this period being the disestablishment of the Irish Church (by the act of 1869), the abolition of purchase in the army, the Ballot Act, and the measures for the advancement of elementary education in England and Scotland.

The educational facilities provided in Scotland had long been superior to those of England. The views of Knox and his colleagues in regard to education were of an advanced character, and though they had never been carried out to their full extent, yet latterly in every parish there was a school giving at least elementary instruc-

tion, and very often also the higher teaching required to equip pupils for the university. The parish school, the grammar-school, and the university had thus long been features of Scotland, but the existing agencies did not now fully meet public wants, more especially since the great increase in the population of the towns. A considerable amount of good was accomplished by the system of annual privy council grants to schools, introduced in 1839 both in Scotland and England, along with government inspection, only such schools being inspected, however, as desired to earn the government money. Under this system many existing schools were improved and new ones added; five normal seminaries for the training of teachers were established (the first normal school in Britain was a private institution started in Glasgow in 1826 by David Stow); while the number of qualified teachers was greatly increased, and the benefits of inspection extended. The schools were denominational, and not national, however, and their denominationalism was intensified after the Disruption of the Church of Scotland in 1843. In 1869 a bill for extending and improving the system of education in Scotland was brought before the House of Lords by the Duke of Argyll. By this measure it was proposed to establish a board of education for Scotland, consisting of ten members, two to be elected by the conveners of counties, two by the burgh interest, two by the universities, one by the schoolmasters, and three, including a paid chairman, appointed by the crown. The denominational schools were to be absorbed, after a given date, in the parochial system. Payment by results was to be continued, and the highest standard of education which had hitherto prevailed in the parochial schools was to be encouraged. The bill did not meet with much acceptance either in the Lords or the Commons, and failed to become law.

In 1870 a comprehensive and much-needed measure for the improvement of elementary education in England was passed under the management of Mr. W. E. Forster. Next year the lord-advocate for Scotland introduced an education bill for that country, but immediately dropped it, and it was not till the following year (1872) that the measure was passed under which the school system of Scotland is now regulated. By this act, brought in by Lord-advocate Young, a school-board was to be established in every parish and every burgh, the board to be elected by the ratepayers, and to have the duty of furnishing satisfactory provision for elementary education. Education was now to be compulsory, parents having to send their children to

school from the age of five to that of thirteen years, unless satisfactorily educated otherwise. The schools were now to be supported by a rate levied according to requirements by the different boards, all owners and occupiers of real property being bound to contribute according to the value of their property. The "religious difficulty" was left to be settled by the people themselves, the preamble of the bill containing a statement that it had been the custom in the public schools of Scotland to give religious instruction to those whose parents did not object, and that "it is expedient that managers of schools shall be at liberty to continue the said custom." Accordingly the school-boards have generally continued religious instruction, based as previously on the Bible and Shorter Catechism, but subject to the "conscience clause," by which parents who wish may withdraw their children during the time of such instruction. The parish schools were now taken over by the new school-boards, which were established within a year of the passing of the act, but the position of the existing parochial teachers was not prejudicially affected. The national system thus established has been made more thoroughly effective since. In 1883 the school age was raised to fourteen years, and subsequently elementary education has been made entirely free. It was not deemed necessary to establish a central board of education in Edinburgh, and the Scottish schools as a whole still continue to be under the supervision of a special committee of the privy council, constituting an educational department for Scotland, and having its offices in London. The English act was less thorough in its provisions than the Scotch. In particular, it did not insist upon the establishment of school-boards everywhere, but only where education was not otherwise sufficiently provided for; and compulsory attendance was also not made the law; but subsequently this latter omission was remedied, and elementary education is now almost as general as in Scotland, though perhaps not quite of so high a character. The educational acts introduced the system of voting by ballot in the election of members of school-boards, and in 1872 an act was passed by which the same system was to come in force in municipal and parliamentary elections.

An attempt of the government to pass a new educational measure for Ireland led to their defeat and resignation in 1873, Mr. Gladstone's university bill having failed to secure the approbation of the House of Commons, mainly on the ground of excessive concession to the Roman Catholics. As Mr. Disraeli would not attempt to form another administration, the Gladstone ministry continued in office; but early next year

parliament was dissolved, and a general election took place. The elections were over by the middle of February—the voting being now for the first time by ballot,—and the result was that the Conservative party had a majority of fifty in the House of Commons. Scotland, however, still remained staunch to the Liberal side. Mr. Gladstone having now resigned, Mr. Disraeli was naturally called upon to form a new administration, and in this, his second, he had among his colleagues Lord Cairns as lord chancellor, the Earl of Derby as foreign secretary, the Marquis of Salisbury as secretary for India, the Earl of Carnarvon as colonial secretary, Mr. Gathorne Hardy as secretary for war, and Sir Stafford Northcote as chancellor of the exchequer. Mr. Gladstone now retired from the leadership of the Liberal party, and Lord Hartington took his place.

By this time the Ashantee war was going on—a little war forced upon us by the King of Ashantee, one of the most powerful of the native rulers in the coast region of Western Africa, who had attacked some of our native allies, and threatened our settlement of Cape Coast Castle. A small force was put under the command of Sir Garnet Wolseley, with Sir Archibald Alison as second in command, for the purpose of chastising this black monarch, the most important portion of the troops employed being the 42nd Highlanders, the 23rd Welsh Fusiliers, and a small naval brigade. The campaign was short but brilliant. The little army of 2500 men marched inland upon Coomassie, a great part of the route being through dense jungle, and having crossed the river Prah, was assailed by the enemy at a place called Amoaful. Here a stiff action was fought, the Ashantees outnumbering our troops by ten to one, and having the advantage of fighting in ambush. Though displaying great bravery, they were soon driven off in flight, and after some more fighting Coomassie was entered and burned, the king made submission, and our troops returned to the coast and re-embarked.

A government measure of some importance brought forward in the first session of the new parliament was the Church Patronage of Scotland Bill, introduced into the House of Lords by the Duke of Richmond, for the purpose of abolishing lay patronage in the Established Church and giving the right of electing their minister to the respective congregations. The qualification for an elector was to be that which existed in other Presbyterian bodies in Scotland, namely that he should be a male communicant. Compensation was to be given to patrons, but was not to exceed one year's stipend, where any compensation was demanded. The bill was

strongly advocated by the Duke of Argyll and other Liberal peers, but the duke thought that the proposed compensation was excessive, and considered that the choice of the minister should be left to the congregation generally. Mr. Gladstone warmly supported an amendment proposed by Mr. Baxter on the second reading in the House of Commons, to the effect that it was inexpedient to legislate on the subject of patronage in the Church of Scotland without further inquiry. Mr. Gladstone objected to the exclusion of the heritors from a distinct share in the election of ministers, to the omission of any provision for the needs of Highland parishes, and to the effects which the measure would have on the Free Church. What, he asked, were they going to do for those poor people whom they had driven out of the Established Church, and compelled to find ministers for themselves, to build churches, manses, and schools, and in fact to organize and pay for the establishment of a complete system of church government? If they would receive them back in bodies he would withdraw his opposition to the bill. If the General Assembly would, on terms of fraternal equality, communicate with the Dissenting bodies, and endeavour to bring about an union of equality, he would assist them to the fullest extent of his power; but the present bill was neither fair nor generous. He wanted to know what the General Assembly had done towards reuniting itself to bodies which it turned out holding the view which forms the basis of the present bill, and asked if the promoters of the bill considered it well to force, as they were doing, the Free Church into an attitude of disestablishment and disendowment, and thus excite a fierce and probably a prolonged and bitter controversy. Mr. Disraeli replied to Mr. Gladstone, and the second reading was carried by 307 to 109 votes, the bill in due course becoming law.

The government of Mr. Disraeli, or, to give him the title which he bore from the year 1876, the Earl of Beaconsfield, took a more outstanding position on account of its foreign policy and entanglements than on account of its home policy; and a large share of the premier's efforts went in the direction of checking designs attributed to Russia, and of restoring what was held to be the impaired influence of Britain in the councils of Europe. For this he had soon an opportunity in connection with the Eastern Question, which began to attract attention in 1875 through an insurrection against the Turks, and in 1877 reached an acute stage when the Russo-Turkish war broke out. In this war Russia came forward as the champion of the Servians, Bulgarians, and other oppressed

nationalities of the Balkan peninsula, and the "Bulgarian atrocities" of the Turks, against which Mr. Gladstone had thundered with all his eloquence, were the means of alienating much of the sympathy that would otherwise have been accorded them in their struggle with their powerful antagonist. The approach of the Russians to Constantinople was answered by the advance of the British fleet to the neighbourhood of the same city, and for a time it seemed as if we were to become parties to the contest. Events took a different turn, however, and peace was secured by the treaty of Berlin, which brought important gains to Russia—but not so great as she had originally expected—and loss to Turkey, and to Britain the island of Cyprus.

In Asia operations intended to strengthen India as against the advances of Russia landed us in a war with Afghanistan. A sort of demonstration against Russia had been made in 1876, when an act had been passed conferring the title of Empress of India on the queen, Lord Lytton being at this time Indian viceroy. Early in 1878, when war between Britain and Russia had seemed possible, the Russian government had sent an envoy to Cabul, with the apparent object of gaining for their cause the alliance of Shere Ali, the Afghan ruler. Lord Beaconsfield determined to retaliate by demanding the reception at Cabul of a British mission, in spite of Shere Ali's strongly expressed objection to receive a mission or to admit a permanent British resident. In September, 1878, a British envoy started from Peshawar with a considerable military force in attendance, but was stopped at the entrance of the Khyber Pass by an officer of Shere Ali, who declined to allow the mission to proceed until he had received authority from his master. This delay was regarded by our government as an insult to the British flag, and in November war was declared against Afghanistan. The Afghan resistance was easily overcome, and Cabul was occupied by our troops while another division of the army seized Candahar. Shere Ali had fled from his capital and soon afterwards died, being succeeded by his son, Yakoob Khan. In May, 1879, Yakoob signed a treaty at Gandamak (a place between Jellalabad and Cabul) binding himself to allow a British political agent to reside in his capital, while we agreed to assist him against any foreign enemies. Sir Louis Cavagnari was sent to Cabul as our representative, and within a month of his arrival occurred a tragedy like that of November, 1841, when Sir Alexander Burnes was murdered. Cavagnari and all the members of his mission were slaughtered at Cabul in a rising of the people, and operations were instantly undertaken to avenge them. A large force of British

troops entered Afghanistan and defeated bodies of insurgent Afghans in several engagements, occupying Cabul again under Sir Frederick Roberts in October, 1879. To this period belongs an unfortunate war with the Zulus of South Africa, the chief incident in which was the almost total annihilation of a body of our troops by the Caffres under Cetewayo, who himself was soon after totally defeated by Lord Chelmsford.

In 1878 a great commercial disaster occurred in Scotland in the failure of the City of Glasgow Bank, which had to close its doors on the 2nd of October, never to resume business. This bank had been established in 1839, had extended its operations over the whole country through its various branches, and was doing an excellent business, in so far as it confined itself to legitimate banking transactions. Affairs were rotten at headquarters, however, immense sums having been advanced by the directors to a few firms which had been unfortunate or reckless and had no means whatever of repaying them the borrowed money. The bank had been in difficulties for a number of years, but had gone on paying high yearly dividends, worthless assets being in its balance-sheets treated as if they were of real and not nominal value, while actual falsifications of accounts had been resorted to. The announcement of the failure caused consternation not only among shareholders and depositors, but also in the commercial community generally, especially in the West of Scotland; but the feeling was considerably mitigated by the announcement of the other Scottish banks, that with a view to lessen the inconvenience of the stoppage to the public they would receive in the ordinary course of business the notes of the bank now in circulation. The banks also arranged to make advances to those who had deposits standing at their credit in the books of the unfortunate bank. In a few days the official investigators appointed to examine into the affairs of the company announced that there was a deficiency in the funds amounting to no less than £5,190,983, to which had to be added the shareholders' capital of £1,000,000, so that matters were far worse than in the case of the Western Bank. Almost immediately after this the manager, secretary, and directors were apprehended at the instance of the lord-advocate and the procurator-fiscal for Lanarkshire, and after being brought before the police court were remitted to the sheriff on a charge of fraud. To this charge was subsequently added that of theft of bills left for collection, and the prisoners were then duly committed for trial. By this time, at a meeting of shareholders held in the City Hall, Glasgow, a resolution had been arrived

at to wind up the affairs of the bank by voluntary liquidation, but in a few weeks the liquidation proceedings were taken under the supervision of the Court of Session. The first call made upon the shareholders by the liquidators was for £500 per £100 of stock held, payable in two equal instalments on 23rd December and 24th February (1879). There were about 1300 shareholders when the bank stopped, including 174 holding stock only as trustees, and 360 women. Many were naturally unable to comply with such a demand, the result being that about a third of the whole number were at once ruined. A second and final call of £2250 per share was subsequently made, and this was paid in full by 176 shareholders. The Caledonian Bank had to stop for a time, owing to its having acquired some shares in the City of Glasgow Bank, and before it was known what its liabilities on this ground might ultimately turn out to be; but this stoppage fortunately was only temporary. When it was seen that the failure meant ruin to a large number of innocent people, many of them up in years, and perhaps depending entirely upon their bank dividends for a livelihood, a relief fund was immediately started on their behalf, and being liberally subscribed to, amounted ultimately to about £390,000. The result of the trial of the directors and manager, was that two of them were sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment, the other five to imprisonment for eight months. These sentences were not in themselves very severe, for the wrong-doing of the directors did not prove so heinous as had been at one time believed, yet for men holding the position that they had held their punishment must have been bitter enough. While this failure was disastrous to the shareholders, the notes of the bank were fully paid, and the general public did not suffer, in any direct way at least.

In the autumn of 1879 a great attack on the Conservative policy was undertaken by the chief members of the Liberal party, in view of the general election that could not now be much longer put off. The government was more especially arraigned on account of its foreign policy, and the difficulties into which we had drifted in Afghanistan. The massacre of our envoy and his suite at Cabul, and the government's dealings on the Eastern Question, all furnished grounds for the severest criticism and denunciation. The outstanding incident of this electoral campaign was the visit of Mr. Gladstone to Scotland, in connection with his intention of coming forward as a candidate for the county of Midlothian. It had been known since the beginning of the year that he was to contest the county, and his visit had been looked forward

to with the greatest interest, particularly on the part of his admirers. He set out from Liverpool on November 24th and returned to Hawarden on December 9th, having in the course of the fortnight delivered probably more political speeches and received more addresses than any statesman ever did within a similar period of time. His visit to Scotland was indeed a sort of triumphal progress, in which the enthusiastic demonstrations of his admirers ceased neither by night nor day. His first speech to the electors of Midlothian was delivered in the Music Hall, Edinburgh, on November the 25th, dealing chiefly with the government's foreign policy. Next day he delivered another great speech at Dalkeith, on this occasion touching on several Scottish topics, such as the disestablishment of the church, which he said was a question for the determination of the people of Scotland, and one that he was not called upon either to press forward or hold back. On the 27th he spoke at West Calder, treating mainly of questions connected with agriculture. On the 29th he spoke for an hour and a half in the Edinburgh Corn Exchange, and in the evening delivered a shorter address to a working-men's meeting in the Waverley Market. Lord Rosebery occupied the chair at both meetings, and described the reception that Mr. Gladstone had met with in the following eloquent and not inaccurate terms: "He has passed," he said, "through one long series of well-ordered triumphs, from his home in Wales to the metropolis of Scotland. There has been no village too small to afford a crowd to greet him, there has been no cottager so humble that could not find a light to put in his window; as he passed mothers have brought their babes to hush a hurrah, old men have crept forth from their homes to see him before they died. There have been no prepared ebullitions of sympathy; there have been no calculated demonstrations. The heart of the nation has been touched." Almost the only non-political speech delivered by the great orator on this visit was his inaugural address to the students of Glasgow University, of which he had previously been elected lord-rector.

The Liberals met with the reward of their great exertions on behalf of their party when the general election of Easter 1880 took place, being now returned with a majority over their opponents of about 106, besides the 60 Irish Home Rulers. Mr. Gladstone had delivered another series of Midlothian speeches, and Lord Hartington's election speeches had also been numerous. Mr. Gladstone now became prime-minister for the second time, taking also the post of chancellor of the exchequer.

Other members of the government were: Earl Granville, as foreign secretary; Sir William Harcourt, as home secretary; Lord Hartington, as secretary for India; Mr. W. E. Forster, as chief secretary for Ireland; Mr. Childers, as secretary for war; Mr. Fawcett, as postmaster-general; Mr. Chamberlain, as president of the Board of Trade; and Mr. Bright, as chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. With his retirement from office, Lord Beaconsfield's career as an active politician may be said to have come to an end, and he did not long survive the accession to power of a Liberal administration, having died on April 19th, 1881.

During the five years that Mr. Gladstone remained in power, though Ireland demanded a great deal of the attention of the government, and got a new Land Act in 1881, some important measures were passed that affected the country generally. Of these the most far-reaching were the Reform Act of 1884, making the county franchise the same as that of the boroughs, and the Redistribution of Seats Act that followed in 1885. A large share of the public attention, however, was attracted to the military operations of this period, which were carried on in Afghanistan, South Africa, Egypt, and the Soudan. Of these we cannot give any detailed account; we can only refer to some of the more prominent incidents.

In Afghanistan a serious disaster happened to a body of our troops on July 27, 1880. At this time, while Cabul was held by a force under General Sir Frederick Roberts, and Candahar by another force under General Primrose, there were two claimants to the sovereignty of the country, Abdurrahman Khan and Ayoob Khan. The latter having raised a considerable army at Herat, marched against Candahar, whereupon General Primrose sent out to intercept him a force of about 2500 men—mostly Indian soldiers—under General Burrows. These encountered the troops of Ayoob at a place called Maiwand, and being outnumbered by six or eight to one, were defeated with great loss. General Primrose was now shut up in Candahar with but a small force, and it became necessary to take measures for his relief. This was effected by General Roberts, who left Cabul with a picked force of about 10,000 men, made a great march of 320 miles in twenty-three days through pathless tracts of country, inflicted an utter defeat upon Ayoob near Candahar, and thus paved the way for the settlement of Afghanistan. His small army consisted of three brigades of infantry, one of cavalry, and three batteries of mountain guns. The infantry, besides excellent Sikh and Gorkha troops, included the 92nd Highlanders, the

72nd Highlanders, and the 60th Rifles (second battalion). The 9th Lancers formed part of his cavalry force. The baggage to be carried during the march was made as light as possible, and though of some European stores a quantity sufficient for thirty days was taken, the country itself was relied on to furnish what the war required, supplies being everywhere paid for. Before General Roberts started on his great march from Cabul, General Sir Donald Stewart, a distinguished Scottish officer, had arrived and taken the chief command as his superior in military rank, having twice defeated the Afghans on his way up the country. After recognizing Abdurrahman as emir of Afghanistan, he withdrew the troops from the country. For his services he received the thanks of parliament, was made a G.C.B. and a baronet, and subsequently held the post of commander-in-chief of the troops in India. Sir Frederick Roberts was also made a baronet for his services in Afghanistan, besides receiving various other honours.

Disaster was the chief feature in our war with the Dutch Boers of the Transvaal, a brief struggle which arose out of our annexation of this country in 1878. The Conservative government had apparently been misled as to the general feeling of the Boers in favour of annexation, whereas it turned out that the great majority were against it. At the end of 1880, accordingly, they declared the Transvaal once more a republic, and prepared to defend their claims by arms. They proved formidable opponents to the small numbers sent against them, more especially from their excellence as marksmen. On February 21, 1881, some seven hundred of our men, under Sir George Colley, were totally defeated at Majuba Hill, with the loss of their leader and a large number of officers. General Sir Frederick Roberts was at once despatched to the seat of war, and no doubt would have soon gratified the general outcry that the defeat should be avenged; but the Liberal ministry allowed peaceful counsels to prevail, and yielded to the Boers' demand for independence without doing anything to retrieve the disasters to our arms.

The interference of Britain in the affairs of Egypt arose from the financial difficulties into which Ismail Pasha had brought the country, and from the magnitude our interests involved. In 1879 Ismail had been deposed in favour of Tewfik Pasha, through the intervention of Britain and France, who continued to exercise a "dual control" in Egypt. A party hostile to the new pasha soon made its influence felt, and latterly found leaders in some of the colonels of the Egyptian army, headed by Arabi Pasha,

minister of war. In June, 1882, a rising took place at Alexandria, and some Europeans were massacred, whereupon a British fleet bombarded the forts, and landed marines and blue-jackets to restore order there. The insurrection was soon seen to require strong and speedy measures, and accordingly an armed force was sent from England under Sir Garnet Wolseley, Britain being left by France to take unaided what measures she deemed necessary. The safety of the Suez Canal was first secured, and after a brilliant action at Kassassin, the decisive battle of the war was fought, on September 12, when the troops under Sir Garnet Wolseley, amounting to 11,000 foot and 2000 horse, with 60 guns, stormed and took Arabi's strongly intrenched camp at Tel-el-Kebir. The Egyptian troops numbered about 25,000; but as the attack was made at dawn they were taken by surprise, and soon dispersed in total rout. On the right front of the attacking force was the brigade under General Sir Gerald Graham; on the left the Highland brigade under Sir Archibald Alison, consisting of the 74th Highland Light Infantry, the Cameron Highlanders, the Gordon Highlanders, and the Black Watch. It seems a matter of doubt whether the enemy's works were first entered by the Highlanders or the men of Graham's brigade.

As regards the movements and experiences of the Highlanders on that occasion, we cannot do better than quote their leader, Sir Archibald Alison, who, after the return of the troops from Egypt, was presented by the citizens of Glasgow with a sword of honour. The presentation took place on October 18th, 1883, and in acknowledging the great compliment paid him, Sir Archibald gave the following eloquent and instructive narrative of his and the Highlanders' share in the storming of Tel-el-Kebir, and the movements immediately preceding:—"The orders of Sir Garnet Wolseley were to march, covered by the darkness of the night, straight over the desert on the enemy's works—some five miles distant, and to storm without firing a shot the moment we reached them. My division leader, Sir Edward Hamley, agreed with me in thinking that any change of formation in the darkness must be avoided, and therefore the brigade formed for the march in the order in which it was to attack—two lines two deep. The rifles were unloaded, the bayonets unfixed, and the men warned that only two signals would be given—a word to 'fix bayonets,'—a bugle sound 'to storm.' When we had got over the longest part of the way a halt took place to rest the men, and now an incident occurred which shows the extreme difficulty of a night march, and tests the discipline of a force. When the

word 'to halt' was passed in a whisper from the centre, it took some time to reach the flanks, which thus halted considerably thrown forward, something in a crescent shape. In the darkness of that moonless night none of us observed this, and thus it came about that when the march was resumed the two horns of the crescent swung round so as almost to meet. The instant this was noticed a halt was quietly ordered, and as quietly made. The company of direction was redressed, the other companies of the battalion of direction silently formed upon it, the other battalions upon them, and the march was resumed. Such a formation in such circumstances, and so carried out, was a fair test of the discipline of the brigade. I never felt anything so solemn as that night march, nor do I believe that any one who was in it will ever forget it. No light but the faint stars, no sound but the slow measured tread of the men on the desert sand. Just as the first tinge of light appeared in the east a few rifle shots fired out of the darkness showed that the enemy's outposts were reached. The sharp click of the bayonets then answered the word 'to fix'—a few minutes more of deep silence, and then a blaze of musketry flashed across our front, and passed far away to each flank, by the light of which we saw the swarthy faces of the Egyptians, surmounted by their red tarbooshes, lining the dark rampart before us. I never felt such a relief in my life. I knew then that Wolseley's star was bright, that the dangerous zone of fire had been passed in the darkness, that all had come now to depend on a hand-to-hand struggle. A solitary bugle rang out, and with a cheer and with a bound that would have done your hearts good to see, the Highlanders rushed in one long wave upon the works. Then came an anxious moment—the roll of the Egyptian musketry was ceaseless. The first line went down into the ditch, but for a time could make no way. Then first one, then a few, then more figures were dimly discerned reaching the summit and jumping down behind it, and then the battle went raging into the space beyond. While this befell on the centre and right of the brigade, the left—where the Highland Light Infantry were—had a more chequered fight. They came right upon a very strong redoubt. No front attack could succeed—the ditch was too deep, the ramparts too high. The men filing off to each side endeavoured to force a way in on the flanks; and here a long stern hand-to-hand fight, attended with heavy loss, ensued, which was not finished until Sir Edward Hamley reinforced them by a part of the Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry and some of the King's

Rifles. On the right of the brigade also the advance of the Black Watch was arrested in order to detach some companies against a strong redoubt, the artillery from which was now in the breaking light playing heavily on General Graham's brigade and our own advancing guns. So earnest were the Egyptian gunners here that they were actually bayoneted after the redoubt had been entered from the rear whilst still working their pieces. Thus it came about that from both the flank battalions of the brigade being delayed, the charge straight to their front of the Gordon and Cameron Highlanders in the centre caused these to become the apex of a wedge thrust into the enemy's line. The advance of these battalions was stoutly opposed by the Egyptians of the 1st or Guard regiment, who fell back sullenly before them, and our men also suffered heavily from a severe flank fire from an inner line of works. Here one of those checks occurred to which the troops are always liable in a stiff fight—and a small portion of our line, reeling beneath the flank fire, for a moment fell back. It was then a goodly sight to see how nobly Sir Edward Hamley, my division leader, threw himself amongst the men, and amidst a very storm of shot led them back to the front. Here, too, I must do justice to the Egyptian soldiers. I never saw men fight more steadily. Retiring up a line of works which we had taken in flank, they rallied at every re-entering angle, at every battery, at every redoubt, and renewed the fight. Four or five times we had to close upon them with the bayonet, and I saw these men fighting hard when their officers were flying. At this time it was a noble sight to see the Gordon and Cameron Highlanders now mingled together in the confusion of the fight, their young officers leading with waving swords, their pipes screaming, and that proud smile on the lips, and that bright gleam in the eyes of the men, which you see only in the hour of successful battle. At length the summit of the gentle slope we were ascending was reached, and we looked down upon the camp of Arabi lying defenceless before us. The fight was won—for by this time our cavalry was circling round the rear of the Egyptian position, and the smoke and cheers upon our right showed where Graham's noble brigade was working its victorious way. One word more, and I have done. My late chief and kind friend, Lord Clyde, left me on his death-bed that sword of honour which you presented to him by my father's hands, to mark your appreciation of his great military services in command of the Highland brigade and division in the Crimea. I do feel proud this day to think that I can now lay down

THE BLACK WATCH STORMING A REDOUT AT
TEL-EL-KEBIR.

With a force of 11,000 foot, 2000 horse, and 60 guns, Sir Garnet Wolseley marched across the desert from the Suez Canal to attack the intrenched camp of the Egyptians under Arabi Pasha. The last five miles of the march were accomplished in the darkness of night, and at the first streak of dawn they reached the enemy's outposts. Here a few shots were fired by the surprised Egyptians, a blaze of musketry flashed from the ramparts, a bugle rang out from the English headquarters, and then the desperate attack began. On the right the charge of the Black Watch was arrested in order that they might silence a redout, the artillery from which played heavily on Graham's brigade and the advancing guns. *The Highlanders, accordingly, swept to the rear of the outwork, caught the gunners at their guns, and bayoneted them where they stood.* This was only one of many exciting episodes in a daring and successful venture.



STANLEY L. WOOD.

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THE HIGHLANDERS STORMING A REDOUBT AT THE
BATTLE OF TEL-EL-KEBIR. (A.D. 1882.)

beside it that sword which you have just conferred upon me, as the officer in charge of the Highland brigade in Egypt, and that I can do so without feeling that the reputation of our national regiments has been tarnished in my hands, or the glory they won under him dimmed."

The battle of Tel-el-Kebir practically ended the war in Egypt, which since that time has been governed under the supervision of Britain. Our connection with the country, however, soon entailed much trouble upon us, owing to the state of matters in the Egyptian Soudan. This great dependency of Egypt had been acquired by conquest, and was held by a number of Egyptian garrisons stationed at different points; but by this time the whole region was in revolt, the leader of the movement being Mohammed Ahmed of Dongola, who gave himself out to be the Mahdi, the long-expected redeemer of Islam. The Mahdi defeated every Egyptian army sent against him, and latterly the British government recommended that all the garrisons should be withdrawn, and the boundary of Egypt fixed at Wady Halfa or the second Nile cataract. British troops were sent out to relieve the garrisons of Eastern Soudan, and the heroic General Gordon, who had previously been governor-general of the whole region, undertook to effect the withdrawal of the garrisons at Khartoum and other places, unaccompanied by British troops. On his arrival he was received with enthusiasm by the people, but before long he was shut up in Khartoum by the insurgents. In the autumn of 1884 an expedition under Sir Garnet Wolseley was sent up the Nile for the purpose of effecting his relief. Unfortunately the relieving force, which had been despatched too late, was just too late in arriving. Khartoum had by this time been captured by the rebels, and Gordon had been murdered. Our men belonging to the Nile force, as well as those in the Eastern Soudan (in the Suakim district), had to encounter a desperate resistance at the hands of the fanatical Soudanese, who attacked them with the most reckless bravery, and were not driven back by the murderous fire of breech-loaders and Gatling guns till thousands of them had fallen. Tamai, on the Red Sea littoral, and Abu Klea, in the desert north of Khartoum, are names associated with two of those fierce struggles.

By this time the question of a further extension of the franchise had come to the front in home politics, the injustice of the existing law whereby a different qualification was required of the county voters from that of the borough voters having been often insisted on and uniformity urged. A bill to amend this state

of matters—a new reform bill—was introduced in the House of Commons by Mr. Gladstone on February 29th, 1884. The main object of the measure was to introduce household suffrage in the counties, as it had been already introduced in the boroughs, and the scheme was to apply to England, Scotland, and Ireland alike. While existing franchises, the chief being the household and lodger franchises, were to be practically unaffected, a new franchise, the "service franchise," was to be introduced, so as to give the franchise to any man inhabiting a dwelling-house by virtue of any office, service, or employment, the same house not being occupied by the person furnishing the employment. The new measure, Mr. Gladstone estimated, would add about 1,300,000 to the number of electors in England. In Scotland, which already stood in a better position in this respect than either England or Ireland, it would add over 200,000; while in Ireland the addition would be over 400,000. To the aggregate electorate of the United Kingdom, which might be taken at 3,000,000, it would thus add 2,000,000, nearly twice as much as was added since 1867, and more than four times as much as was added in 1832. Recognizing that the question of redistribution of seats must also be taken up, he proposed dealing with it in a separate bill, and he now gave expression to some of his views on the subject, stating particularly that the smaller boroughs, so many of which were in the south of England, must be prepared to yield seats for London and other great towns, for the counties, and for Scotland and the north of England.

The opposition to the bill was chiefly confined to the demand that it should first be made complete by the introduction of a scheme of redistribution, but the government were able to carry the second reading by a majority of 130, and the third reading was carried unanimously, the members of the opposition having vacated their seats. It was then sent up to the Lords, but was rejected on the ground that extension of the franchise and redistribution of seats ought to go together, and that the measure should not be passed without security that redistribution would come into effect simultaneously. In the autumn a series of meetings or demonstrations in favour of the bill took place—one at Glasgow being attended by some 50,000 persons,—and much strong language was made use of against the peers. An autumn session of parliament was held, and on October 24th, Mr. Gladstone again introduced the bill into the House of Commons, and it was soon passed once more on the second reading by a majority of 140, on the third reading without a division. By this time

negotiations had taken place between the Liberal and Conservative leaders, and an arrangement was arrived at whereby a redistribution bill was read a second time in the Commons before the franchise bill was passed in the Lords, the terms of the redistribution bill having already been agreed upon by the chiefs of both political parties. On December 6th the franchise bill finally became law, coming into operation on the 1st of January, 1885. The redistribution bill was not passed till June, 1885. Shortly before this Mr. Gladstone had resigned office on being defeated in regard to the budget proposals, and Lord Salisbury was again in power.

The redistribution act brought about very important changes in the distribution of the representatives to be returned to parliament. The total membership of the House was now raised to 670, and Scotland had its claims to additional representation recognized by receiving twelve additional members. The general principle introduced by the act was, that boroughs with fewer than 15,000 inhabitants should cease to be separately represented, that boroughs with fewer than 50,000 should not have more than one member, that boroughs with a population between 50,000 and 165,000 should have two members, and boroughs with more than 165,000 should have an additional member for every 50,000. Counties were to receive additional members according to their population, and all boroughs and counties returning more than one member were to have as many parliamentary divisions as members, each division returning one member. The twelve additional members now given to Scotland, raising the total number of its representatives to seventy-two—together with the two that remained for allotment by throwing the Haddington and Wigton districts of burghs into the counties—were allotted as follows:—to Glasgow four additional members, thus increasing its representatives to seven; to Lanarkshire four, making its representatives six; to Edinburgh two, making four; to Fifeshire, Perthshire, Renfrewshire, and the city of Aberdeen, one additional member each. A greater change in the distribution of Scottish representation was at one time contemplated, the lord-advocate having proposed that all burghs with a population of less than 1000 should be taken from the groups to which they at present belonged and merged in the counties, but this change was not pressed.

Besides the redistribution bill introduced by Mr. Gladstone's government and passed by that of Lord Salisbury, another bill of considerable importance to Scotland had been introduced

while Mr. Gladstone was in power, and was also passed under the government of his successor. This was a bill for creating a political secretary for Scotland, introduced in the House of Lords by Lord Rosebery in May, 1885, and passed in July. This measure was expected to result in greater attention being paid to Scottish affairs by successive governments, whether Liberal or Conservative. The first who held the new office was the Duke of Richmond and Gordon.

A dissolution of parliament followed in the month of November, 1885, and the new elections were all over before the middle of the following month, the provisions introduced by the recent acts being now in force. The result was the return of 333 Liberals, 251 Conservatives, and 86 Home Rulers. Scotland was now represented by 62 Liberals and 10 Conservatives, as compared with 53 Liberals and 7 Conservatives in the preceding parliament. Mr. Gladstone was again returned for Midlothian, having on this occasion an enormous majority in his favour over his opponent, Mr. C. Dalrymple. As before he visited his constituents, and delivered several important addresses, in which disestablishment of the Scottish Church, the foreign policy of the late government, and Mr. Parnell's demands for Ireland were the chief topics. The disestablishment question, so important in Scotland, he treated with great caution, but on the whole his words were in favour of its postponement for the present. On this visit he handed over to the corporation of Edinburgh the newly-restored market-cross in the High Street, erected at his expense in place of the one demolished in 1756. The demolition of the ancient cross, he said, might have been prompted by an erroneous idea of what constituted patriotism, and what was necessary to prevent a recurrence of Jacobite disturbances, but it was a proceeding tinged with barbarism, and in restoring the cross he felt that he had been instrumental in fostering the truly Scottish love for ancient recollections, and in repairing a serious breach in Scotland's historical traditions.

When the result of the elections was known, it was at once seen that the Conservatives, though far inferior in numbers to the Liberals, would have a small majority in the House of Commons if the Irish Home Rulers voted on their side, and this being so, there was some speculation as to whether the government would at once resign or wait till forced to do so by an adverse vote. The latter course was the one taken, and when in the end of January, 1886, the Parnellites voted on Mr. Gladstone's side in a division, putting the Conservatives in a considerable minority, Lord Salisbury resigned,

and Mr. Gladstone entered upon his third premiership.

Mr. Gladstone had now made up his mind in response to Irish demands to grant a parliament and Home Rule government to Ireland, and on April 8th introduced a bill "to amend the provision for the future government of Ireland," this being followed a few days after by a land purchase bill, offering to the Irish landlords the option of being bought out of their estates. These proposed measures caused a great falling away of the former supporters of Mr. Gladstone, and on June 7th his government was defeated on the second reading of the Home Rule bill by a majority of thirty. A fresh appeal to the constituencies naturally followed. The election took place in July, 1886, and the result was the overwhelming defeat of Mr. Gladstone's adherents, the number of Conservatives returned being 316, of Gladstonian Liberals 194, of Liberals opposed to Mr. Gladstone (Liberal Unionists) 78, of Irish Nationalists or Home Rulers 85. Scotland remained on the whole true to Mr. Gladstone, though his Scottish followers were now reduced in number to 42 (as compared with sixty-one in the preceding parliament), his opponents numbering 29, of whom 12 were Conservative and 17 Liberal Unionists. Mr. Gladstone again became member for Midlothian, and on this occasion was elected without opposition. He was also returned by the Leith Burghs as their representative, but he chose to continue to sit for his old constituency. As a result of the new position of parties Mr. Gladstone's government resigned before parliament met, and Lord Salisbury became premier for the second time. He retained this office for the next six years, and among his colleagues in office were Mr. W. H. Smith, as first lord of the treasury; Lord Randolph Churchill, who was chancellor of the exchequer for a short time, and was then succeeded by Mr. Goschen; Lord Idlesleigh (Sir Stafford Northcote); Mr. A. J. Balfour, who distinguished himself as chief secretary for Ireland; and the Marquis of Lothian, who followed Mr. Balfour as secretary for Scotland.

One of the last measures passed under Mr. Gladstone's short-lived administration of 1886 was an act for improving the condition of the crofters in Scotland, in those counties of the Highlands in which they are most numerous. The crofter question had been before the public for some years, and had indeed forced itself on public notice, owing to sundry riotous and disorderly proceedings in which bodies of crofters had indulged, such as deforcing sheriff-officers, taking possession of land adjoining their holdings though not belonging to them, and the like,

while they also proclaimed loudly that they were victims of oppression in various forms, and demanded redress of grievances. The cause of the crofters soon found plenty of advocates, and in 1883 a royal commission was appointed to inquire into their condition, and to investigate all matters affecting the same. The commissioners appointed were Lord Napier of Ettrick (chairman); Sir Kenneth S. Mackenzie, Bart.; Mr. Donald Cameron of Lochiel, M.P.; Mr. Charles Fraser - Mackintosh, M.P.; Mr. Alexander Nicolson, sheriff-substitute of Kirkcudbrightshire; and Mr. Donald Mackinnon, professor of Celtic in Edinburgh University. The commissioners began their work in Skye, on the 8th May, 1883, and by the 24th October following it was virtually completed, the commission having visited the eight counties in which crofters and cottars are most numerous, and received evidence from 775 persons. Their report was presented to parliament in April, 1884, and contains a great amount of interesting matter, part of which was not derived from evidence laid before them, but from independent investigation. They came to the conclusion that the rosy picture often painted of crofter life in the Highlands in former days was not justified by facts; that the crofter and cottar class then as now had many difficulties to contend with; that at no time that we know of was the usual production of the Highlands as a whole equivalent to the home consumption, but that grain had to be imported and paid for by live stock; that while formerly "in the whole community there was a larger proportionate number of persons living in rude comfort, there was also a larger number in a condition of precarious indigence; that the average amount of moral and material welfare is as great now as at any previous period; and that the poorest class were never so well protected against the extremities of human suffering." They concluded, however, that the crofters had reason for dissatisfaction on various grounds, such as undue contraction of holdings, insecurity of tenure, want of compensation for improvements, high rents, defective communications, and absorption of land in deer forests; while want of piers and harbours and other disadvantages were what more directly affected those living largely by fishing.

The question of the over-population of certain parts of the Highlands and the depopulation of others is no new one. In the latter part of the last century there was an extensive emigration from certain localities to America, and while this was partly caused by the introduction of sheep-farming, it was also caused to some extent by the increase of population and want of em-

ployment. The restriction in the area of crofter holdings, and the congestion of population in certain places, has been undoubtedly brought about by the extensive "clearances" effected on various occasions. Some of the most notorious of these were carried out in the early part of this century, especially in Sutherland. By such clearances numerous crofter families were removed, sometimes harshly enough, from lands that they had long occupied, in order that their holdings might be converted into sheep-farms, and were then forced, if they were not able to emigrate, to settle on the coast districts, and eke out a living by fishing or kelp-gathering—long an important and remunerative industry on the west coast and the islands. The subdivision of holdings among members of crofters' families is another cause of the smallness of so many existing holdings, though it is one not easy to deal with. But one cause why there is a crofters' question at all is, that the general standard of living in the country is higher than it was formerly, and that men are not contented to live in the humble and scanty fashion of their grandfathers—especially if they are taught by agitators that the general community ought to come to their succour.

The commissioners suggested various measures for the amelioration of the crofters' condition, these going more especially in the direction of enlarged holdings, to be acquired by crofter townships; fixity of tenure by means of leases; compensation for improvements; facilities for the purchase of holdings; and assisted emigration from overcrowded localities. Legislation was soon undertaken, and a bill for the relief of the crofters was brought before parliament in 1885, and again in 1886 (by Sir George Trevelyan), and after a considerable number of amendments was passed into law. This act, the Crofters' Holdings Act, affects only the

counties of Argyle, Inverness, Ross and Cromarty, Sutherland, Caithness, Orkney and Shetland, and in these counties it only affects crofter tenants, being those who do not pay a higher rent than £30 a year, and belong to a "crofting parish," or one in which there are holdings of arable land with a right of common pasturage attached. The act gives security of tenure on certain conditions, such as that the tenant must pay his rent punctually, must not assign his tenancy, nor sublet or subdivide his holding. Compensation for improvements on leaving holdings was also granted, as well as the right to have a "fair rent" fixed, commissioners being appointed under the act to whom a crofter or his landlord could apply in order to get the amount of the new rent settled. The commissioners were also empowered to make use of certain measures for enlarging crofter holdings where suitable adjacent land was available. The act was amended in some minor points in 1887, and under it the commissioners have held sittings in the different crofting localities and have settled many thousands of cases brought before them, fixing fair rents, cancelling arrears of rents unpaid, dealing with questions regarding common grazing grounds, enlarging holdings, &c. But though the act has now been in operation for some years, opinion seems still to vary greatly as to the amount of permanent good—if any—that has arisen from it.

The year 1887 was that of the Queen's Jubilee, her majesty having in this year completed the fiftieth year of her reign over a loyal and affectionate people. The 21st of June was held as Jubilee Day, and celebrations in honour of the event took place not only all over the British empire, but all over the world. That Scotland manifested all the joy and enthusiasm which such an occasion demanded, we need hardly seek to recall.

CHAPTER V.

HISTORY OF RELIGION IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

State of the Scottish Church at the beginning of the nineteenth century—Erroneous doctrines generally dis-
 countenanced—Assimilation in the doctrines preached by both parties—Chief distinctions between the
 Moderate and Evangelical ministers—Question as to pluralities held by churchmen—Circumstances in
 which the practice had been hitherto allowed—The subject opened with the case of Dr. Arnot—The
 case of Professor Leslie—Accessions of learning and talent to the popular party in the church—
 Dr. Andrew Thomson, Dr. Chalmers—Effects of M'Crie's *Life of Knox*—The plurality question renewed
 by the case of Professor Ferrie—New law to restrict the holding of pluralities—Trial for the entire
 abolition of plurality in the case of Principal Macfarlan—Earnest discussions on the subject in the
 church-courts—Plurality entirely abolished—The subject of missions revived—Its favourable reception
 by the assembly—The first mission of the Church of Scotland—The British and Foreign Bible Society
 and the Apocrypha controversy—The controversy chiefly conducted by Dr. Andrew Thomson—The
 Voluntary controversy—Change of the Seceders into Dissenters—Their hostility to all church establish-
 ments—Renewed efforts to modify patronage and give efficacy to the popular call—The Veto Law
 proposed—Proposal to give a constitution to chapels of ease—The popular party obtain the ascendancy
 —The assembly of 1834—The Veto Law again proposed and carried—Its conditions—Motion to grant a
 constitution to chapels of ease passes into law—Multiplication of such chapels in consequence—Insufficiency
 of the veto through the resistance of patrons—Case of the parish of Auchterarder—The parishioners veto
 the presentee—The church-courts justify the rejection—The patron and presentee appeal to the Court
 of Session—The General Assembly defines the nature and limits of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities
 —The case finally transferred to the House of Lords—They decide against the church—Opinion of the
 General Assembly on the verdict—Case of Lethendy—The presbytery of Dunkeld rejects an unpopular
 and inducts an acceptable presentee—The rejected candidate appeals to the Court of Session—The Court
 of Session condemns the presbytery—The case of Marnoch—A patron's presentee vetoed by the parish—
 The presbytery of Strathbogie adopts his cause—The members denounced for their contumacy—On con-
 tinuing their rebellion against the superior church-courts they are suspended—They appeal to the Court
 of Session against the sentence—Disregard of the civil authorities to the consequences of their usurpation
 —The defeated Moderates encouraged by the support of the courts of law—Their attempts to recover
 their lost ground frustrated—The Strathbogie ministers persist in their rebellion—They proceed to the
 induction of the rejected presentee to the parish of Marnoch—Particulars of the ordination—Proceedings
 of the General Assembly in consequence of this event—Motion for the abolition of patronage unsuccessful
 —Duke of Argyll's bill considered—The seven Strathbogie ministers deposed—Reform in the election of
 the eldership—An interdict of the Court of Session served upon the assembly—The insult condemned and
 denounced—Failure of the church's negotiations with government—The assembly decrees that patronage
 ought to be abolished—The assembly's declaration of the original rights of the church, and demand that
 they should be respected—Its resolution to forego the advantages of an establishment if these should con-
 tinue to be violated—Several ministers deposed—The case of Auchterarder again brought forward—The
 House of Lords confirms the sentence of the Court of Session—Astonishment of the church at this decision
 —A convocation summoned—Questions discussed at it—Declaration of the ministers, that they will sacri-
 fice the temporalities of the church rather than submit to the dictation of the state—Financial prepa-
 rations of Dr. Chalmers in anticipation of the Disruption—Committees established to collect funds—The
 Sustentation Fund—Preparations of both parties for the ensuing General Assembly—Levee of the com-
 missioner in Holyrood—Downfall of the portrait of King William—The assembly meets—The moderator
 reads the protest of the dissentients—They retire from the assembly—Their procession to Canonmills—
 New General Assembly formed at Canonmills—Dr. Chalmers appointed moderator—His opening address
 —Free Church formed—Situation of the old assembly on the retirement of the Free Church ministers—
 The empty benches occupied by the "Forty"—Prompt proceedings of the assembly of the Establishment
 in undoing the work of the departed ministers—Committee appointed to answer the protest of the Free
 Church—It remains unanswered—The Free Church—Its matured state at the commencement—Greatness
 of its undertakings—The Established Church—Its improved character since the Disruption—Union among
 the churches—United Presbyterian Church—Question of disestablishment—Innovations in church service
 —Improvement in church music—Relative membership of the established and other churches.

The eighteenth century having completed its cycle, the church was prepared for the eventful struggles of the succeeding century. On this account the state of the two great parties in the church at the beginning of the nineteenth century demands a notice, however brief. We have already hinted at the alarm which the French revolution had given to the infidelity and modified Christianity of the day. The Moderates had laid the warning to heart, and become less bold in announcing those liberal doctrines which tend to religious indifference or positive unbelief. Every doctrine, also, which could be identified directly or

indirectly with the French revolution was denounced not only as unsound but treasonable, and an offence against the powers that be. On this account they had recoiled before it was too late, and retraced their steps, so that while their teaching at the worst was a negative Christianity, many of their pulpits were distinguished by something better than mere lessons in ethics—by the positive doctrines of the gospel, and the regeneration it demands as the basis of the Christian character. But while the same truths were often inculcated by both parties alike, the style and manner of their preaching was so different as to cause a broad distinction. The Moderates were generally opposed to everything that looked like religious enthusiasm, so that their sermons, which were rather formal essays, gravely dwelt upon duties rather than doctrines; and as the labour of committing such discourses to memory is not an easy task, they were generally read from the pulpit, sometimes in monotonous tones, and generally with that absence of action which the reading of manuscript occasions. Such a kind of oratory, so little adapted to the Scottish temperament, brought Moderatism into additional disrepute, so that to say of a minister, “he preaches up wars,” or “he’s only a paper man,” was tantamount among the common people to saying, “he is a Moderate.” On the contrary a minister of the popular party behaved to be a Boanerges; and it was his endeavour to become so by sermons delivered *memoriter*, with abundance of striking action, while his themes were generally the doctrines of the Calvinistic creed and the uselessness of all works without faith. Thus it was that the exaggerations of the former kind of religious teaching so often tended to Arminianism, and of the latter to Antinomianism. In private life and general demeanour, also, the two parties were quite distinct, so that while the motto of the former seemed to be, “All things are lawful for me,” that of the latter was, “All things are not expedient.” The Moderate minister, upon an extraordinary occasion, as in the case of the representation of Home’s *Douglas*, might go to a play; he might take a hand at cards; he might dance, he might sing, because these were things indifferent. But not so the man of the opposite party, who scowled at these amusements as either in themselves positively sinful or incentives to sin, and who even shunned laughter as inconsistent with his sacred calling. In matters of talent, learning, and eloquence both were generally upon a par, and this was to be expected of men educated under the same rule and for the same office. In the struggle between the two parties who were thus equalized, the popular suffrage which the one enjoyed proved an un-

equal counterpoise to the political advantages of the other, and at the commencement of the nineteenth century the rule of the Moderates was absolute, and their triumph complete. And this consummation, also, the French revolution had materially tended to promote. Terrified at the event our political rulers regarded the popular voice as dangerous, and took every means to suppress it, while their favour was reserved for the Moderate party, who had shown themselves so submissive to court dictation and so ready to enforce it.

The question of pluralities was now to form an important subject of controversy in the church. At the Reformation, and long afterwards, the most learned portion of the community were the clergy, and hence their intimate connection with all the different departments of public instruction. This was especially the case with our colleges, in which ministers occupied the principal chairs, chiefly from the difficulty of finding laymen qualified to fill them; and the professor, in addition to the duties of his literary office, still continued to exercise his clerical functions in the town where the university was situated. It was the least objectionable form in which a plurality of charges could exist in the church, and long-established usage had sanctioned the practice of uniting those two important offices in one and the same person. But the time had come when it was to be subjected to a severe ordeal, and tested in all its forms and applications. In 1800 Dr. Arnot, professor of divinity in St. Andrews, received a presentation to the parish of Kingsbarns, which was six or seven miles distant from the town; but how could he continue to unite the daily duties of an efficient professor with those of a minister residing in his pastoral charge? The question was raised in the presbytery, but unsuccessfully; the objection on being carried to the synod was also defeated; and a final appeal was made to the General Assembly. But although the Moderate party prevailed, so that Dr. Arnot was allowed to retain his chair and become minister of Kingsbarns, the debate upon the subject had roused inquiry as to whether pluralities in the church were expedient, or should any longer be tolerated.¹ The public doubt, which had thus been awakened, was still further strengthened by the Leslie case, which occurred in 1805. The chair of mathematics in the University of Edinburgh having become vacant, two candidates competed for it, the one being Mr. Leslie, afterwards Sir John Leslie, and the other Dr. Macknight, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, and son of the celebrated commentator. Of Leslie it is enough

¹ *Scots Magazine*, 1801.

to say that he had already acquired a European reputation by his scientific discoveries, and would have ennobled any university in which he bore office, while the philosophical attainments of Macknight were not particularly remarkable. But, being a minister of Edinburgh, his clerical brethren wished to secure his appointment to the professorship, and used every effort to that effect with the town-council of Edinburgh, who were patrons of the college. While the affair was in this state two of the most distinguished of the professors, Stewart and Playfair, wrote to the lord-provost, showing that the duties of the chair of mathematics were enough for any man, however talented, and therefore incompatible with the holding of a ministerial charge in the city—and persuaded by these representations, the choice of the town-council was inclined towards Leslie. But could not the tide be turned? In a treatise on *Heat* Mr. Leslie had used certain expressions in a note on cause and effect, and these the Edinburgh clergy represented as being of a deistical or even atheistical tendency. Their remonstrance with the town-council was ineffectual, for Leslie was chosen professor, upon which the ministers brought their appeal against his appointment before the presbytery, the synod, and finally the General Assembly. The two parties were now arrayed against each other in a most unwonted kind of antagonism. The Moderates, who had placed their chief glory in toleration and the right of liberal inquiry, and been the champions of all who were accused of infidelity and heresy whether in church-courts or by public opinion, were now the zealous advocates for orthodoxy; while the popular party—the “wild men,” as they were generally called, whose hand was against every man who made the slightest defection from the Confession of Faith, were banded for the defence of one who was branded as a follower of Hume and Spinoza. The public began to suspect that the Moderates were neither so learned and liberal, nor the Evangelicals so shallow and intolerant as it had hitherto been the fashion to represent them. And never, perhaps, since the Reformation did the Church of Scotland display such talent as on the two days in which the Leslie case was before the General Assembly. The learning, the talent of the land, the profound thought and metaphysical acumen of the Scottish mind, sharpened and intensified by religious zeal, had brought not only ministers but judges, lawyers, and professors upon the arena, and there was no man, however able, but could find in the opposite ranks a fit antagonist. After the hurtling of such an intellectual tournament, and when the bewildering dust had settled, the votes were taken, by which it appeared that the

popular party had gained the victory, ninety-six votes being against the appeal, and eighty-four in its favour. Thus the case was settled, and Leslie installed in the professorship;—but more than this, the popular party had gained a crowning victory and set their characters right with the world, while in such a defeat the other party heard the knell of their departing influence and the overthrow of their hitherto unbroken prestige.¹

After this important event there was peace in the church for several years, during which the Moderates, dispirited by their failure, were content to stand on the defensive. They were further weakened by dissensions among themselves, in consequence of which Dr. Hill resigned the leadership of the party. In the meantime the Evangelicals were continuing to grow stronger and more popular owing to the accessions to their ranks of several distinguished men, among whom may be mentioned the names of Dr. Andrew Thomson and Dr. Chalmers. Nor was it from the pulpit alone that their principles issued with fresh vigour and were acceptable to rank, talent, and learning, as well as the mass of the community. A new era of authorship had commenced in Scotland, and in the communication of religious knowledge the press rivalled the pulpit in activity, zeal, and efficiency. In 1810 the *Christian Instructor* appeared as the organ of Evangelical principles, and under the able editorship of Dr. Andrew Thomson soon became the most able and influential of religious periodicals. In the following year Dr. McCreie published the *Life of John Knox*, which absolutely took the literary world by storm. The learned had hitherto regarded the great reformer of Scotland as a cruel fanatic and illiterate bigot, while even the religious suspected that his character was scarcely capable of defence. But all were taught by this admirable publication how greatly the character of Knox had hitherto been misunderstood; and while they acquired a new estimate of the reformer's personal excellence, they were also made to perceive more clearly the nature of his mission, and the worth of those religious principles and that form of church polity which his labours had established.

This state of comparative tranquillity in the church was once more interrupted by the plurality question. In 1813 Mr. Ferrie, professor of civil history in the university of St. Andrews, was presented to the parish of Kilconquhar, which was twelve miles distant from that ancient city of learning; but the presbytery refused to induct him unless he resigned his pro-

¹ Pamphlets on the Leslie Controversy; Assembly's debate; *Edinburgh Review*, No. 13.

fessorship. It was a worse case than that of Kingsbarns in 1800, as the greater distance between the two charges made the minister's residence in the parish impossible, unless he demitted his professorship. But the presentee refused to resign and carried his appeal to the assembly, where the sentence of the presbytery was reversed by a majority of five. Such a scanty majority in a full house ought to have warned the Moderates of the necessity of caution; but the conviction of their growing feebleness only made their struggle for the retention of power more desperate. This was shown by their defence of plurality coupled with non-residence in the case of Professor Ferrie. Instead of attempting to justify the principle they rested their defence on the fact that there was no special law in the church which prohibited him from holding the two offices in question. The popular party, feeling the importance of such an omission, renewed the struggle in 1814 by an overture from the synod of Angus and Mearns, and after a keen debate it was voted that for a minister to hold any office which required his absence from his parish was against the fundamental laws of the Church of Scotland.¹ This was called a *declaratory* act, that is a recognition of laws already in existence, and on this ground it was opposed in the assembly of the following year, who declared that it was a new law, and therefore, according to the Barrier Act, should have been referred to the consideration of the presbyteries. This opened the contest anew, in which the presbyteries took an active part in consequence of this fancied violation of their rights, and in 1816 the Declaratory Act was repealed. It was only, however, that a new law to the same purpose might be substituted in its room, and this was done by the influence of Dr. Hill. More sensitively alive than the generality of his party to the important duties of the ministerial office, and alarmed at the thought that it might be converted into a sinecure by non-residence, he lent the whole weight of his support to an overture which, in 1817, was ratified by the General Assembly. By this it was decreed that no professor of a university might also hold a parish, unless it was close at hand to the college, so that he might reside in it.²

Although the chief evil of pluralities was thus abolished, the principle in itself was still the subject of odium, and the popular party could not rest until it was utterly removed. The opportunity to make this attempt occurred in 1824, when Dr. Duncan Macfarlan, who, in the previous year, had been appointed principal

of the University of Glasgow, was presented by the crown to the High Church of that city. As the revenues of the office of principal were small and inadequate to its high standing, a parish was usually attached to it, and the practice had gone on in Glasgow for generations without opposition or question. A new spirit, however, had now arisen, and the presbytery, instead of sustaining the presentation, allowed it to lie over until their next monthly meeting. During this interval Dr. Macgill, professor of theology, organized a formidable opposition, in which he was joined by Dr. Chalmers, then a minister of Glasgow, and at the height of his fame and influence. It was declared by Dr. Macgill that the office held by the principal of a college was not the mere sinecure into which it had insensibly lapsed; that, on the contrary, he was required by the university statutes not only to take charge of its temporalities, but to teach as a professor of theology, duties which of themselves would be sufficient for all his time and abilities. By Dr. Chalmers it was also shown that the faithful discharge of the ministerial office was sufficient for any one man, especially when the parish was so populous and increasing as that to which Dr. Macfarlan had been presented. The presbytery of Glasgow was persuaded by their arguments, and declared it inexpedient and incompetent to proceed in the presentation before them, and on the case being transferred to the synod of Glasgow and Ayr, the decision of the presbytery was affirmed. A final appeal was made to the General Assembly in 1824, but there the decision was reversed, and the presbytery of Glasgow ordered to admit the principal into his ministerial charge. So many overtures, however, were brought before the assembly in 1825 that the subject was discussed anew, when the learning, the eloquence, and talents of the anti-pluralists were again unavailing; the Moderates were united in a life-and-death struggle for this the last prize in the lottery of their party, and they prevailed. Even yet, however, the battle was not over. In consequence of fresh overtures it was reintroduced into the assembly in 1826, and might have been continued longer still but for the appointment of a royal commission to inquire into the state of the Scottish universities, by whom the question would be finally decided. The award of the commission concurred with the demands of the evangelical party and the popular suffrage, for it conclusively prohibited the union of the two offices of professor and minister in one individual. Plurality was no longer to exist in the Church of Scotland.³

¹ Acts of Assembly, 1814.

² Cook's *Life of Dr. Hill*; Hanna's *Life of Dr. Chalmers*.

³ Debates on the Plurality Question, 1825-26; Report of the Royal Commission.

We have already stated that while the Moderates adhered with double tenacity to their form of ecclesiastical politics, their theological opinions had been undergoing an important change. In doctrine they were every day becoming more assimilated to the popular party, so that the leaders on both sides were at one in the most important articles of religious belief. The effect of this agreement was to be illustrated in the subject of missionary enterprise, in which both parties could cordially meet without any compromise of their political principles. We have seen how ignominiously the proposal of missions to the heathen had been treated by the General Assembly in 1796. Times had now changed; but had they even remained as they were the example of England and other Protestant countries would have been enough to shame Scotland into the field of missionary enterprise. It is justice also to state that the proposal was now resumed by the Moderates themselves. In 1824 Dr. Inglis, a man distinguished among the most talented of the party by his superiority, and in whom massive strength of intellect was combined with apostolic zeal and catholic liberality, introduced the subject of foreign missions before the General Assembly, and his well-known caution and sagacity were sufficient to persuade the most scrupulous that the attempt was neither fanatical nor unwise. What the great champion of the Moderates proposed the Evangelical party most cordially seconded, and in 1825 a committee was appointed to examine the subject and report. The result was favourable, and in 1826 a *Pastoral Address to the People of Scotland*, written by Dr. Inglis, roused the national enthusiasm and pointed the way for its action. A great mission to India was resolved, liberal contributions were raised for the purpose, and in 1829 Dr. Duff, the first missionary appointed by the Church of Scotland, was sent out to India on this important enterprise.¹

This newly awakened zeal for missions, into which Scotland entered with characteristic ardour, was necessarily coupled with the desire that a pure and genuine gospel, embodied in unadulterated translations of the Scriptures, should be disseminated in every land, and the British and Foreign Bible Society was pledged by its original constitution to send forth its Bibles without note or comment. But it was discovered that for years a practice had prevailed in London, the headquarters of the society, of conciliating all classes by sending the Scriptures with the Apocrypha to some countries, while others were supplied with

versions having neological prefaces or questionable foot-notes attached to them. In this way the directors had attempted to be all things to all men in the hope of reconciling all into a common faith, while they concealed their doings from the public, aware that they could scarcely stand inspection. The discovery was only made by accident; but as soon as it was known to the Edinburgh Bible Society Dr. Andrew Thomson, who was its secretary, denounced the practice as unconstitutional, unwise, and unholy. A controversy was immediately kindled that raged over England and Scotland, and the chief brunt of it was borne by Dr. Thomson, whose pamphlets, speeches, and articles in the *Christian Instructor* were so numerous and so powerfully written that the marvel was how any one man could do so much. Nor were the advocates of the evil easily put down: they represented that without these interpolations Protestant Bibles would not be received in countries where the Greek Church, Popery, or neological opinions prevailed, and that where the pure gospel was given these interpolations would prove innocuous. "I would send out the Bible though the works of Tom Paine were bound up with it," cried one; "I would disseminate the Bible though the *History of Tom Thumb* were included in it," exclaimed another. Even when driven from these subterfuges they attempted to defend themselves by calling the canon of Scripture into question and proving that it was a matter of uncertainty. In the end the cause of unadulterated truth prevailed, and the Apocrypha was banished from the society's copies of the Bible.² But the controversy which Dr. Thomson had maintained with such superhuman energy was too much for him, and when he had brought it to the prospect of a successful close he was suddenly removed from his labours and the world into eternal peace and happiness. On the 9th of February, 1831, while in the act of entering his house, he fell dead upon the threshold.

The great event by which the church was now to be agitated was the Voluntary controversy. In their original Testimony the Seceders, who withdrew from the church, maintained the lawfulness of religious establishments and the duty of the civil magistrate to erect and defend a national religious institution; and on all occasions they had shown themselves averse either to be termed or accounted dissenters. They had merely withdrawn from the church of the land in consequence of its corruptions; they

¹ Acts of Assembly.

² *Life of Dr. McCrie; Christian Instructor; Memoirs of Robert and James Haldane.*

stood aloof from it that they might preserve among themselves its original constitution undiminished and unimpaired; and their secession was to continue only so long as the corruptions of the Establishment, in consequence of which they had withdrawn, remained unreformed. But when they saw that the rule of the Moderates was only increasing these evils they began to question the propriety of this connection between the church and the state, and whether it would not be better that the former should stand alone in its own purity and strength. But how could they reconcile these doubts with the original Testimony, which recognized the authority of the civil magistrate in matters ecclesiastical? To solve the difficulty it was proposed that the Testimony should be enlarged, and this was done in a series of additions until 1820, when the Burghers and Antiburghers, into which the Secession had been divided, formed themselves into one body under the name of the United Secession, and published their final Testimony and the terms of their communion. They had now become, not seceders, but dissenters, opposed to all national establishments of religion, and they had grown strong enough to contend with the parent that gave them birth. In 1831 they commenced the contest, and in the following year the controversy raged over the whole kingdom. Our limits preclude any notice of the arguments which were adduced both for and against the duty of a state to establish and support a national church, or the amount and nature of the authority which such an interference implied; it is enough to mention that the pamphlets published and the public meetings held on the subject, the speeches, sermons, and debates on either side were characterized by more than the usual amount of talent, learning, eloquence, and theological wrath. In this Voluntary controversy, by which all ecclesiastical establishments were denounced, and the Church of Scotland so vitally endangered, the Moderates as a body felt that they could not stir, the arguments of their opponents being founded upon the corruptions which had proceeded from their ecclesiastical rule; and the party by whom the Church of Scotland was defended and the victory ultimately gained was the popular party, against whom no such charge could be brought.

The chief effect of this controversy was to awaken the attention not merely of the enemies, but the friends of the church, to the corruptions that had gathered round it. This was especially the case with its evangelical defenders, who were made to feel more keenly than ever the points on which it could be least consistently defended. Patronage had been so long established that its

removal seemed impossible. The people had no choice in a minister, and their call was an empty form. It was in consequence of this that so many had been driven from the church, and the late resistance been originated. But might not this law of patronage be at least so modified as to let the voice of the people have its share in the appointment of their minister? In consequence of this overture from three synods and eight presbyteries were presented to the General Assembly in 1832, complaining of the nullity to which the call had been reduced, and craving that measures might be adopted to restore it to its former efficiency. In the debate that followed, it was moved "that the overtures be remitted to a committee, with instructions to consider the subject and report to next assembly;" but this was met by a counter-motion from the opposite party, that it was "unnecessary and inexpedient to adopt the measures recommended in the overtures now before them," and this was carried by a considerable majority. Such an appeal, however, was not to be thus silenced, and in 1833 forty-five overtures to the same effect were laid upon the table of the assembly. It was an astounding increase upon the former year, and the promise of a resistance such as the opposite party had not expected. Dr. Chalmers moved that efficiency should be given to the call of the people by declaring that the dissent of a majority of the male heads of families residing in the parish, and communicants, expressed with or without assigning reasons, ought to be conclusive for setting the presentee aside, except where it could be established that their dissent was malicious or frivolous. The opposite motion made by Dr. Cook was, that it is competent for the heads of families to give in their objections to the presbytery; that the presbytery shall consider them; and if they find them unfounded, or arising from causeless prejudices, that they shall proceed to the settlement; but if they judge that they are well founded they shall reject the presentation, the presentee being unqualified. This limited form, by which a majority of the congregation, or even the whole of it, was made of no more account than an individual member of it, and their objections subjected to the revision of the presbytery, was carried by a majority of twelve; but this majority was chiefly owing to the Moderate lay elders, a majority of twenty ministers being in favour of the motion of Dr. Chalmers. Such a victory was tantamount to a defeat, and the popular party felt that they had only to renew the charge to be successful.

In another question which was brought before this assembly, the defeat of the Moderates was still less equivocal. Although the population of

Scotland since the Union had been more than doubled, only forty additional churches and sixty-two chapels of ease had been erected to supply the demand of such an increasing population. There was little temptation to build or endow such chapels of ease either by individual benevolence or combined effort, when they had no congregational constitution, and when they were subjected as mere missionary or preaching stations to the control of the parish kirk-session. Under the influence of these considerations several synods and presbyteries had sent up overtures to this assembly, praying that chapels of ease might be placed upon a more legitimate footing, and the ministers of these chapels, having themselves no voice in the church-courts, craved to be heard by counsel at the bar in stating their grievances and claims. Their application was opposed by Dr. Cook; but on this occasion it was carried by a majority of twenty, and the petition was remitted to a committee who were to report to the next assembly.¹

The assembly of 1834 which succeeded will ever be memorable in the annals of the Church of Scotland, both for its proceedings and the consequences that ensued from them. It was there that the Moderate party were deposed, and their opponents exalted into their room; and there also the ground-work was laid for the Disruption, which occurred nine years afterwards. The first proceedings at the assembly were characteristic of the spirit in which they were to be conducted. Hitherto the high-commissioner had been wont to repair on Sundays to the church in regal and military procession, while crowds assembled to witness the pageant; but now a motion was made that this practice, as it caused a desecration of the sacred day, should be laid aside. It was unanimously agreed to represent the subject to the commissioner, and on this being done, he at once acceded to the request. Another motion was, that more time should be devoted to the religious exercises of the assembly than had of late been allowed to them. It was the custom from the earliest period to devote the first day after the assembly had met to devotional exercises as a fit prelude to their other proceedings; but these religious services of late had dwindled into a cold and formal process, which few members cared to countenance by their attendance. This motion was as unanimously carried as the former.

The great work at issue, which the assembly was expected to settle, was the ministerial call by the people, and this the numerous auditory awaited in breathless interest. After the numerous overtures from synods and presbyteries had

been read craving attention to this momentous subject, the motion of Dr. Chalmers on the previous year was introduced, not by the doctor himself, who was not a member of this assembly, but by Lord Moncrieff, one of the judges of Session. It was, "That the General Assembly, having maturely considered the overtures, do declare that it is a fundamental law of this church, that no pastor shall be intruded on any congregation contrary to the will of the people; and that, in order to carry this principle into full effect, the presbyteries of the church shall be instructed that if, at the moderating in of a call to a vacant pastoral charge, the major part of the male heads of families, members of the vacant congregation, and in full communion with the church, shall disapprove of the person in whose favour the call is proposed to be moderated in, such disapproval shall be deemed sufficient ground for the presbytery rejecting such person, and that he shall be rejected accordingly, and due notice forthwith given to all concerned; but that, if the major part of the said heads of families shall not disapprove of such person to be their pastor, the presbytery shall proceed with the settlement according to the rules of the church; and further declare that no person shall be held to be entitled to disapprove, as aforesaid, who shall refuse, if required, solemnly to declare in presence of the presbytery, that he is actuated by no factious or malicious motive, but solely by a conscientious regard to the spiritual interests of himself or the congregation." Such was the motion of Dr. Chalmers, now reintroduced with a few slight modifications by Lord Moncrieff, which is usually termed the Veto Law. After a debate of twelve hours the motion was carried by a majority of 184 to 138. It was a compromise—and afterwards termed a timid compromise—between the popular liberty of clerical election and the arrogated rights of patronage. But, at the present period, the Veto Law was considered by the evangelical party as a decided success that would be sufficient to reconcile the claims of the patron with the just demands of the people.

Next in importance to the Veto was the subject of chapels of ease. During the last hundred years only sixty-three of these chapels had been erected, while nearly six hundred dissenting meeting-houses had risen up in Scotland; and this scarcity of chapels in connection with the church was owing to the anomalous position they were compelled to occupy. It was time to give them a regular constitution, and to recognize the standing of their ministers according to the principles of Presbyterian parity. But at this conclusion the Moderates demurred. The ministers of these chapels were appointed by

¹ Acts of Assembly; *Hanna's Life of Dr. Chalmers*.

popular election; they were notoriously of evangelical principles; and their admission into the General Assembly would suffice to consummate the strength of their party and swamp the opposition of their opponents. But after the arguments had been heard on both sides, it was concluded, by a majority of 152 to 103, that the appeal in behalf of the chapels should be sustained, and a committee appointed to prepare an act admitting them into the church. The effect of this favourable recognition was marvellous. Within the short space of a year after, sixty-four new chapels had been built or were in the course of erection, being one more than the number that had risen during a hundred years previous. At the head of this great movement Dr. Chalmers was placed as convener, and the effect of such a man upon the religious reforming spirit of the day was soon manifested upon the Church Extension Society. Only four years after he was appointed to the convenership 187 churches had been erected or commenced, while the voluntary contributions for the purpose raised during that period amounted to £205,930. Recent years have familiarized men with Christian liberality on a large scale, but in those days such a sum was a moral wonder. Well might Dr. Chalmers himself be astonished at the result, when, in giving in his report to the General Assembly in 1838, he exclaimed, "What other scheme of Christian benevolence in this country ever commanded so noble an income as one of £50,000 per annum! On what other ground, but a deep-rooted sympathy for the present wants of our densely crowded cities and over-peopled country parishes, and the persuasion that no likelier method than the multiplication of our parochial churches can be devised for accomplishing this moral regeneration, can the fact be accounted for that, year after year, so splendid an offering is laid on the altar of public liberality? Had the cause of church extension been based on a delusion, that delusion would have been dissipated long ago. Had the operations of the committee not harmonized with the sentiments of the country at large, they never would have commanded an amount and continuance of pecuniary support altogether without precedent in the history of Christian beneficence in this part of the British empire. Nor is there any premonitory symptom yet of declining fervour in the cause among the people of Scotland. Their heart beats as warmly as ever, and with as healthy and vigorous a pulse, towards the church of their fathers; and more than one intimation is already before the committee, which prompts the well-grounded anticipation that the coming year will be as en-

couraging as the past, or even still more abundantly."¹

Although the Veto Act had been passed, and was now a law of the church, its earliest operations were the signal of resistance both from the Moderate party and the patrons of livings. A presentation to the parish of Auchterarder was given in favour of Mr. Robert Young, preacher of the gospel, by the Earl of Kinnoull; but the document that professed to be the call of the people was only signed by his lordship's factor, who was not resident in the parish, and two heads of families. On the other hand, a dissent to receive the presentee as their minister was signed by two hundred and eighty-seven heads of families out of three hundred and thirty who composed the members having a right to remonstrate. Against such a majority the presbytery refused to sustain the call, upon which Mr. Young appealed to the synod, and as the synod approved of the sentence of the presbytery the case was transferred to the General Assembly in 1835. But there also the sentence of the presbytery was confirmed by a large majority. In consequence of this final decision the presbytery formally rejected the presentee. The case was then carried into the Court of Session, and an action commenced against the presbytery by Lord Kinnoull and Mr. Robert Young, on the plea that the Veto was illegal and subversive of the rights of patronage. The church had no objections against the Court of Session adjudicating upon the civil part of the question, and was ready to consent that a rejected presentee should enjoy the revenues of his benefice; but that he should be also admitted into the pastoral office, and imposed upon an unwilling congregation in virtue of the sentence of that court, was a usurpation which they would not tolerate. This was a case entirely spiritual, and the settlement of which belonged to the church alone. The Court of Session felt itself in a dilemma, as was apparent by their sentence delivered in 1838. They declared that the presbytery in rejecting Mr. Young had acted illegally, and contrary to the laws in favour of patronage, but they did not venture to decree that the presbytery should induct him into the charge. In this unsatisfactory condition the case was laid before the assembly in 1838, along with many overtures invoking the church to preserve the sacredness of its independence in things spiritual from the usurpation of the civil courts. This appeal was satisfactorily answered by the following motion, which was carried by a majority of forty-one: "That the General As-

¹ Assembly's Debates, 1834; *Presbyterian Review*, vol. v.; *Life of Dr. Chalmers*.

sembly of this church, while they unqualifiedly acknowledge the exclusive jurisdiction of the civil courts in regard to the civil rights and emoluments secured by law to the church and the ministers thereof, and will ever give and inculcate obedience to their decisions thereanent, do resolve, that as it is declared in the Confession of Faith of this national established church that 'the Lord Jesus Christ is King and Head of the church, and hath therein appointed a government in the hand of church officers distinct from the civil magistrate,' and that in all matters touching the doctrine, government, and discipline of the church her judicatories possess an exclusive jurisdiction, founded on the word of God, which 'power ecclesiastical (in the words of the *Second Book of Discipline*) flows from God and the Mediator Jesus Christ, and is spiritual, not having a temporal head on earth but only Christ, the spiritual King and Governor of his kirk.' And they do further resolve that this spiritual jurisdiction, and the supremacy and sole headship of the Lord Jesus Christ, on which it depends, they will assert, and at all hazards defend, by the help and blessing of that great God who, in the days of old, enabled their fathers, amid manifold persecutions, to maintain a testimony even to the death for Christ's kingdom and crown. And, finally, that they will firmly enforce obedience upon all office-bearers and members of this church, by the execution of her laws, in the exercise of the ecclesiastical authority wherewith they are invested." In this manner the civil rights of the state and the spiritual rights of the church were separated, defined, and recognized. The state which had bestowed the temporalities might, if she so pleased, resume them, but she must not assume to create church office-bearers and control the laws and administration of their courts. Even the leader of the Moderates could thus assert the church's independence in the same discussion: "Our church, the church of Christ, is not the creature of the state. We had our doctrines, our views, and principles before we were connected with the state; and we would have them to-morrow if we were to sever that connection."

To repress the unconstitutional encroachment of the Court of Session the assembly authorized the presbytery of Auchterarder to appeal to the House of Lords, and their case was taken up by the house on the 18th of March, 1839. But the revival of the stern old spirit of the Covenant, and the independent ecclesiasticism of the Church of Scotland could scarcely be either understood or favourably regarded by the English peers and lawyers; and their decision, which after much delay and discussion

was given on the 3d of May, was against the presbytery and in favour of the Court of Session. It was an alarming verdict to the General Assembly, which met on the 16th of the same month. The Auchterarder case was brought forward by two contending motions, one from Dr. Chalmers, and the other from Dr. Cook, the leader of the Moderate party; and after an earnest and eloquent debate the former was carried by a majority of two hundred and four to one hundred and fifty-five. The successful motion of Dr. Chalmers was the following: "Having heard the report of the procurator respecting the decision of the House of Lords, and being desirous to give and inculcate obedience to the civil courts in all civil matters, instruct the presbytery of Auchterarder to offer no further resistance to the claims of Mr. Young or the patron to the emoluments of the benefice: and whereas the principle of non-intrusion is coeval with the reformed Kirk of Scotland, and forms an integral part of its constitution, embodied in its standards and declared in various acts of assembly, resolve that this principle cannot be abandoned, and that no presentee shall be forced upon any parish contrary to the will of the congregation. And, whereas, by the decision referred to, it appears that when this principle is carried into effect the legal sustentation of the ministry may be thereby suspended, the General Assembly being deeply impressed with the unhappy consequences which must arise from any collision between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, and holding it to be their duty to use every means in their power, not involving any dereliction of the principles and fundamental laws of their (church) constitution, to prevent such unfortunate results, do therefore appoint a committee for the purpose of considering in what way the privileges of the national establishment, and the harmony between church and state, may remain unimpaired, with instructions to confer with the government of the country if they shall see cause."¹

In this way the Auchterarder case was terminated for the time being, but only to be succeeded by others of a similar kind. And first of these was that of Lethendy. The minister of this parish having become aged and infirm, a petition was presented in 1835 to the crown as patron that Mr. Clark might be appointed assistant and successor. The presbytery of Dunkeld was ready to ordain him, when a majority of the male heads of the parish, who were communicants, expressed their disapproval of Mr. Clark, in consequence of which the presbytery

¹ Acts and Proceedings of General Assembly; Auchterarder Report; Buchanan's *Ten Years' Conflict*.

refused to induct him. An appeal was carried to the assembly in 1836, but there the sentence of the presbytery was affirmed. Toward the close of the next year, when the aged incumbent of Lethendy was dying, Mr. Clark raised an action in the civil court against the presbytery; but the crown, recognizing the validity of his rejection, issued a new presentation in favour of Mr. Kessen, to which the parishioners consented, and the presbytery were prepared to ordain him. But by this time the Court of Session had decided in the Auchterarder case, and hoping for a like result in his own favour Mr. Clark appealed to the court to have the ordination of Mr. Kessen prevented. His application was granted, upon which the presbytery laid the matter before the assembly in 1838, and on the case being referred to the assembly's commission that court declared that admission to the pastoral charge is entirely an ecclesiastical act, and ordered the presbytery to proceed to the induction of Mr. Kessen according to the rules of the church. On this Mr. Clark applied again to the civil court and obtained its interdict to the settlement of Mr. Kessen; but this interdict the assembly's commission regarded as unconstitutional, and directed the presbytery of Dunkeld to proceed to the ordination without delay. Mr. Kessen was accordingly ordained on the 13th of September, and for this alleged contumacy the presbytery was summoned to appear at the bar of the Court of Session. In this way the controversy between the civil and ecclesiastical courts broke into open war, and the question brought to issue as to which of the two powers the chief authority belonged. Were the sentences of the church in her own affairs to be final, or subject to the control of lawyers and civil judges? When the presbytery appeared before the court its proceedings were condemned and censured, and a warning given to its members that any such trespass in future would be visited with a more severe punishment. To this condemnation, by which they were branded as factious men and law-breakers, were added the heavy expenses of the prosecution, which the presbytery was compelled to pay.

The next case of a similar kind was that of the parish of Marnoch. Its minister being old, and incapacitated for public duty, had for three years employed Mr. John Edwards, a probationer, to be his assistant; and on the death of the incumbent in 1837 he was presented to the living by the trustees of the Earl of Fife, who was patron of the parish. But his call from the people had only the names of the patron's trustees and three non-resident heritors, which were signed by proxy, and the autograph sig-

nature of the innkeeper of Aberchirder, while a dissent to the appointment of the presentee was signed by two hundred and sixty-one heads of families belonging to the parish out of a roll of three hundred. Although he had preached three years in the church of Marnoch so unacceptably, and was vetoed by such a majority, the agents of the patron represented this refusal as illegal, while the presbytery of Strathbogie, to which the parish of Marnoch belonged, and who sympathized with the presentee, stigmatized the popular rejection as a thing obtained by cabal and intrigue. This sympathy, so unexpected, can be easily understood when we state that the reverend court, once so severely orthodox, was now Moderate in its principles, and that Mr. Edwards himself was a Moderate. The case was referred to the synod of Moray, who condemned the proceedings of the presbytery, and commanded them to declare Mr. Edwards unqualified; but with this order the presbytery refused to comply. In this state the proceedings were brought before the assembly in 1838, where the presbytery was at once ordered to reject the presentee, who was accordingly set aside and a new presentation was issued by the patrons in favour of Mr. David Henry. But still refusing to be defeated Mr. Edwards carried his appeal to the Court of Session, where it was favourably received; an interdict was issued against the ordination of Mr. Henry, and the presbytery, recognizing the claim of the Court of Session as "having authority in matters relating to the induction of ministers," and being resolved "to submit to its authority regularly interposed," refused to proceed to Mr. Henry's ordination. For this refusal they were condemned by the synod, and in this form the case went back to the General Assembly in 1839, where the vexatious case of Auchterarder was still pending, and who referred the case to the consideration of their commission, with authority to decide on it. A fresh condemnation of the presbytery of Strathbogie was the result. The commission denounced its yielding to the Court of Session in a case where the law of the church was against them, and prohibited them from taking any further step in the admission of Mr. Edwards until the meeting of the assembly in the following year. Although this order was so express, a majority of the presbytery, seven in number, resolved to brave it, their resistance being animated by the decision which the House of Lords had pronounced in the case of Auchterarder; and, being backed by the decisions of the Court of Session, they resolved to sustain the call of Mr. Edwards and ordain him to the parish of Marnoch. For this their contumacy to the highest authority of the church the

whole seven were suspended from their ministerial functions by the commission until the next assembly should meet. Until that time the minority, consisting of four ministers, were to constitute the presbytery of Strathbogie, and provide religious ordinances for the seven parishes that were vacant. On this the recusants applied to the Court of Session for a suspension of this spiritual sentence, and for an interdict to prevent it from being published in their parishes, and to debar other ministers from preaching in their pulpits, and this the court actually granted. The sentence of the commission was not to be proclaimed in the churches, the church-yards, or the school-houses of these parishes, and no minister was to intrude there with the offices of religious worship. Over these localities, indeed, as civil property, the Court of Session had legitimate control, and might close them if they so pleased. But the sentence was not the less announced in the open air, and the public ordinances administered independent of churches and school-houses. Was the Church of Scotland again to be thrown back upon field preachings and conventicles?

The national feeling occasioned by this conflict between the church and the state, and which the open rebellion of Strathbogie had matured for decisive action, had been raised to the highest intensity. With Scotland her parliament was the General Assembly, and the government of the church her politics: these still remained to distinguish her as a nation, and over these she had brooded with an affection that was more than patriotism, while the arguments and phraseology in which these subjects were embodied, and that sounded so obscurely to others, were to her children not only household words but hallowed recollections. And this national enthusiasm was all the more intense on account of the confusion of our legislators, who could not understand the subject, and the apathy of the English people at large, who did not care to understand it. "It is only a row among the parsons in Scotland," they remarked as they turned to the last discussion in parliament upon a village franchise or turnpike bill. In every city, town, village, and hamlet of the land the prevalent watchword was "Non-Intrusion," and in the spring of 1840 petitions signed by 180,000 of the male population, above the age of sixteen years, had been sent to parliament praying that an act should be passed reversing the arbitrary exercise of patronage, and favouring the right of parishes in the call of their spiritual instructors. In such a stir the press could not be silent, and the numerous pamphlets which were published, and the newspapers that discussed this great subject of the day from the view-

point of their own political principles, nourished and deepened the popular agitation. Under these circumstances the General Assembly met in 1840, the Evangelical party strong in the popular favour, and the Moderate party encouraged by the support of the state.

The first affair of importance for consideration was the conduct of the seven Strathbogie ministers who still continued contumacious. The highest punishment with which they could have been visited for their offence was that of severe censure; but before proceeding to inflict it a committee was appointed to confer with them in the hope of recalling them to their duty. But the attempt being fruitless their sentence of suspension was continued, and in the event of persevering in their obstinacy it was resolved to pronounce their definite sentence in the next year's assembly. Lord Aberdeen's bill was next considered. That nobleman, after long negotiation with the committee appointed by the assembly to treat with government upon the subject, had devised a bill in which the principle of non-intrusion was rejected, and the church made subject to the authority of the Court of Session, and as such it was rejected in the assembly by the large majority of eighty-seven. Discomfited by such a rejection the Moderates endeavoured to encourage Lord Aberdeen to have his bill passed through parliament, and for this purpose sought to procure a majority of ministers to subscribe in its favour; but as only two hundred and sixty signatures were obtained the bill was withdrawn. Their next attempt, after their failure in the assembly, was to form a "solemn league" among themselves for the establishment of their decaying cause and the counteraction of the movements of their opponents; and a circular for this purpose, dated 1st of July, 1840, was drawn up and signed by the leader of the party; but the premature discovery of this unfortunate document caused the design to be abandoned. The warning, however, was given to the popular party, who in like manner drew up a covenant for themselves declaratory of their principles, and their resolution to maintain them at every cost or hazard. These principles, which were explained and illustrated at length, resolved themselves into these two general heads: "1. That the Lord Jesus, as king and head of his church, has appointed a government in the hand of church officers distinct from the civil magistrate. 2. That no minister shall be intruded into any parish contrary to the will of the congregation." As the meeting of the Moderate league had been announced for the 12th of August, and might still take place notwithstanding its premature discovery, their opponents resolved to anticipate it by assembling on

the 11th. They accordingly met in the parish church of St. Cuthberts, one of the largest in Edinburgh, which was crowded on the occasion, and there resolutions in accordance with the above-mentioned principles were announced and adopted, while steps were taken to establish similar associations in every district of the kingdom.

On the following day the commission of the assembly met, and the case of the Strathbogie ministers was resumed. Unmoved either by their sentence of suspension or the fear of deposition, they had continued their public ministerial functions, had applied to the Court of Session for an interdict against their renewed sentence of suspension, and had served this interdict upon those ministers and elders who had endeavoured to dispense religious ordinances in their parishes. A formal accusation on which they were to be tried was therefore decreed to be prepared against them, in which their offence was mainly rested on their application to the civil powers for the execution of sacred offices, and taking their power to preach doctrine and exercise discipline at the hands of the magistrate, in violation of the rules of the church to which they had sworn obedience. The commission again met in November, and sustained the libel by a majority of ninety-one to fifteen. But at the instance of the Court of Session the suspended ministers had expressed their willingness to ordain Mr. Edwards to the church of Marnoch, and on the 4th of January they resolved to proceed to his ordination. The 21st of the month was the day appointed for the induction, and although the roads were almost impassable by a heavy fall of snow a crowd of nearly 2000 people was assembled in the church of Marnoch, wondering and doubting whether the whole was not a dream. Would the suspended ministers persevere in spite of the church to which they had sworn allegiance? All doubt was painfully laid to rest by the appearance of the seven and their protégé. On being officially asked by an elder wherefore they had come they replied that they appeared as the presbytery of Strathbogie, a part of the National Church assembled in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ. The legal agent for the parish then entered a protest in the name of the parishioners against the proposed induction; and this being done the people rose, removed their Bibles and psalm-books from the pews, and departed in trembling silence from the church that was about to be thus desecrated, many of them weeping as they went. On the departure of the parishioners a crowd of strangers who had been unable to obtain admission rushed into the church; the seven ministers were hustled and pelted with snowballs and other

disagreeable missiles, while shouts, groans, and hisses assailed them on every side. When order was restored the usual religious services were hastily performed, and then followed the solemn act of ordination, which, under such circumstances, was little else than a mockery. After his answers had been made declaratory of his obedience to the church against which he had rebelled, and to its laws which he had violated; after he had declared that zeal for the honour of God, love to Jesus Christ, and desire of saving souls were his motives to enter into the office of the holy ministry, not worldly designs and interests—although he came armed with the decrees of the Court of Session, and was resolute, if need should be, to enforce them—he was ordained to the parish of Marnoch! At the induction of a minister it was usual for him at the close to take his station with two or three of the senior ministers of the presbytery at the church door that he might receive a cordial shake of the hand and welcome from his people at their retiring. But although Mr. Edwards and his friends thus waited at the porch all passed him in silence; his parishioners had already gone forth; and of that crowd which had succeeded them there was neither hand nor voice to welcome him or bid him God speed.

By this daring act of seven suspended ministers to discharge the highest of clerical functions, and the countenance afforded by the Moderate party to the deed, the General Assembly was committed to a painful duty from which it could in no case recede. At its meeting, accordingly, in 1841, the case of the Marnoch clergyman, and the proceedings of the Strathbogie presbytery, formed the chief subjects of the assembly's proceedings. The first onset directed against the head and front of the evil was made by a motion condemnatory of patronage and demanding its entire removal; but even yet such a proposal was not ready for general admission. It was by maintaining the rights of patrons in their fullest latitude that the Moderate party could secure the support of the aristocracy; and even apart from such interested considerations, there were many who considered patronage as the necessary safeguard against the evils of a popular election, and who tolerated it on that account. The motion was, therefore, unsuccessful, but the small minority of six by which it was lost showed what progress had been made by the anti-patronage principle, and how strong the desire had become of placing the appointment of ministers on a more popular principle of election. Another step was the consideration of the Duke of Argyll's bill. This talented descendant of the great Presbyterian marquis had, shortly before the meeting of the assembly, brought a bill before the House of Lords, entitled "An Act

to regulate the Exercise of Church Patronage in Scotland." While it confirmed the Veto Law, it also extended its right of exercise from the male heads of families to every male communicant above the age of twenty-one years; and it made a distinct provision for setting aside the veto in every case where it could be proved that factious and causeless prejudice had occasioned the presen-tee's rejection. It was hailed by the assembly as a healing measure that would satisfy the popular demand and terminate the vexatious controversy, and a motion expressive of this approbation was carried by a majority of 125. But very different was its reception in the House of Lords, and after the first reading of the bill it was allowed to lie over until the assembly had concluded its sittings. The Strathbogie case succeeded; and it boded ill for the rebellious members that the first act of the assembly was to strike out the names of three individuals whom they had commissioned as the representatives of their presbytery. A motion was made that the seven ministers should be deposed, and this was carried by a majority of ninety-seven, notwithstanding the strenuous opposition of Dr. Cook and his party to avert the sentence. The nullity of the settlement of Mr. Edwards was consequently declared, and the four ministers of the presbytery who had not joined in the rebellion of their brethren were instructed to proceed to the ordination of Mr. Henry as minister of Marnoch. Another subject brought before the assembly was the election of the eldership. This important duty, with the other rights of the people, had fallen into abeyance, so that every fresh body of elders had been elected by their predecessors according to the established use and wont of close burgh practice. A committee, however, had been appointed to examine and reform the abuse, and the present proposal was suggested by their investigations, viz. that the members of every congregation should select a certain number to represent them, and that from these the new elders should be selected. This proposal was carried by a majority of eighty-nine, and thus the right of popular election in the appointment of an elder was secured.

It was while this case of the eldership was under discussion on the 29th of May that the assembly was electrified by an astounding interruption. This was nothing less than the arrival of the law agent of the deposed ministers of Strathbogie, and a messenger-at-arms to serve an interdict upon the moderator and members who had deposed them. Had Cromwell come alive again? and was the assembly about to be treated as the Rump Parliament had been? Had this proceeding taken place at an earlier hour

of the day the high-commissioner would have been present, and to have served the interdict in the presence of him who was the representative of the sovereign would have been tantamount to involving royalty itself in the charge of having violated the law. The assailants, however, had gone more cunningly to work, and having obtained the interdict from a lord of session in the forenoon, they waited until the evening when his grace was usually absent. An order given to the doorkeepers to admit none but members into the body of the house prevented the entrance of the lawyer and his functionary; and on learning of this most unexpected advent and its causes the moderator sent a deputation to request the presence of the high-commissioner, who immediately left the palace of Holyrood and took his place upon the throne in the assembly. But before his arrival the siege had been raised: the agent had served his interdict by leaving it in the hands of the doorkeeper, after which he hastily retired. Feeling, however, that he had not effectually discharged his commission, his friends had persuaded the lawyer to return, but without his messenger-at-arms, and to lay the papers left in the hands of the doorkeeper upon the table; but the assembly, to mark its sense of the insulting outrage upon its rights and character, refused to look at the documents or refer to their contents, and proceeded to the subject of the eldership which was still in hand. On the following Monday, however, the case was taken up, and the house divided upon the subject, when the interdict and the mode of serving it were denounced and condemned by a majority of two to one. Never had the Moderates suffered such a humbling defeat; and it was embittered by the consciousness that, by such an impolitic, unconstitutional, and rash proceeding, they had recklessly drawn the chastisement upon their own heads.

It might have been thought that these proceedings in the case of Strathbogie would have sufficed as a warning throughout the church and retained the presbyteries in their allegiance. But a repetition of the case of Marnoch was now to be given in the parish of Culsalmond, and by the presbytery of Garioch. The minister of that parish, having become unable to discharge his duties through age and infirmity, required an assistant and successor; but the case was little amended by the person appointed to that office, who, besides being a man sixty years of age, had for some time assisted the incumbent, and been unacceptable to the congregation. This venerable probationer, whose name was Middleton, having laid his patron's presentation before the presbytery, this court agreed to proceed accord-

ing to the rule established in 1834, which recognized the disapproval of a majority of the male heads of families in the parish, being communicants, a sufficient ground for the presentee's rejection. This resolution to obey the law of the church was decisive against the induction of Mr. Middleton, for notwithstanding every effort of his friends in his behalf, his call was signed by only forty-five heads of families in a parish containing a population of a thousand persons, while eighty-nine were against him. This dissent of the majority, also, did not rest upon frivolous or malicious motives, but grave substantial charges, which they tendered through their law agent—neglect of family worship, desecration of the Sabbath, carelessness in dispensing religious ordinances, and a cold unprofitable style of preaching—charges open to proof, and which the presbytery were bound to investigate. But, disregarding such an obvious duty, and without any compulsory pressure of the civil courts, the presbytery of Garioch resolved to proceed at once to the induction of Mr. Middleton. Accordingly, on the 11th of November, 1841, the members proceeded with the presentee to Culsalmond, and there found the church surrounded by at least two thousand persons, whom the desire to witness or protest against such a settlement had brought from their homes through a violent storm of sleet and rain. The presbytery, attended by the sheriff of the county and a posse of constables, reached the church door; but no sooner was it opened than they were hurled into the midst of the building by the crush of the crowd that followed like a torrent. After much struggle and confusion the pulpit was reached, but when the service ought to have been commenced there was no Bible to be found. A police-captain handed up a pocket Bible to the preacher, but all that followed was tumult and confusion—the preacher's gesticulations, the remonstrances of the presbytery, and the attempts of the civil officers to restore order, were a dumb-show, in which not a word could be heard amidst the popular uproar. It was said that the sin of such an ordination should be opposed and prevented by a tumult almost as sinful; but let the chief blame rest with those who had provoked such outrages, and left no other means of remonstrance and appeal. After a whole hour had been spent in this unseemly brawl the presbytery resolved to adjourn to the manse, and there complete the usual services of ordination; and with closed doors the sermon was supposed to be preached, the questions asked and answered, and the presentee solemnly attested as minister of the parish of Culsalmond. And during all this time a law-agent and a notary, who attended to protest on the part of

the parishioners against the deed, were refused entrance, and were only admitted when all was over.

In the meantime the negotiations with the heads of government upon the troubles of the Church of Scotland had been going on with little or no effect, whether the premier might be the free-and-easy Lord Melbourne or the cautious, politic Sir Robert Peel. The committee appointed by the General Assembly had waited repeatedly upon them, but their attempts to impress these statesmen with a knowledge of the subject and a conviction of its political importance had been unavailing. These politicians could not for a moment imagine that wise, cautious, prosperous Scotland was still enthralled by its old religious predilections, however it might cling to them as national watchwords and symbols; and they would as soon have expected an armed encampment at Dunse Law, with the banner of the Covenant floating over it, as a serious opposition in behalf of the church when the weight of the state was brought against it. The zeal of the covenanting days, they thought, had died out, or how otherwise could Scotsmen in so short a time have gone so far in the march of modern improvement? The spirit of martyrdom was a thing of the past, and clergymen, however they might remonstrate, would obey rather than suffer. Under these mistaken ideas they had refused redress to the Scottish Church and allowed the Court of Session to domineer over it at pleasure. Such was the hopeless state of affairs when the assembly met in 1842. There was no prospect of a satisfactory settlement from government, and the interferences of the civil court upon every appeal of vetoed ministers were as frequent and despotic as ever. Under these circumstances a motion was made in the present assembly that brought the controversy to a crisis. The Veto Law, which had been attempted as a compromise between the rights of the patron and those of the people, had proved a failure, and it was now moved that the house "resolve and declare that patronage is a grievance, has been attended with much injury to the cause of true religion in this church and kingdom, is the main cause of the difficulties in which the church is at present involved, and that it ought to be abolished." The motion was carried by the large majority of 216 to 147. The next step was to appeal to the legislature against the usurpations of the courts of law, and this was done in the form of an "overture to the General Assembly for a declaration against the unconstitutional encroachments of the civil courts." In this important document the rights of the church are fully enumerated, and a statement given of the

manner in which they had been violated, "by all which acts," it continues, "the said Court of Session have exercised powers not conferred upon them by the constitution, but by it excluded from the province of any secular tribunal; have invaded the jurisdiction of the courts of the church; have subverted its government; have illegally attempted to coerce church-courts in the exercise of their purely spiritual functions; have usurped the 'power of the keys;' have wrongfully acclaimed, as the subjects of their civil jurisdiction, to be regulated by their decrees, ordination of laymen to the office of the holy ministry, admission to the cure of souls, church censures, the preaching of the word, and the administration of the sacraments; and have employed the means intrusted to them for enforcing submission to their lawful authority in compelling submission to that which they have usurped—in opposition to the doctrines of God's word, set forth in the Confession of Faith, as ratified by statute—in violation of the constitution—in breach of the Treaty of Union, and in disregard of divers express enactments of the legislature." From these abuses the General Assembly claims protection and exemption in behalf of the church, and that it shall be replaced in all its original rights and privileges; declares that, at the cost of foregoing all the advantages of an established church, it is resolved to secure them, and protest against every act of parliament or decree of government derogatory thereto. An appeal is made to all the reformed churches, and to the office-bearers of their own church, to witness for it, sympathize with it, and pray for it. They were besought "to unite in supplication to Almighty God, that he would be pleased to turn the hearts of the rulers of this kingdom to keep unbroken the faith pledged to this church in former days, by statutes and solemn treaty, and the obligations come under to God himself to preserve and maintain the government and discipline of this church in accordance with his word;—or otherwise, that he would give strength to this church, office-bearers and people, to endure resignedly the loss of the temporal benefits of the establishment, and the personal sufferings and sacrifices to which they may be called, and would also inspire them with zeal and energy to promote the advancement of his Son's kingdom, in whatever condition it may be His will to place them; and that, in His own good time, he would restore to them these benefits, the fruit of the struggles and sufferings of their fathers in times past in the same cause, and thereafter give them grace to employ them more effectually than hitherto they have done for the manifestation of His glory." After an animated debate

upon this overture until three hours after midnight it was adopted by a majority of 131. It was thus declared to be the voice of the church, defining its rights and claims, and announcing its purpose in the event of a refusal; and a copy of it was transmitted to her majesty Queen Victoria. Thus frankly and fearlessly the church committed its claim, declaration, and protest to the award of government, and by doing so threw aside every prospect of subterfuge or retreat. It was strange statesmanship on the part of our rulers that they could not even yet recognize the conclusiveness of such a declaration, or realize the consequences of their refusal.

As compared with the passing of this overture the other proceedings of this assembly were unimportant, except for their consistency with the terms of the document and as indications of the unflinching resolution with which the church was likely to persevere in it. The strange settlement in the parish of Culsalmond was reviewed, and Mr. Middleton, the intruded minister, set aside. Those ministers who had abetted the presbytery of Strathbogie in their rebellion were suspended from their functions as members of church-courts until March in the following year. The curious case of Mr. Livingston, the minister of Cambusnethan, was disposed of. This man, evidently the victim of kleptomania, had indicated his subjection to the moral disease by thefts of the most paltry description—worthless pieces of raiment, articles of crockery, and even eggs, upon which he laid hands to satisfy his morbid craving. But, notwithstanding the triviality of such appropriations, it was evident that a man possessed by such a frenzy was unfit to hold the office of a clergyman, and could only bring it into contempt. His presbytery had, accordingly, deposed him; but the Court of Session arrested the sentence by an interdict, and this upon the plea that certain ministers of *quoad sacra* churches who sat in the presbytery had no right to vote. The assembly in the present case sustained the sentence, and Mr. Livingston was deposed. Mr. Clark, the presentee to Lethendy, who still continued to defy the authority of the church by his applications to the civil court against its decisions, was deprived of his license. A parish minister, Mr. Wilson of Stranraer, who had been found guilty by his presbytery of divers acts of fraud, and had betaken himself to the shelter of the civil courts, was deposed.

It was not long after the rising of the assembly that these close encounters between the civil and ecclesiastical courts brought the question between them to a final trial. It was in the case of Auchterarder, to which we have already alluded, and which had been pending in the Court of Session

from 1838 until the present period. Encouraged by the civil decisions granted in favour of rejected presentees, Lord Kinnoull, the patron, and Mr. Young, his protégé, now applied to the House of Lords to reverse the decision of the assembly and order the presbytery of Auchterarder to take Mr. Young on trials, and failing their compliance to award damages against the presbytery for refusal. The house returned a final judgment on the 9th of August, and gave sentence in favour of the applicants, while Mr. Young fixed the amount of damages at £10,000. The church was thunderstruck at the decision. When the presentee had been rejected this decision of the church-courts did not affect the temporalities of the benefice, which Mr. Young might enjoy unmolested. But by this decision the power of rejection by the church, although merely in spiritual offices, was also taken away. Whatever might be the nature or amount of the congregation's dissent, whatever the ecclesiastical laws by which a church-court might be compelled to reject him, and however the secular endowments might be given up as the price of their refusal, all was now to be unavailing; at the command of the civil court the presbytery must try him, ordain him, and admit him, under heavy penalties, in addition to the surrender of the temporalities of the living. A few such cases would have beggared the church unless it submitted to the extreme of passive obedience and prostituted its sacred offices to the will of secular authority. To meet this greatest of evils nothing less than an extraordinary convocation was necessary, and a requisition to that effect was signed by thirty-two fathers of the church. The day appointed for the meeting was the 17th of November, 1842, the place, Roxburgh Church, Edinburgh, and to it the ministers resorted, not only from the Lowland shires, but the extreme Highlands and Hebrides. Four hundred and sixty-five ministers attended, and the proceedings of the convocation were conducted with a solemnity, harmony, and order not often witnessed in such large ecclesiastical assemblies. Two questions composed the great subjects of deliberation: 1. What is our grievance? and 2. What is its remedy? The first of these was not far to seek, and has been suggested by the foregoing narrative; it ranged over a course of years and a series of aggressions always increasing in enormity and magnitude. How the attempt for their removal was to be conducted was equally simple and obvious: it could only be done, not by secular means and violence, but by remonstrance, protest, and serious warning, and should these be found ineffectual the ministers must abandon the temporal benefits of an establishment. This alternative, implying the

greatest of sacrifices, was intimated in no obscure or hesitating terms. It was agreed by the convocation, "That it is the duty of the ministers now assembled, and of all who adhere to their views, to make a solemn representation to her majesty's government, and to both houses of parliament, setting forth the imminent and extreme peril of the Establishment, the inestimable value of the benefits which it bestows on the country, and the pain and reluctance with which they are forced to contemplate the possibility of the church's separation, for conscience sake, from the state, respectfully calling upon the rulers of this nation to maintain the constitution of the kingdom inviolate, and to uphold a pure establishment of religion in the land; and, finally, intimating that, as the endowments of the church are undoubtedly at the disposal of the supreme power of the state, with whom it rests either to continue to the church her possession of them, free from any limitation of her spiritual jurisdiction and freedom, or to withdraw them altogether; so it must be the duty of the church, and consequently, in dependence on the grace of God, it is the determination of the brethren now assembled, if no measure such as they have declared indispensable be granted, to tender the resignation of those civil advantages which they can no longer hold in consistency with the free and full exercise of their spiritual functions, and to cast themselves on such provision as God, in his providence, may afford, maintaining still uncompromised the principle of a right scriptural connection between the church and the state, and solemnly entering their protest against the judgments of which they complain, as, in their decided opinion, altogether contrary to what has ever hitherto been understood to be the law and constitution of this country."

A declaration so solemn, so decisive, so public, could only be followed by one course of action: if the demands of the convocation were disregarded a very large and influential portion of the clergy must cease to be ministers of the Established Church of Scotland. They had declared that in its present condition of vassalage to the state they could no longer conscientiously remain in it, and that unless this bondage should be removed they would depart from its pale. To this they had pledged themselves by the most binding of declarations, which they could neither retract nor qualify, and all who knew them were aware that they were not likely to shrink from their engagement. It only therefore remained to be seen what the government would do in such a crisis. Perhaps it might yield at the last hour, and thus save the National Church from such a perilous dismemberment. The evil had been perpetrated by our statesmen through ig-

norance, through prejudice, and misrepresentation; but now that the case had been so repeatedly and clearly explained, might it not be that even yet they would relent? They made no claims to infallibility, and had often already changed their course when the popular tide was against them; and might they not—ought they not—so to do now, when the danger was so great and so immediate? In the hope of such a recantation, and to afford an opportunity of delivering it with dignity, the ministers still continued, through their supporters, to urge their claims upon parliament; but all was in vain: the government was consistent only in its infatuation and its purpose not to yield. To fortify their resolution our chief statesmen had taken several of the Moderate leading clergymen into their counsel, who assured them that these menaces of the dissentients were nothing but bravado, and that when the alternative came not forty ministers would leave the church, not twenty, perhaps not even ten. The applications continued therefore to be rejected until within two months of the meeting of the General Assembly, when by a decisive vote of the legislature it was definitely settled that the church could only enjoy the immunities and emoluments of an establishment by submission to the state and obedience to the sentences of the civil tribunal in matters sacred as well as secular.

All negotiation was thus ended, and the season for action had arrived. The warning was sudden and the time short, but the members of the convocation were not taken unprepared. Was the great event which was now inevitable to be a secession or a disruption? Were the ministers to retire each one for himself, and continue their work as travelling evangelists and missionaries, trusting entirely to providence for their support? Or were they to go forth an organized body, and carry on their operations as a national church, supported by the people alone? It was well for these questions that Dr. Chalmers was at hand to answer them. In him were combined the rarely associated qualities of the highest imagination with profound calculation, and although the most enthusiastic and eloquent pulpit orator of his day he was also one of the ablest and soundest of its financiers. While working in the forefront of this great movement, of which he was universally recognized as leader, the possibility of a secession had often occurred to him, and the necessity of providing for it on an ample and efficient scale. New churches would be needed in hundreds for the retiring ministers, and commensurate funds for their support; and these demands from public benevolence must be a thousand-fold greater than the requirements of religious enterprise had hitherto claimed.

The whole work of a national church must be overtaken, by providing religious instruction not merely for wealthy cities and populous towns, but for poor and thinly-peopled districts, schools must accompany these churches, and even the foreign missions be kept up in addition to the means of home instruction. And how were such colossal ideas to be realized? It was the concretion of a coral island from the assemblage of minute animalcule. He knew the power of *littles*, and what a penny a-head could become when contributed by the million; and upon these ideas he acted as president of the financial committee. Communications were sent to all the adherents of the movement over Scotland to advertise them of its events and prepare them for the emergency. They were everywhere organized into separate bodies, and employed to collect funds for the erection of new churches and the support of the minister of their own choice. But how to make this support permanent, not temporary, was the chief subject of his solicitude; and the result was, the scheme of the Sustentation Fund, by which ministers were to be maintained in their charges by an organized system of general and congregational contribution, so as to carry on their avocations divested of secular cares. In this way the support of the people was to be substituted for that of government, so easily and effectually, that neither disturbance nor diminution should be felt in the change. His brethren were astounded at such a plan, which far transcended anything they had hoped for; and even at the convocation, where he detailed it at great length and demonstrated its practicability, the members listened with incredulous ears. But events afterwards showed the wisdom that had planned and the energy that carried the formation of this Sustentation Fund into execution. Without it the Disruption would have taken place; but, instead of becoming a Free Church, it might have dwindled into a branch of dissentierism, or died with the generation that gave it birth.

When the meeting of the assembly was at hand the few days that preceded it were days of anxiety and commotion; the public paused and counted each hour of suspense, while the two parties of the church, who were to meet together for the last time, were preparing, each in its own fashion, for the momentous event. For three several evenings the protesting ministers assembled in St. Luke's Church, Edinburgh, and the protest was signed by about four hundred ministers who were pledged to stand or fall by its principles. On the other hand the ministers adhering to the Establishment were busy in securing a majority against the hour of trial. Their arts were successful, so far as spurious

returns of members, and the deterring of others by sordid considerations could go; and when the hour of trial approached several were wanting in the ranks of the popular party who ought to have been at their post. But still, in these ranks there was neither hesitation nor wavering. On Thursday, the 18th of May, 1843, the Marquis of Bute, who was royal commissioner, held his levee, according to custom, in the palace of Holyrood; and perhaps at no former time in its history had its ancient walls received a crowd so large, and so animated by anxiety and suspense. While the distinguished personages who had the right of entry were pressing forward to the barrier, to be presented successively to his grace, a portrait on the wall opposite to him of King William III. suddenly fell to the ground. "There goes the Revolution Settlement!" exclaimed a voice from the crowd. Although in itself a trivial accident, it was strangely in accordance with the time, and with the occasion of this meeting. The Revolution Settlement which William had ratified, and on which the dissentient party founded their claims, was about to be disregarded and violated, and the downfall of his portrait was a striking prelude to the outrage.

From Holyrood the commissioner's procession repaired to the church of St. Giles, where a sermon was preached by Dr. Welsh, the professor of church history in the University of Edinburgh, and moderator of the previous assembly. His text was from Rom. xiv. 5, "Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind;" and seldom had an occasion occurred in which such a command could be more appropriate or impressive. From the cathedral of St. Giles the procession adjourned to St. Andrew's Church, one of the largest in Edinburgh, where the assembly was to be held; and spacious though it was, and crowded to the porch, the multitudes it held were far outnumbered by the interested thousands who crowded the street, anxious to obtain the earliest notice whether the battle was lost or won. After the opening prayer of the assembly by Dr. Welsh, as retiring moderator, and when he should have opened the wonted business of such a meeting, he again stood up, but for a very different purpose; and while the whole assembly was hushed as one man to listen he thus addressed them: "Fathers and brethren, according to the usual form of procedure, this is the time for making up the roll; but in consequence of certain proceedings affecting our rights and privileges—proceedings which have been sanctioned by her majesty's government and by the legislature of the country—and more especially in respect that there has been an infringement on the liberties of our con-

stitution, so that we could not now constitute this court without a violation of the terms of the union between church and state in this land, as now authoritatively declared, I must protest against our proceeding further. The reasons that have led me to come to this conclusion are fully set forth in the document which I hold in my hand, and which, with permission of the house, I shall now proceed to read." He then proceeded to read the protest, drawn up and signed by 203 ministers who were members of that assembly. The grievances complained of were eight in number, and comprised under the following heads:—The compulsory intrusion of ministers on reclaiming congregations; the interdicting of preaching and administering ordinances; the suspension of spiritual censures by the civil courts, especially in the deposition of ministers, and depriving preachers of their license; their interference with the composition and proceedings of church-courts; their setting aside the decisions of the majorities in church-courts and confirming those of the minorities; their claiming the power to stay the processes of church discipline and interdicting church-courts from proceeding in them; and finally, the preventing of pastors to teach or rule, or sit in ecclesiastical judicatories, or making additional provision for the exercise of discipline, though wholly spiritual, without their sanction. These restrictions being incompatible with the law of God, the constitution of the Church of Scotland and the articles of the Treaty of Union, "we further PROTEST," the document went on, "that any assembly constituted in submission to the conditions now declared to be law, and under the civil coercion which has been brought to bear in the election of commissioners to the assembly this day appointed to have been holden, and on the commissioners chosen thereto, is not and shall not be deemed a free and lawful assembly of the Church of Scotland. . . . And, finally, while firmly asserting the right and duty of the civil magistrate to maintain and support an establishment of religion in accordance with God's word, and reserving to ourselves and our successors to strive by all lawful means, as opportunity shall, in God's good providence, be offered, to secure the performance of this duty agreeably to the Scriptures, and in implement of the statutes of the kingdom of Scotland, and the obligations of the Treaty of Union as understood by us and our ancestors, but acknowledging that we do not hold ourselves at liberty to retain the benefits of the establishment while we cannot comply with the conditions now deemed to be thereto attached—we PROTEST, that in the circumstances in which we are placed, it is and shall be lawful for us, and such other

commissioners, chosen to the assembly appointed to have been this day holden, as may concur with us, to withdraw to a separate place of meeting, for the purpose of taking steps for ourselves and all who adhere to us—maintaining with us the Confession of Faith and standards of the Church of Scotland, as heretofore understood—for separating, in an orderly way, from the establishment; and thereupon adopting such measures as may be competent to us, in humble dependence on God's grace and the aid of the Holy Spirit, for the advancement of his glory, the extension of the gospel of our Lord and Saviour, and the administration of the affairs of Christ's house, according to his holy word; and we do now for the purpose foresaid withdraw accordingly, humbly and solemnly acknowledging the hand of the Lord in the things which have come upon us, because of our manifold sins, and the sins of this church and nation; but, at the same time, with an assured conviction that we are not responsible for any consequences that may follow from this our enforced separation from an establishment which we loved and prized—through interference with conscience, the dishonour done to Christ's crown, and the rejection of his sole and supreme authority as king in his church."

When he had ended these ominous words of the concluding paragraph Dr. Welsh laid the protest upon the table, bowed respectfully to the commissioner, and retired. A long train followed him, in the foremost ranks of which might be recognized Dr. Chalmers, Dr. Gordon, Dr. Macfarlan, and the distinguished fathers of the church whom Scotland had so long loved and venerated; and as bench after bench continued to be vacated by the retiring, there was the silence and astonishment of awe among those who remained gazing silently at the spectacle and wondering when it would be ended. Gone were the great leaders of the warfare; let them go, for peace will return with their departure: gone were the eloquent preachers; and let them also go, for popular esteem and the bounty of admirers will more than requite them for the sacrifice. But when the obscure country ministers also followed, the men whose all depended on the establishment, and who had no such prospects before them, the most sceptical were compelled to confess that here, at least, was an instance of veritable martyrdom. In the meantime the crowd that thronged the church-door, and whose anxiety had been wound to the utmost pitch, no sooner beheld the front rank of the procession in the porch than they conveyed the tidings in a whisper, "They come! They come!" and in an instant the street rang with acclamations of triumph.

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The leal-hearted men of the good old cause of Scotland were as plentiful as ever, and in that moment each man felt as proud of his country as his minister; and while some expressed their enthusiasm by loud shouts, many could only express their feeling by tears and sobs. The sacrifice that had been promised was no empty menace, and here was the departure in good earnest. The crowd opened to give them passage, and the procession slowly wended its way down to Canonmills, where a place had been previously fitted up in anticipation of the event. It was an immense hall, capable of accommodating 3000 sitters; and the place had been crowded at an early hour by those who were certain that a new General Assembly would be constituted there and were anxious to witness its proceedings.

On entering the hall the ministers took their places. Their numbers showed that this was no mere secession, the germ of a future church, but an entire church, already formed and in full maturity, with 470 clergymen present as its representatives. Dr. Welsh opened this new assembly with prayer, as he had opened the old, after which it was his duty as late moderator to propose his successor in office. Nor was this nomination either doubtful or difficult, for the heart of the whole church had already settled the question. "I feel assured," said Dr. Welsh in his address, "that the eyes of every individual in this assembly—the eyes of the whole church and country—the eyes of all Christendom—are directed to one individual, whom to name is to pronounce his panegyric. In the exhausted state in which my numerous duties have left me it is scarcely in my power to say more; but, indeed, I feel that more would be superfluous. The extent of his labours in connection with our present position would justly entitle Dr. Chalmers to hold the first place in this our meeting." At the name of Dr. Chalmers the whole audience rose, and hailed it with deafening acclamations. As soon as silence was restored Dr. Welsh thus proceeded:—"Surely it is a good omen, or rather I should say a token for good from the great Disposer of all events and the alone Head of the church, that I can propose to hold this office an individual who, by the efforts of his genius and his virtues, is destined to hold so conspicuous a place in the eyes of all posterity. But this, I feel, is taking but a low view of the subject. His genius has been devoted to the service of his heavenly Master, and his is the high honour promised to those who, having laboured successfully in their Master's cause, and turned many to righteousness, are to shine as the stars for ever and ever." On assuming the moderator's chair

Dr. Chalmers commenced the devotional part of his duty by selecting for their song of praise the forty-third psalm. A heavy thunder-cloud had by this time thrown its shadow over the building, and enveloped the greater part of the audience in gloom; but no sooner was that touching line read out,

“O send thy light forth and thy truth,”

than the sun suddenly broke out, and all was irradiated with the joyful light of day. It was an animating coincidence to which even the most desponding could not be insensible. In his opening address the new moderator briefly went over the history of the late struggles of the church and the fruitlessness of its applications to the ruling powers. “We now,” he added, “make a higher appeal, from our constitution, which has been disregarded, to our conscience, which tells us that the ecclesiastical ought not to be subjected to the civil power in things spiritual. We are therefore compelled, though with great reluctance and deep sorrow of heart, to quit the advantages of the Scottish Establishment, because she has fallen from her original principles, in the hope that we shall be suffered to prosecute our labours in peace on the ground of British toleration. These are the principles that have occasioned the movements of this day and brought us together on the present occasion.” Their triumph was like that of the Christians of old, who rejoiced in their sufferings, and counted all their losses gain in the service of their divine Master. Even this natural elation, however, required a proper direction to be given and right limits to be set to it, and therefore Dr. Chalmers added, “But let us not forget, in the midst of this rejoicing, the deep humility that pervaded their songs of exultation, the trembling which these holy men mixed with their mirth—trembling arising from a sense of their own weakness: and then courage, inspired by the thought of that aid and strength which were to be obtained out of His fulness who formed all their boasting and all their defence. Never in the history of our church were such feelings and such acknowledgments more called for than now; and in the transition we are making it becomes us to reflect on such sentiments as these, ‘Not I, but the grace of God which was with me,’ and ‘Let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall.’”

While the Free Church was originated in this manner, and its assembly employed harmoniously in the work of reconstruction and legislation, it is time to cast a parting look at the proceedings of that court which they had forsaken. A fearful disruption had taken place, by which the church was rent in twain and the assembly half-emptied,

and men gazed upon the void, scarcely able to believe the testimony of their own senses. But the huge blank was immediately occupied by forty members, who held the religious sentiments of the departed, although they could not carry them out as their predecessors had done; and instead of departing with the rest they thought it their duty to remain in the Establishment, corrupted though it was, in the hope that their continuing protest against its corruptions might be all the more available. It was a painful position to occupy, for it subjected them to the scorn of their retiring brethren without securing the confidence of those with whom they remained; and it needed no ordinary measure either of high, heroic conscientiousness or moral insensibility to constitute such a minority. It was indeed with something like derision and pity, mingled with satisfaction, that the Moderate leaders, as soon as they saw the empty benches occupied by this remnant, exclaimed, “We have still got an opposition!” In proceeding to business it was natural that this assembly should rescind those laws which had been confirmed during the temporary ascendancy of the popular party; and in the present state of affairs it was equally natural that in such a process they should encounter no serious opposition. They therefore went roundly to work, and with a unanimity and speed which almost matched the proceedings of the opposition house at Canonmills. The first proceeding was to restore the suspended ministers of Strathbogie; and this was done by declaring their sentence to have been null and void from the beginning. Then came the Veto Law, which was dismissed so summarily that it was not even subjected to the formality of a vote; and presbyteries were ordered to proceed henceforth in the settlement of parishes as if the veto had never existed. With equal haste and as little ceremony the parliamentary churches and the chapels of ease, along with the churches of the Associate Synod that had returned to the communion of the Establishment were deprived of their constitutions, and the ministers of their right to sit in church-courts. The compulsory settlements of Mr. Edwards and Mr. Middleton were confirmed, and Mr. Clark’s license was restored. The last duty that remained was to consider the protest of the retiring ministers which had been laid on the assembly’s table at their departure; and it was decreed that the churches of those who had signed it should be declared vacant. It was necessary, however, that the protest itself should be formally answered, and the answer widely circulated over the country. “We are, I have no doubt,” said Dr. Cook, now the undisputed leader of the assembly, “agreed upon the point that the pleas put forth by the protesters are in a very great degree fallacious

pleas; that their views of acts of parliament are erroneous views; and we are perfectly at one in this, that their interpretations of these acts are not interpretations which, down to the last assembly, have ever been put upon the statutes, or were considered by the assembly to be legitimate interpretations. I therefore think it not only necessary but imperative that there should be a committee appointed to prepare such a minute answer as I have suggested, and that that be done after the discussion of this day." The committee was accordingly appointed, but failed to finish its work before the assembly rose. The task was then postponed to the next meeting of the commission in August. But even in August the answer, if prepared, was not produced, and after this the affair was allowed to drop. The first assembly of the Free Church sat from the 18th to the 30th of May. On the 23rd was witnessed a solemn and impressive scene, when fully 470 ministers signed a Deed of Demission, and thus formally resigned their livings and gave up all connection with the Established Church. The illustrious moderator was the first to sign, and next to him came the venerable Dr. Muirhead of Cramond, who had been ordained in 1788.¹

In the formation of the Free Church one of the most striking of its characteristics was its magnitude and maturity at the very first hour of its existence. It was without parallel in the history of the Christian church. Hitherto the great dissents both of England and Scotland had originated in a beginning so small as scarcely to excite notice. Two or three ministers, dissatisfied with the state of the Established Church, withdrew from its communion, and the small sect which they formed only grew in the course of years, and through the regular periods of infancy, youth, and manhood. But here was a church that was born full grown. Repudiating the character of a mere dissent, or even of a secession, it claimed to be the veritable national Church of Scotland; and the means at its disposal, as well as the strength it put forth, were commensurate with so lofty an assumption. It claimed every parish for its own, and forthwith proceeded to erect a church in every parish. Considering the "godly up-bringing of the young" of Scotland to be committed to its charge, it erected a school along

with the church in the poorest as well as in the richest parishes. Most of these schools have, since the passing of the Education Act of 1872, passed into the hands of the school boards. Not a single effort either for home evangelization or foreign missions was to be remitted or even abated, and the Free Church, as soon as it started into existence, took up the work in all its ramifications and with resources adequate to the demand. The immense and complicated machinery in such a variety of religious efforts was scarcely interrupted one moment by the earthquake shock of the Disruption; and no sooner had the event occurred than all went on with renewed activity and vigour. And that this was no sudden spasmodic effort, to be afterwards followed by reaction and collapse, has been shown by the increase of the church's resources, and the extension of its efforts, as year after year went onward. At the time of the Disruption the Free Church supplied a desideratum to the nation at large which had been greatly desired since the Reformation. The means of religious instruction, as compared with the requirements of the people, were scanty, while every appeal to government upon the subject was either answered by a very inadequate boon or a churlish refusal. But the erection of nearly a thousand churches by the Free Church alone in all parts of Scotland, from the Solway Firth to the most distant island of the northern and western sea, obviated the necessity of such appeals, and supplemented the deficiency in a larger abundance than any which the most liberal government would have attempted.

And what the while has been the career of the Established Church? At the Disruption there was much bitterness of feeling between the two parties, and the antagonistic churches regarded each other not merely as rivals but as deadly enemies. But gradually this feeling died out, and each church held onward in its own way, finding that the work it had to do left neither time nor inclination for unseemly and unedifying quarrel. In recent times there has been a remarkable development of spiritual and intellectual life among the clergy of the Established Church, and a corresponding growth of religious power in the congregations, as evidenced by the erection of new churches, the establishment of missions, and other efforts in behalf of religion both at home and abroad, which have necessarily made large demands upon the liberality of members. The activity of the church in this direction was stimulated by the munificent gift of £500,000 conferred on it by Mr. Baird, the wealthy ironmaster, in 1873, to be administered by trustees as a fund

¹ In this account of the Disruption and the events that led to it the historical authorities are too numerous for especial reference; and in consequence of the limits which it ought to occupy in a history of Scotland we have confined ourselves to the leading events of the religious history of that momentous period. To those, however, who desire a full detail of the Disruption and its causes we can confidently refer them to *The Ten Years' Conflict*, by the Rev. Robert Buchanan, D.D.

for meeting spiritual destitution. The obnoxious laws relating to patronage were modified by Lord Aberdeen's Act (1843), and at last, in 1874, as elsewhere stated, patronage was finally abolished, and the right of electing ministers was vested in communicants and adherents. Thus was the chief cause of all the secessions, and of the break-up of 1843, removed; but, other causes remaining, it is doubtful if many who had left the Established Church found themselves able on this ground to rejoin it.

The period of religious strife that produced the Free Church was succeeded, however, by one of religious reunions, and certain denominations that had hitherto differed upon minor points agreed to abandon or forget them that they might once more become one. Such was the reconciliation of the Burghers and Anti-burghers, who became incorporated under the title of the United Secession, and who afterwards (in 1847) formed conjointly a union with the Relief Church under the title of the United Presbyterian Church. Negotiations with a view to a union of the Free Church and the United Presbyterians were well advanced, but were abandoned in 1873, principally on account of the disinclination of the former to modify its profession of the establishment doctrine. In 1876 the Reformed Presbyterian Church was received into the Free Church, and as Voluntary principles seem latterly to have been gaining ground in this body, a union with the other dissenting bodies may yet take place. At the present

time indeed the preponderance of opinion in the Free Church seems to be against the principle of establishments, and among Free Churchmen and United Presbyterians alike there is a strong demand for disestablishment. But as yet all is uncertainty and conjecture, and though the question of disestablishment has come before parliament, what the result may be must be left to the future.

One point may here be referred to in regard to which all the churches stand in a similar position. A somewhat more elaborate service has been introduced into many of the congregations, church music has been greatly improved, the organ which formerly was anathema to the Scottish Presbyterians both lay and clerical has become not uncommon, hymns are now in very general use, and in some cases—perhaps confined to churches of the establishment—even fixed forms of prayer are employed to some extent. The relative numbers of the adherents belonging to the Established Church and the other Presbyterian churches are not known with certainty, but according to what seems a fair estimate the first may claim about as many adherents as the other two bodies combined. Presbyterianism is represented in England chiefly by the English Presbyterian Church, while it also occupies an important position in Canada and other colonies. Nearly all the churches in Scotland have long been vigorously engaged in missionary work in various foreign lands.

CHAPTER VI.

SCOTLAND'S PROGRESS AND POSITION IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

Movement of population—Increase reduced by emigration—Rural and town population—Scottish towns—Institutions and public works—Means of communication—Roads, bridges, and canals—Telford—Caledonian Canal—Crinan Canal—John Rennie and his sons—Macadam and his improvements in roads—Beginnings of steam navigation—Miller, Taylor and Symington, and their successful experiments—Lead to steam navigation in America—Steam navigation introduced on the Clyde by Henry Bell—Rapid development of steam navigation—David Napier, Robert Napier, and John Elder—Iron steamers—Fairbairn, Scott Russell—The screw-propeller—Introduction of railways—Progress of Scottish railways—Tramways—Great railway works—The Forth Bridge—The Tay Bridge—Telegraphs—Agricultural improvements—Drainage—Manures—Implements and machinery—The reaping-machine—Stock-breeding—Breeds of horses, cattle and sheep—Dairying—Vicissitudes in farming—Modern period of depression—Fishes—Manufacturing industries—Textile goods—Hand-loom weaving and its decline—Linen manufacture, its history and present condition—Woollen manufacture and its recent developments—Cotton manufacture and its history in Scotland—Miscellaneous textiles—Coal and iron industries—Progress of coal mining and iron smelting—The Carron Works—Neilson and the hot-blast—Pig-iron, malleable iron, and steel—The steam-hammer and its inventor—The manufacture of steam-engines, machinery, &c.—Shipbuilding on the Clyde—The paraffin oil industry—Chemical works—Distilling and brewing—Miscellaneous industries—Commerce and finance—Exports and imports—Banking and insurance—Literature in Scotland—Sir Walter Scott, his career, character, and position—James Hogg, his life and works—John Leyden—Thomas Campbell—Religious poets: Grahame, Pollok, Montgomery—William Tennant—Song-writers—Tannahill and others—Allan Cunningham—Two authoresses: Joanna Baillie, a dramatist, Susan E. Ferrier, novelist—Other novel-

DISRUPTION OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

MINISTERS SIGNING THE DEED OF DEMISSION AT THE FIRST GENERAL ASSEMBLY
OF THE FREE CHURCH.

Thursday the 18th of May, 1843, witnessed the Disruption of the Church of Scotland. On that day the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland met in St Andrew's Church, Edinburgh, when Dr. Welsh, the retiring moderator, read a formal Protest on behalf of 203 ministers who were members of the Assembly. This Protest set forth, that under the conditions now declared to be the law, and in submission to the coercion now imposed on the establishment, a free and lawful Assembly of the Church of Scotland, according to the original and fundamental principles thereof, cannot now be held. When this document was read the protesting commissioners to the Assembly, ministers, and laymen retired amid great excitement, and proceeded in procession to Canonmills, where a hall capable of accommodating 3000 people had been prepared. This building was crowded, and therein the FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND was constituted, Dr. Chalmers being appointed Moderator amid deafening acclamations. *In course of the proceedings an impressive scene was witnessed, when fully 470 ministers signed a Deed of Demission, and thus formally resigned their livings and gave up all connection with the Established Church.*

In the picture.—Dr. Chalmers, having signed the Deed, has taken his place as Moderator of the Assembly. Seated to his left is Dr. Welsh, the retiring Moderator, who read the Protest. On the right of Dr. Chalmers is Dr. Gordon, minister of the High Church, Edinburgh; Sir James Forrest, Lord Provost of Edinburgh; Dr. Cunningham, subsequently Professor of Church History in the new College, Edinburgh; behind him, Alexander Dunlop, author of "The Claim of Right", afterwards legal adviser of the Free Church, and member of Parliament for Greenock. Dr. Pitcairn of Cockpen, one of the Clerks of Assembly, superintends the signing of the Document, and his colleague in the Clerkship, Dr. Clason of Edinburgh, is seated at the end of the table. Behind Dr. Pitcairn is Dr. Bruce, minister of St. Andrew's, Edinburgh, the church where the General Assembly had met, and in which the Protest was read; in front of him the well-known figure of Dr. Julius Wood, afterwards of Dumfries. In the foreground, the Rev. Robert M'Donald of Blairgowrie (afterwards notable for his work in regard to schools) is supporting an aged minister who, having signed the Deed, is about to leave.



W. H. MARGETSON.

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DISRUPTION OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

MINISTERS SIGNING THE DEED OF DEMISSION AT THE FIRST GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE
FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND (A.D. 1843).

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ists: John Galt and Michael Scott—Edinburgh a literary centre—The *Edinburgh Review* and its editor Jeffrey—The *Quarterly Review* starts as a rival—*Blackwood's Magazine* started—Prof. John Wilson and his connection with it—Other contributors: J. G. Lockhart—D. M. Moir, "Delta"—Thomas Aird—Prof. W. E. Aytoun—*Chambers's Journal* and the brothers Chambers—Alexander Smith—David Gray—Present-day writers of light literature—Mrs. Oliphant, George MacDonald, and others—Thomas Carlyle the greatest Scottish writer since Scott—His life and characteristics—Scottish historians: Tytler, Alison, Burton, &c.—Philosophical writers: Dugald Stewart—Dr. Thomas Brown—Sir W. Hamilton—Prof. Ferrier, &c.—Divines and theologians: Dr. Chalmers—Dr. Guthrie—Dr. Norman Macleod—Dr. Tulloch, and others—Prof. Robertson Smith and the modern school—Men of Science—Playfair and Leslie—Sir David Brewster—J. D. Forbes—Geologists: Lyell, Murchison, Hugh Miller, and others—Hugh Miller an interesting personality—Zoologists—Botanists—Chemists—Medical men—Sir Charles Bell and his great discovery—Liston and Syme as surgeons—Sir J. Y. Simpson and chloroform—Travellers: Mungo Park and others—Dr. Livingstone and his career—Scottish artists: Sir Henry Raeburn and other portrait painters—Sir David Wilkie—Other painters of eminence—Sculptors and Architects—Engravers—General remarks on the nineteenth century—It has tended to assimilate Scotland to England—The two countries still distinct in laws, &c.—Some points of difference adduced—Laws, courts, and legal functionaries—Education.

In giving some of the more striking facts regarding the progress made by Scotland in the nineteenth century, it may be as well to begin with the increase which has taken place in the number of the inhabitants of the country, this furnishing the clearest evidence of progress, and the advance made in this direction being closely associated with those made in other directions. The first government census of the country was taken in 1801, at which date it was found that the people numbered 1,608,420. Since then this figure has been multiplied two and a half times, the census of 1891 showing that then Scotland had rather more than four millions of inhabitants. This increase, great as it is, is not so great as that which has taken place in England during the corresponding period, although it must be remembered that the natural resources of England are far superior to those of Scotland. In both countries, of course, the increase has taken place in the face of a constant loss by emigration, immense numbers of emigrants having been attracted to lands across the sea, especially to the British colonies and the United States. Previous to 1815 the emigration from our islands was comparatively small, but since then it has at various times assumed gigantic dimensions, so that altogether more than thirteen millions of emigrants have left the British Islands in the present century. Scotland's special share in this total cannot be given with any accuracy, but since 1851 we know that some 700,000 people have left the country to settle in distant lands, many of these being the flower of Scotland's sons and daughters. This tide of emigration from Europe to the New World of America and the still newer world of Australia is one of the most striking social phenomena of the century, and is fraught with the most important consequences for the future of the world.

Though the inhabitants of Scotland have so largely increased in number, the average density of population—the number of people per

square mile of surface—is still low when compared with England as well as various other countries, such as France, Germany, and especially Belgium; for Scotland, as every one knows, is to a great extent a land of mountain, heath, and unproductive soil, and thus it is the growth of the towns that has mainly contributed to the increase of population, the rural population being at the present time but little greater than it was in the beginning of the century. From 1801 to 1831 there was a general increase throughout the country at large, and every county showed a growing population. But this did not continue with any steadiness, some counties after this time showing a decrease during one or more of the successive decennial periods at which the census was taken, though the majority on the whole showed an increase. The county of Argyle is the chief instance of a loss of population, since notwithstanding the growth of Campbeltown, Dunoon, and Oban, its population is now smaller by 6000 than it was in 1801. Sutherland has also a slightly smaller population than it had at that date, while Perth now stands much as it did at the beginning of the century. By 1841, however, the inhabitants of Perthshire had been augmented by some 16,000 persons, so that this increase has been since lost. Some of the towns again have shown the most extraordinary increase in population, Glasgow for instance having now ten times as many inhabitants as in 1801.

While English towns, we may remark, are generally built of brick, the towns in Scotland are generally built of dressed or polished stone. Edinburgh and Glasgow may even claim to be perhaps the best built, the best paved, and the best cleansed towns in the British Islands. In contrast to the want of neatness and cleanliness so generally prevalent in the eighteenth century, Scotland can now boast a foremost place in cleanliness and sanitation, the result of the latter being attested by the lowering of the death-rate in her principal

towns. Along with this there has taken place a great increase in benevolent institutions and agencies of all kinds, as witness the noble infirmaries and other buildings for the accommodation of suffering or unfortunate humanity. Great and expensive works to provide the chief cities with a satisfactory supply of good water have also been carried out, and the Glasgow Corporation water-works, opened in 1859, served to lead the way among all the recent undertakings of this kind in the United Kingdom. These works bring water from Loch Katrine and neighbouring lochs, the source of supply being thus more than 30 miles from Glasgow. The new works that came into operation in 1859 cost over £930,000, while the purchase and improvement of existing works cost the Glasgow Corporation an additional £658,000. The average daily consumption of water has risen from 20,000,000 gallons to more than 40,000,000, and works are now in progress to increase the possible daily supply of Glasgow to a total of 100,000,000 gallons at an additional expenditure of about £1,000,000.

The superior attraction which town-life seems to possess over life in the country is to a considerable extent responsible for the increase of the towns at the expense of the rural districts, and this result is not confined to Scotland but is observed in many other countries, including even the United States and the Australian colonies. How to attach the people more numerous to the soil, and to discourage the persistent migration to the town, is a problem that is now receiving much attention on the part of social reformers.

In the early part of the century the means of communication were still so defective that the towns could exercise but a slight attractive influence on the country districts. The great bulk of the people knew only of town-life by hearsay, and were contented to live on in the neighbourhood where they had been born. Means of communication were now being rapidly extended, however. Roads and bridges in particular were being constructed and improved, both in the Lowlands and the Highlands, and in this department of material progress Scotland had a prominent representative in the celebrated Thomas Telford. Telford was born in Dumfriesshire in 1755, and died in London in 1834. He began the world as a working mason, but soon raised himself above this position, and earned a distinguished name as a civil engineer, the making of roads, bridges, harbours, and canals being the departments in which he chiefly excelled. His works are so numerous all over Britain, that there is hardly a county in which they may not be pointed out.

In 1801 he was appointed by government to report on the public works required for Scotland, and a consequence of this was the construction by him of 1000 miles of roads and 1200 bridges in this country, while he was also intrusted with the making of the Caledonian Canal. This splendid public work traverses "the great glen of Scotland" for 60 miles, but as it has in its course Lochs Ness, Oich, and Lochy, only a portion of this distance (about 26 miles) consists of artificial cuttings. The canal was begun in 1803, and was opened in 1822, when two-thirds of it was finished; but the work was not fully completed till 1847, at a total cost of over £1,350,000. The Caledonian Canal was intended to furnish a short route for sea-going vessels from the east to the west coast of Scotland, or *vice versa*, but it has fulfilled this object only in a comparatively small degree, being now much more important as a route for tourist steamers than for other traffic, though small vessels and fishing-boats also avail themselves of it. The Broomielaw Bridge (Glasgow, soon to be rebuilt) and the Dean Bridge (Edinburgh) are among the works of Telford in Scotland, but more famous than either is the great Menai suspension bridge, which forms part of the road made by him from London to Holyhead, and connects the island of Anglesea with the mainland.

The Crinan Canal, cut through the isthmus of Cantyre for the purpose of avoiding the long route round the Mull of Cantyre, was a work of somewhat earlier date, having been finished in 1801. This canal was projected by John Rennie, another famous Scottish engineer. He was the son of an East Lothian farmer, was born in 1761, and began life as a millwright under Andrew Meikle, whom we have already mentioned in connection with the thrashing machine. Rennie was subsequently employed by Boulton and Watt, and after having acquired a great reputation in connection with mill machinery of various kinds, he turned his attention chiefly to bridges, harbours, and docks. His most famous bridges are the Waterloo and Southwark bridges, London; in Scotland, those of Kelso, Musselburgh, Newton-Stewart, and New Galloway. Some of the chief docks on the Thames, with those at Leith and Greenock, were designed by him, and he had also a share in the famed Bell Rock Lighthouse. He died in 1821, leaving two sons, who followed in his footsteps—George Rennie (1791–1866) and Sir John Rennie (1794–1874), almost equally famous with their father. The brothers long worked in conjunction, and executed engineering works of the most varied kind, including not only such as those in which their father had been

engaged, but also marine engines, ships, and railways.

In connection with the subject of roads we cannot omit to mention John Loudon Macadam (1756-1836), whose name furnished a new word to the English language, namely, the verb to *macadamize*, expressive of the improvement in road-making of which Macadam was the inventor. As a road trustee in Ayrshire he had his attention directed to the much-needed improvement of the highways, which were then constructed on defective principles and costly to repair. He made a number of experiments, and came to the conclusion that broken stones of nearly uniform size were the material of which the road-track should be constructed, that it should be slightly raised in the middle and properly drained at the sides, and that if properly made the surface became hard and solid under the influence of the traffic passing over it, requiring less repair the harder the stone made use of. This system soon found almost universal acceptance; Macadam was appointed surveyor-general of roads, and he ultimately received £10,000 from parliament as an indemnity for the outlays which his experiments and journeys in connection with roads had caused him. The roads all over Britain soon benefited by Macadam's efforts, and a much-improved system of mail-coach and other communication everywhere followed. Telford, we may mention, considered that there should be a proper foundation of large stones below the smaller stones, while Macadam did not consider this necessary; but at the present day both systems have their supporters. Formerly the main roads in the Lowlands of Scotland were turnpike roads kept up by the levying of tolls, but a number of counties got the tolls abolished, and at last they were abolished everywhere in 1883 by an act passed in 1878.

As Watt had brought honour to the country of his birth by the improvement of the steam-engine, so also Scotland holds a high and honourable place in the adaptation of steam to the purposes of navigation, thus immensely facilitating communication by water. Towards the end of the eighteenth century several persons took up this problem, with more or less success. In America there were James Rumsey of Virginia and John Fitch of Philadelphia; and in Scotland, Mr. Miller of Dalswinton, in Dumfriesshire (Burns's landlord when he lived at Ellisland), whose experiments were by far the most conclusive of any that had yet been made. Associated with Mr. Miller were James Taylor, tutor to his sons, and William Symington, a mechanic at Wanlockhead mines. The first experiments were made on Dalswinton Loch in 1788, with a double

or twin boat, fitted with a small engine made by Symington, who was a practical engineer, and had already constructed a road locomotive. The application of steam as a propelling power is said to have been the suggestion of Mr. Taylor. The double boat was propelled by a paddle-wheel placed in the space between the two hulls. With this was obtained a speed of about 5 miles an hour. The following year Mr. Miller constructed a larger boat, in which the engine propelled two paddle-wheels, one placed before the other, in the centre between the conjoined boats. The engine in this case was made at the Carron Iron-works, and employed two atmospheric cylinders, each 18 inches diameter, with which a speed of 5 or more miles an hour was obtained on the Forth and Clyde Canal. This was in the autumn of 1789. After having thus completely established the practicability of the invention, even with the imperfect mechanism employed, Mr. Miller and his colleagues, Symington and Taylor, in the meantime abandoned the further prosecution of the enterprise, dreading perhaps the expense and opposition which so often falls to the lot of those who dare to introduce innovations. But Mr. Symington had not yet brought his labours in connection with steam navigation to a conclusion. In 1801 he was employed by Lord Dundas to construct a steamer for the purpose of towing barges on the Forth and Clyde Canal. This vessel, called the *Charlotte Dundas*, had an engine on Watt's principle, with one horizontal cylinder 22 inches diameter and 4 feet stroke, with connecting-rod and crank, which turned a single paddle-wheel situated in a well-hole at the stern of the vessel. It was launched in 1802 and found to answer its purpose admirably, but the proprietors of the canal objected to its use, on account of the wash of the paddle-wheel, which, they alleged, would injure the banks. The boat was accordingly abandoned, after an expense of about £3000 had been incurred by the experiment.

Among those who examined the *Charlotte Dundas* was Robert Fulton, an American engineer, who received a full explanation of the machinery and working of the vessel from Symington. He was thus enabled to return with full information on the subject to his native country, where, in conjunction with a Mr. Livingston, he obtained a patent for what was termed their "invention of steamboats". His first attempt was made on the Hudson River, in 1807, with a vessel propelled by a steam-engine which had been sent out from England, and was made by Boulton and Watt, the plan of the wheels and gearing being similar to that introduced by Symington six years previously. With his

vessel, which was the first American steamer, a speed of about 5 miles an hour was obtained, the first run being between New York and Albany, a distance of 142 miles. Fulton and Livingston then built several steamboats upon a larger scale for carrying goods and passengers, employing Boulton and Watt to make the machinery, which was still sent out from England.

Although steam navigation was thus early introduced on the American rivers, it was not until 1812 that the first regular steam passage-boat (of tiny dimensions, it is true) made its appearance in Great Britain, being launched on the Clyde. This was the *Comet*, built for Henry Bell, the proprietor of a hotel and baths at Helensburgh, who had been for long a most zealous advocate of steam navigation. The little vessel was 40 feet long and 10 feet beam, with a steam-engine of 4 horse-power, the engine being placed on one side of the vessel, and the boiler (of wrought iron) on the other. She was built by Messrs. John Wood & Co., Port-Glasgow, and of course, like all vessels at that time, was built of wood. The *Comet* made its first voyage in January, 1812, and it continued to ply regularly between Glasgow and Greenock at a speed of about 5 miles an hour. A second vessel, the *Elizabeth*, was built for another owner immediately after, a larger and faster vessel than the *Comet*, attaining an average speed of nine miles an hour. Then followed the *Margery*, which was the first steam-vessel that plied on the Thames, having passed through the Forth and Clyde Canal and then down the east coast. In 1813 was built the *Glasgow*, which, in point of power and efficiency, became the standard at that early period for the construction of river steamers.

The marine engines hitherto constructed were single, but in 1814 Messrs. Boulton and Watt supplied two condensing engines, connected together by cranks set at right angles on the shaft, for propelling a small steamer on the Clyde, the *Princess Charlotte*. In 1815 a steam-vessel, the *Argyle*, made a voyage from Glasgow to Dublin, and thence round Land's End to London. It was then employed to carry passengers between London and Margate. In 1818 Mr. David Napier had the *Rob Roy* built by Denny of Dumbarton, with which he was the first to establish a regular communication between two sea-ports,—namely, Greenock and Belfast. The *Rob Roy* was about 100 tons burden, and had a single engine of 30 horse-power. It was transferred in 1819 from the west coast to the English Channel, to run between Dover and Calais. About the same time Mr. David Napier had the *Talbot* built, a vessel of 150 tons, with two engines of 30 horse-power

each, to run between Dublin and Holyhead. Mr. David Napier's name is thus one of great importance in the development of steam navigation, since he was the first to demonstrate that it was perfectly practicable to utilize the steamship for deep-sea traffic, and himself was the means of establishing such a traffic between the Clyde and Belfast, between the Clyde and Liverpool, and between Holyhead and Dublin. The Clyde naturally became the head-quarters of steamship building and marine engineering, and in these industries has maintained a leading position to the present day. In connection with this subject we must also mention Robert Napier of Glasgow, cousin of David Napier, who for years held a foremost position as a marine engineer and naval architect, building ships for the East India Company and the Cunard Company, and war vessels for the British and other governments. Another great name connected with the same profession is that of John Elder, who adopted and practically constructed the compound or combined high and low pressure type of marine engine, by which a saving of fuel to the extent of thirty or forty per cent was effected. The result was that steamships were now enabled to carry sufficient coal for very long voyages, and that a revolution in ocean traffic was effected.

The first iron steamer built on the Clyde was launched in 1832. Iron vessels had then been known for a considerable number of years, but few of these were of any size, and for some years there was a considerable prejudice against them on the part of passengers. So much was this the case that on the route between Glasgow and Liverpool the wooden steamer would often have a far larger complement of passengers than the iron one, though the fare was higher by one-half. The advantages of iron as a material in ship-building were strongly urged by the well-known Scottish engineer Sir William Fairbairn, who himself built iron vessels at Millwall, London, for a number of years subsequent to 1835. Fairbairn (born at Kelso 1789, died 1874), who spent most of his life in England, did much also to introduce wrought iron in the construction of bridges, and was connected with the making of the famous Britannia tubular bridge over the Menai Strait. Scott Russell, the builder of the *Great Eastern*, was also a native of Scotland, and for a time was connected with the Clyde, but his career as a ship-builder mostly belongs to the Thames. The screw-propeller began to be introduced into steamships about 1840; and though this innovation was not directly due to any Scotsman, a native of Scotland, Mr. Robert Wilson of Dunbar, had already pro-

duced a screw-propeller that gained a silver medal (in 1832) from the Royal Scottish Society of Arts.

The application of steam to travelling and the conveyance of goods by land took place later than its application to locomotion by water. As in England, the first railways constructed in Scotland were really tramways, the earliest of those being a line of $9\frac{3}{4}$ miles between Kilmarnock and Troon, opened in 1812, and worked by horses. Other railways of similar character were subsequently constructed, such as the Monkland and Kirkintilloch, opened in 1826, and the Edinburgh and Dalkeith, opened in 1831. When the railway system, in the ordinary sense of the word, had been started in England with the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester line in 1829, projects for similar enterprises in Scotland soon began to be entertained. The Garnkirk Railway, from Glasgow to near Airdrie, was partially opened in July, 1831, and the first locomotive made in Scotland ran upon this line the following year, being built in Glasgow. In 1837 a line between Ayr and Irvine was opened; in 1840 Glasgow was connected with Paisley by railway, and next year with Ayr. By 1849 there were 795 miles of railway in Scotland, and in 1857 the mileage had been increased to more than 1200. Before this time all the great Scottish railway companies had been formed, or at least were represented in some shape, much being done subsequently in the way of absorption and amalgamation as well as extension. The Caledonian and North British both date from 1845, while the Glasgow and South-Western came into existence under that designation in 1850, when the Glasgow, Dumfries, and Carlisle and the Ayrshire lines were amalgamated. The Caledonian was originally constructed to connect Carlisle with Edinburgh and Glasgow, which it did after reaching Carstairs junction by sending a branch to either of those cities. Its most important amalgamations were those with the Scottish Central in 1865, thus continuing the system to Perth, and with the Scottish North-Eastern in the following year, thus carrying its metals on to Aberdeen. The original portion of the North British Railway—that is, the portion to which this name was originally applied—was from Edinburgh to Berwick, and was opened in 1846; but an important portion of the system is some years older than this, namely, the Edinburgh and Glasgow line, which was opened in 1841, though not amalgamated with the North British till 1865. By the absorption of other lines, and the construction of branches and extensions, the North British system is now the largest in Scot-

land. The Great North of Scotland Railway Company dates from 1846, but the construction of the main line was not begun till 1852, and communication from Aberdeen to Huntly was first opened up in 1854, and to Keith in 1856. The first portion of the Highland Railway that was constructed was the line from Inverness to Nairn, opened in 1855, the portion running on to Keith being opened in 1858. Since that date the company has been able to carry its metals southwards to Perth, northwards to Wick and Thurso, and westwards to the coast opposite Skye. A new railway, the West Highland, 100 miles in length, from Helensburgh to Fort William, was opened in 1894. The total length of the Scottish railways now amounts to more than 3000 miles. Tramway lines for the conveyance of passengers have also been introduced. These are very different from the first tramways constructed, which were intended almost entirely for the conveyance of goods, and more particularly coals, from the mine to a place of shipment. The modern tramways in Scotland date from 1871, when a portion of the Edinburgh system was opened.

In connection with the railways great bridges, viaducts, tunnels, and other works have been constructed, some of them highly remarkable examples of engineering enterprise and skill. The famous iron bridge that spans the estuary of the Forth at Queensferry is the largest structure of the kind in the world, and presents many features that at the time of its construction were novelties in civil engineering as applied to the building of bridges. The firth here is about 4000 feet wide at low water, but the total length of the bridge, including the viaducts and approaches, is about a mile and a half. The small island of Inchgarvie rises about the middle of the channel, and upon it the central pier of the bridge has been built, while there is a similar pier upon either side built up from the bed of the river. The two chief spans are each 1710 feet, or nearly one-third of a mile, wide. They are formed mainly by huge structures technically known as cantilevers, a kind of gigantic brackets which project from either side, and rest at one end upon the three main piers, being connected by girders which complete the span. The headway for vessels passing under these spans is 150 feet at high water, while the highest part of the structure is 361 feet above high water. This immense bridge was begun in 1883, and was opened for traffic in May, 1890. The engineers who designed it were Sir John Fowler and Sir Benjamin Baker, while the contract work, which was let for £1,600,000, was carried out by Sir William Arrol and his firm. Another great structure of an entirely

different type is the railway bridge that spans the Firth of Tay from Dundee to Fifeshire. It is the second bridge built here, a former and less substantial structure having been shattered by a violent storm on 28th December, 1879, a passenger train that happened to be crossing at the time being thus thrown into the river with great loss of life. The present bridge is slightly more than two miles in length, and is so substantially built that there is little fear of a similar disaster ever taking place.

Turning now to another and entirely different system of communication, we may briefly refer to the electric telegraph in Scotland. The telegraph as a practical means of communication was first introduced for commercial purposes in connection with railways, the earliest lines being those laid by Wheatstone and Cooke on the London and Birmingham and Great Western Railways. The telegraph in Scotland was in the early stage of its existence almost entirely confined to the railways, though latterly there were some independent lines, especially in towns. In 1870 the telegraphs were taken over by government, and the system has since received an immense extension as worked in connection with the post-office. There is now direct communication between London and the largest Scottish towns, as well as between these and the principal English provincial towns, while a great number of local lines radiate from Edinburgh, Glasgow, Perth, Aberdeen, Inverness, and other centres to the smaller towns, and even to remote districts. The wires are laid as far north as Unst in Shetland, and extend to many others of the Scottish islands, while the highest point in the British Islands, the summit of Ben Nevis, is in telegraphic communication with all parts of the country. Telephonic communication was begun in Scotland about 1879, and in most of the larger towns it is now in common use, while these are also connected with one another by telephonic wires, and there is even a wire between Glasgow and Belfast.

Since the beginning of the nineteenth century almost an entire revolution has taken place in the industries carried on in Scotland, including even the oldest—that of agriculture. Agricultural improvements, as we have seen, were becoming pretty general before the close of the preceding century—fences being built, for instance, a regular rotation of crops being introduced, lime being commonly applied to the land, improved implements being used, including the thrashing-mill, and better breeds of stock being imported from England. Such improvements naturally continued to make way in Scotland in the nineteenth century. The general extension of good roads and the introduction and

development of the railway system strongly tended to help on the forward movement, while the spread of scientific knowledge, and in particular that of chemistry, has had a powerful influence in the same direction. The formation of agricultural societies all over the country is another agency that has produced beneficial results, the oldest and most powerful of these being the Highland and Agricultural Society, established in 1784. The shows of this society, held at eight centres throughout the country, have undoubtedly had a great influence for good on the agriculture of Scotland generally, and more particularly on the character of the live stock. The National Board of Agriculture, established in 1793 through the efforts of Sir John Sinclair, its president, rendered valuable services to agriculture in the course of its career, and from the reports issued by it was compiled Sir John's useful *Code of Agriculture*, published in 1819. Sir John was one of the most advanced agriculturists of his time, and it would be difficult to overestimate the debt which his country owed to him for his ceaseless labours on her behalf in this as well as other fields.

We can only briefly indicate some of the new features in the agriculture of Scotland that the nineteenth century has witnessed. Beginning with the soil itself, we may refer to the system of thorough drainage which has now been so generally applied to the arable land. This system was strongly advocated from 1823 onwards by Mr. James Smith of Deanston, Perthshire, who himself exemplified the benefits of it in his own practice, as also the advantages arising from deep ploughing. Mr. Smith believed that the proper depth for drains was not more than 30 inches, and that their distance apart should be from 10 to 24 feet, according to circumstances. Others, however, have maintained that rather deeper drains, at a somewhat greater distance apart, are more satisfactory, and this view is the one that has on the whole prevailed. Stones were at first used to form the actual channel for carrying off the water, but stones being often difficult to procure, cylindrical pipes of clay, or tiles having a horse-shoe section, were afterwards more generally adopted, machinery having been introduced by which these could be turned out at a comparatively small cost. Drainage has thus come to be applied to the land almost everywhere, each field being drained according to its own needs; and special acts of parliament have been passed by which the landlords have been enabled to borrow public money, or money advanced by private persons, on easy terms of repayment, to defray the expense of this valuable improvement. Not

AT WORK ON THE FORTH BRIDGE.

The railway viaduct which crosses the Forth at Queensferry is one of the greatest triumphs of modern engineering. Including the piers there is about a mile of main spans, and over half a mile of viaduct approach. The two chief spans each measure 1710 feet, while the highest part of the bridge above high-water is 361 feet. Each of the main piers consists of a group of four cylindrical granite and concrete piers, 49 feet at the top and from 60 to 70 feet at bottom. In the piers there are about 120,000 cubic yards of masonry, and about 45,000 tons in the superstructure. *The illustration shows a section of the Bridge in process of construction, with a hydraulic rivetting machine at work.*



W. H. MARGETSON.

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MODERN ENGINEERING—BUILDING THE FORTH BRIDGE.

THE HYDRAULIC RIVETER AT WORK. (A.D. 1887.)

only has the fertility of the soil been enhanced by drainage, but the climate of many localities has been rendered much more salubrious by the withdrawal of the water which used to saturate the ground.

After the soil has been rendered more suitable for the growth of crops by the removal of superabundant moisture, the farmer now finds it greatly to his advantage to avail himself of various kinds of manure, so as to supply the necessary food for the plants he cultivates, and to supplement that which the farm itself produces. Some of these are artificial compounds or preparations, others more or less natural. Ground bones were introduced as a manure about 1825, and their use had the effect of bringing much more land than formerly under turnips, owing to their admirable effect upon that crop. Guano came into use between 1840 and 1850, and it also proved of the highest value as a manure for turnips, not to mention other crops; but latterly the supplies of it have greatly fallen off, though there is no lack of other manures of one kind or another, new ones being also constantly recommended.

Of the numerous inventions and improvements connected with implements and machinery employed on the farm the Scottish farmers have fully availed themselves, while sundry of their countrymen have done their part in turning their mechanical genius to the production of labour-saving machinery and appliances for use in agriculture. Regarding that ancient implement the plough, we may say that the best patterns of the Scottish plough are deemed by Scottish farmers equal at least to anything made elsewhere, and they have generally refused to admit the superiority of the English two-wheeled form of the implement. They have been quite ready to make use of steam-power, however, in ploughing, wherever circumstances admit of its being employed with advantage, and they have freely availed themselves of its aid in thrashing out their grain. The reaping-machine has also been everywhere introduced, and the scythe and sickle are now almost entirely things of the past. Even on quite small holdings the farmer will have a reaping-machine of his own. These, as is well known, are of the most varied types, some of the best coming originally from America, but Scotland itself has done a good deal towards the perfecting of the reaping-machine. As early as 1805 the Highland Society awarded a premium to a millwright of Castle-Douglas for a reaping-machine; and in 1811 Mr. Smith of Deanston produced a reaper, which a year or two afterwards he exhibited in an improved form. These machines did not make way among the farming

community, however, and it was not till 1828 that a reaping-machine approved itself as practically successful. This was the machine invented by the Rev. Patrick Bell of Carnyllie, Forfarshire, who in 1829 received a premium of £50 for his invention from the Highland and Agricultural Society. The machine was drawn by one horse, and cut a swathe of five feet at the rate of an acre per hour. But it was not till the Great Exhibition of 1851 that the advantages of the reaping-machine were brought prominently before the agricultural world, and it was long before it attained the perfection which the self-binding reaper of the present day possesses. Along with the reaping-machine the mowing-machine has come into general use since about the year 1858. To the many other implements of the modern farmer, such as broadcast and drill sowing-machines, potato-planters and diggers, grubbers, scarifiers, horse-rakes, hay-tedders, &c., we can do no more than merely refer.

Great progress has of late years been made in a department of agriculture which was too long neglected. Stock-breeding has received so much increased attention, and has been so successfully prosecuted, that Scotland now takes a very high place in the live-stock markets of the world. By careful mating of well-bred animals a remarkable change has been effected on the character of the live-stock now to be seen on Scotch farms, as compared with the stunted ill-bred animals with which agriculturists were content not so very long ago. The most common type of agricultural horse is that known as the Clydesdale breed, which, as the name implies, belonged originally to the Clyde valley, but being by degrees introduced into almost every district, has become the recognized breed of the country, being all but identical with what is known as the English shire horse. It has a decided superiority in bone and muscle to other breeds, and its compact and firmly-knit body, symmetrical head, and strong feet and pasterns, render its strength more durable, and admirably fit it for heavy draught-work. Of late a considerable export trade for this breed has sprung up, and large numbers are now sent yearly to the United States, Canada, Australia, and other foreign parts. In cattle there are four native breeds which now receive much attention, and are all highly esteemed. Of these the Ayrshires form the principal dairy cattle of the country. Their milk is rich in quality, and contains all the essential ingredients for good butter and cheese; it is also abundant in quantity, the average yield per cow being from 480 to 500 gallons yearly. The great beef-producing breed is the polled Aber-

deen or Angus cattle, and it is from their excellence in this respect that "prime Scots" holds the premier place in the great English meat markets. Much attention has been paid to the improvement of this breed, especially in the north-eastern counties of Scotland, and as much as 500 guineas has been realized for a single cow. The late Mr. William McCombie, M.P., of Tillyfour, Aberdeenshire, was one of the most famous breeders of the Aberdeen black cattle, and did much to bring them into general favour. The Galloway breed is in many respects similar to the polled Aberdeen, but the cattle of this breed are of a somewhat harder constitution, and they have been found very suitable for the ranches in the Far West of America, to which numerous consignments are now shipped. The picturesque West Highland breed, with their shaggy coats, magnificent head and horns, and quick, fearless eyes, are admirably adapted to the peculiarities of the soil and climate of the Highlands. Their fine constitutions render them quite regardless of wind and weather, and their sustenance is picked up almost entirely from the natural herbage of the hills; in many parts they are never housed, and artificial food is only supplied during a very severe winter. Their picturesque appearance has led to their being kept in the parks attached to many country mansions. Shorthorns, though not a Scottish breed, are common in many parts of Scotland, where they are highly valued, both for their milking qualities and as beef-producers. They are also extensively used for crossing with the polled Aberdeen or Angus breed. They were introduced into Scotland from England, having begun to attract the notice of breeders in the latter country early in the nineteenth century, being then commonly known as the Durham or Teeswater breed. There are but two purely Scottish breeds of sheep, the Cheviot and the blackfaced, but English breeds have been introduced, and now Leicester, half-bred, and black-faced cross all enter largely into the sheep-farming of Scotland.

In connection with stock-breeding we may refer to dairying and dairy-farming, to which much greater attention has been recently given than was formerly the case. Butter and cheese have of course long been made all over Scotland, but it is only in comparatively recent times that the most approved methods have been employed in these industries. Dunlop cheese was formerly the only Scottish variety of cheese that had any special reputation, but about 1855 the manufacture of cheese on the English or Cheddar system was introduced into Ayrshire, and since then has been practised with great

success in the south-west of Scotland, the Wiltshire class of cheese being also made. Teachers of the art of butter-making and other branches of dairy work have latterly spread themselves over the country, and a general improvement has resulted. We may here also refer to the system of *silage* or *ensilage*, introduced about 1880, and now extensively employed. By this system a mass of green fodder is collected and consolidated under heavy pressure, the result being a kind of food that is greatly relished by cattle and sheep, if not so much by horses. Several advantages are alleged to accrue from this practice, not the least being that the farmer can store his green fodder irrespective of the state of the weather.

Scottish farmers like farmers elsewhere, have had various trials and difficulties to contend with, and the farming industry has latterly been by no means in a flourishing condition. Early in the century, during the great French war, farmers had a good time of it, as prices for farm produce then ruled very high,¹ but there naturally followed a period of depression, as we have elsewhere stated, which continued for a number of years. Better times came again, however, and from the advances made in manufacturing and other industries, the increase in population, and the improvement of communications, especially the laying of the railways, a great impetus was given to agriculture—drainage and the reclaiming of waste lands now going on at a rapid rate. The landlords of course shared in the prosperity of the farmer, and between 1852 and 1879 rents are said to have risen 50 per cent. This result was partly due, however, not to healthy competition, but to the fact that many persons who had made money in some other industry betook themselves to farming, either with the expectation of making more money, or at least of earning a comfortable livelihood and leading a pleasant outdoor life. It is to be feared great numbers of them were sadly disappointed, especially if their lease carried them into the unfortunate period which began about 1874, and which has been mainly brought about by bad seasons, losses of stock, and low prices, the latter chiefly due to foreign competition. Landlords have suffered as well as farmers, since they have had to accept lower

¹ This subject has been adverted to in a former page, but in further illustration of the state of matters prevailing at the time spoken of, we may refer to the evidence of an East Lothian farmer in 1814. He took his farm of 670 acres about 1812 at a rent of £2900, on the calculation that wheat would bring about 80s. a quarter, turnips £8 to £10 per acre, grass about £6, 6s. In 1776 he had taken a farm upon a nineteen years' lease at 28s. an acre, but he estimated that that farm would in 1814 fetch from £4, 10s. to £5 an acre. The implements for a pair of horses in 1777 would cost about £5, in 1814 about £40; the best horses he bought in 1776 cost £15, those of similar quality at the latter date £65 or more.

rents when their farms came to be relet, and have generally granted abatements upon rents that were too high for the changed times. Legislation has also been called in to the relief of the farmers, and the abolition of the landlord's right of hypothec (in 1880), the passing of the Ground Game Act (1880) and of the Agricultural Holdings Act (1883), the last giving the tenant compensation for his improvements, have no doubt done some good. By the law of hypothec the landlord had a preferable claim for his rent as against other debtors, and being thus secured he was naturally induced to let his land to the highest offerer, though he might know the rent was far too high. In this way rents were artificially kept up, and the practical and prudent farmer prejudicially affected in applying for a farm. The breeding and rearing of stock has, latterly, been perhaps the most remunerative branch of the farmer's business, and has led to a considerable extension of the pasture-lands of Scotland. Wheat as a Scottish crop shows a striking diminution, the area under it in 1893 being less than a fourth of that under the same crop thirty years before. Other cereal crops have remained nearly stationary. Both cattle and sheep, however, show a decided increase in numbers during the same period, the former more especially. Flax was at one time an important crop in Scotland, and people were so familiar with it, that the time when "lint was i' the bell"¹ was a well-known date in the rural calendar; but it dwindled away as the century grew older, and now it no longer appears among the Scottish crops.

The fisheries of Scotland have made great progress since the beginning of the nineteenth century, and the value of the fish caught in Scottish seas and rivers, or by Scottish fishermen elsewhere, is estimated to amount to over three millions sterling yearly. The herring fishery has long been the chief branch of this industry, and the one that brings in the most remunerative returns, the aggregate value of the season's catch having sometimes been as high as about two million pounds sterling. It is prosecuted on the west coast of Scotland, and in the Orkneys and Shetlands, but by far the largest quantity of herrings is caught on the east coast, among the chief centres being Fraserburgh, Peterhead, Aberdeen, and Wick. Up to 1830 attempts were made to foster the herring fishery by bounties, but these were then abolished, and the industry has done better without them. A certain proportion of the fish are used fresh, but by far the greater number are gutted, salted,

and packed in barrels, and then exported to the Continent, principally to the German ports on the Baltic. In 1812 the number of barrels exported was only 63,000; latterly the export has amounted to ten and even twenty times this quantity, besides what is retained for home consumption. Formerly open boats were employed, but decked or half-decked boats of much larger size are now generally in use. The fishery is carried on from shore, the boats going out, shooting their nets, and returning with their catch as soon as possible. The cod, ling, and haddock fishery is also of importance, being prosecuted chiefly in the colder months when herring are not being caught. These fishes are caught by hook and line, but latterly line-fishing has been to some extent superseded—or at least supplemented—by fishing with the trawl-net, there being now a large number of steam trawlers at work off the east coast of Scotland. Besides great quantities of the above-mentioned white fish, large numbers of halibut, turbot, sole, skate, &c., are thus taken. The trawlers have recently been prohibited from fishing within three miles of the shore, as their operations interfered with those of the line-fishers. Salmon have long been taken in large numbers in the Scottish rivers and estuaries, and owing to wise management and suitable regulations, the numbers caught seem to be increasing rather than diminishing, notwithstanding the prevalence of disease among the fish in recent years.

In connection with the manufacturing industries of Scotland and their history in the nineteenth century, we may first refer to the most ancient, those, namely, of textile goods, whether woollen or linen. In the earlier portion of the century these were carried on more or less as domestic industries, flax and wool being spun by the female members of households all over the country, and the yarn converted into cloth by some neighbouring weaver. Flax, as we have seen, was cultivated to some extent in most localities, and the "lint mill" and "lint hole" (for steeping the flax) were familiar in many country districts. Large spinning mills and weaving factories began to come into existence with the improvements in machinery, but for a time the hand-loom weaver was able to hold his ground. At the end of the eighteenth, and for some distance into the nineteenth century, the hand-loom weaver could make excellent wages, and was generally a person of intelligence and education above the average of workmen. Communities of weavers then existed in many towns and villages, who might work regularly for some particular employer or "manufacturer", and were paid by

¹ "The frugal wife, garrulous, will tell
How 'twas a towmond auld, sin' lint was i' the bell."
—*Cotter's Saturday Night*.

the amount of work turned out. This state of matters has now practically come to an end, though hand-loom weavers are still used for certain kinds of goods, especially in some districts of the West of Scotland adjoining Glasgow. Owing to the decline of hand-loom weaving, large numbers of the weavers fell into great distress, so much so that a government commission of inquiry was appointed in 1838. The commissioners came to the conclusion that there was no hope for a revival of the hand-loom weaving trade, since it could not compete with the power-loom, and in this state of matters a number of the unfortunate artisans were assisted to emigrate by means of public money subscribed for the purpose.

During the whole of the eighteenth century attempts were made to foster the linen manufacture by such artificial means as protective duties and grants of public money, the Board of Trustees for Manufactures in Scotland taking it under their protection and allotting the money as they thought advisable. At the same time, by the provisions of the Stamp Act of 1727, which was not repealed till 1823, linen could not be exposed for sale or exported unless it had first been examined, approved, and stamped by an official appointed for the purpose. Towards the end of the eighteenth century the Glasgow district was the chief seat of the linen industry in Scotland, but here it almost entirely gave way before the rising manufacture of cotton. The first mill for spinning flax by machinery is said to have been started at Bervie about the year 1790, and numerous mills were afterwards erected in the north-eastern counties. Before 1830 Dundee had become the head-quarters of the linen manufacture, as it still continues to be, though Dunfermline is the chief centre for damasks and other fine fabrics. Among places connected with the linen manufacture we should also mention Arbroath, Forfar, Brechin, and other towns in Forfarshire, with some of the Fife towns, Kirkcaldy in particular. About the year just mentioned a new fibre began to be introduced from India, *jute*, namely, and since then the jute manufacture has had an immense development; but only a few jute works are outside of Dundee. Latterly the linen industry has been severely tried by the competition of several European countries, while the jute branch of it has suffered from the competition that has arisen in India. The flax worked up is chiefly brought from the Continent and landed at Dundee and Leith. Linen yarn is also imported.

The woollen manufacture in Scotland has had a similar history to that of flax, having

been formerly carried on everywhere as a home employment, while now it has almost ceased to have this character anywhere except in outlying districts remote from the centres of population, such as the Hebrides and Orkney and Shetland Islands. It is still, however, more generally diffused over the country than the manufacture of either linen or cotton goods, and of course many of the works engaged in it are quite small. In former times home-grown wool alone was worked up, but now a large part of the supply is derived from our Australian colonies, though much of the Scotch wool is suited for special purposes, as carpets, for instance, the Shetland wool again being excellent for hosiery. Before the introduction of spinning machinery the wool was spun either by the large wheel of one spindle driven by the hand, or with the small wheel of one or two spindles driven by the foot. Aberdeen was the first place at which machinery for spinning wool was set up; this having being brought from Rochdale about 1789. Early in the century a number of mills were at work in the north-east of Scotland, while others had also been started in some of the southern and western counties. Machinery for weaving was also introduced, the prevailing fabrics produced being of the coarser kinds, though some superfine broad-cloths were made at a few establishments. Carpets were made at Kilmarnock in some quantity as early as 1778, and by 1830 a number of other places had taken up this industry. Before the great French war there had been a large trade with the Continent in knitted stockings. This trade was then almost ruined, but a new industry was taken up, that of lambs'-wool hosiery, which established itself chiefly in the southern counties, about Hawick, Jedburgh, Galashiels, Peebles, and Dumfries, the articles being made by means of the stocking-frame. These towns had long been connected with the woollen manufacture in its various forms, when about 1830 a new development of this industry began at Hawick and Galashiels in the manufacture of the well-known *tweeds*, a term which is said to have arisen from a misreading of the word *twice* (*twill*) through the influence of the name of the river with which the manufacture was so closely connected. Very large works for this manufacture have been erected in some of the towns above-mentioned, and tweeds are also made extensively elsewhere, as at Aberdeen for instance. In making this sort of cloth yarns of different coloured wools are used, being often twisted together before weaving. The texture of the cloth is comparatively loose and open, and the fabric is soft and flexible, as well as being durable and comfortable. The

island of Harris has gained some reputation for its home-made tweeds. Many other kinds of woollen fabrics are manufactured in Scotland, such as carpets, blankets, plaids, tartans, &c., one of the most important being carpets. Kilmarnock has been famed for its carpets since about 1778, and the manufacture is still largely carried on there, as well as at Glasgow, Paisley, and Ayr. Some of the Scottish makers have been distinguished also as inventors. The three-ply Scotch carpet was invented at Kilmarnock, where also the weaving of Brussels and velvet pile carpets was early introduced. In 1831 a Kilmarnock firm had two premiums awarded them by the Trustees for Manufactures in Scotland for four Turkey carpets, the first of this class woven in Scotland. Mr. Richard Whytock of Edinburgh took out a patent for tapestry carpets in 1832, and Mr. J. Templeton of Glasgow introduced his patent Axminster carpets in 1839, a variety of carpet that has gained great favour and is now largely made. Knitted woollen bonnets have long been a speciality of Kilmarnock. They were all made by hand up to comparatively recent times, but are now mainly produced by machines.

Cotton was introduced into Scotland as a material for cloth about 1769, cotton yarn being used as a woof with a warp of linen yarn. The machines for spinning invented by Arkwright and Crompton were soon adopted in Scotland. In 1785 Mr. David Dale of Glasgow began the erection of his famous cotton-mills at New Lanark, an enterprise started in connection with Arkwright. At first all the mills were driven by water-power, a circumstance which greatly hampered the spread of the industry, but this was subsequently obviated by the application of steam-power, and cotton-mills rapidly increased in number, as many as 120 having been erected by the year 1814. In 1834 the number had risen to 134, while in 1875 it was 96. The power-loom was introduced at Glasgow in 1793, and the cotton manufacture in almost all branches firmly established itself not long after, more especially in the counties of Lanark, Dumbarton, Renfrew, Stirling, and Ayr. Considerable improvements on the mechanism employed were effected by Scotsmen, one of these being Mr. Smith of Deaunston, whose services in the cause of agriculture have already been referred to. From Sir John Sinclair's *General Report of Scotland* (1814), we learn that at that time every variety of goods was made in Scotland, from the coarsest to the finest fabrics, including muslins, brocades, lappets, imitation shawls, gauzes, and other articles of a fancy and ornamental character, the mechanism by which they were produced being invented in Scotland. The

weaving of cottons by the hand-loom was able to maintain a position for a considerable time, there being as many as 37,000 hand-loomers in the West of Scotland in 1838. The sewed muslin trade was long a flourishing industry in the West of Scotland, the ornamental patterns being sewed in by women at their own homes, while the plain muslin with the pattern stamped on it was furnished to them by the manufacturer or agent. The commercial crash of 1857 gave a great blow to this industry, which has now declined to insignificant proportions. The manufacture of plain cottons for bleaching or printing has never had a specially prominent position in Scotland, a considerable proportion of the cottons thus treated being brought from England. Glasgow has continued to be the centre of the cotton industry, though here it has become quite subordinate to those connected with iron and steel, and indeed the industry as a whole has latterly much declined, unless perhaps as regards calico-printing and turkey-red dyeing. The most flourishing period of the cotton manufacture was about 1861, when there were 30,000 power-loomers and about 41,000 persons employed, the factories numbering 163. But the cotton industry in Scotland has always occupied a very minor position when compared with the enormous development of this industry in England. One manufacture—that of cotton thread—has, however, made remarkable advances, the chief centre being Paisley, whose thread is familiar all over the world. Paisley's staple manufacture was for a long time shawls, made in imitation of those of India, but this industry has now taken quite a subordinate position compared with thread.

The textile industries of Scotland embrace a great variety of mixed fabrics, in which silk, cotton, and wool may be combined in various ways. In the manufacture of wineys cotton warp and woollen weft are used, while linen unions contain linen weft and cotton warp, numerous other fabrics being of a like composite character. Silk had at one time a much more important position than it now has, and towards the end of last century the weaving of silk gauze employed a large number of weavers. A few silk factories still continue in operation in the West of Scotland. In connection with this subject we may refer to the lace manufacture, which has been introduced into Scotland from Nottingham, the great English centre of this industry, in quite recent times, and has its head-quarters in Ayrshire, Ayr itself and several other places being engaged in it.

The iron and coal industries, which can hardly be treated separately from one another, are

now of vast importance to Scotland, and their development has produced the result that the region in which these mineral treasures are found—the Midlands of Scotland—is now that in which all the great industrial enterprises have established themselves. This development belongs almost exclusively to the present century, though, as records prove, coal has been worked in Scotland to some extent for five or six centuries. By the beginning of the seventeenth century coal-mining must have become an industry of some importance, since in 1606 an act of parliament was passed binding colliers to perpetual service at the pits in which they were engaged, and the poor miners were not emancipated from this state of bondage till the year 1799. In 1814 the total output of coal in Scotland was estimated at 2,500,000 tons; forty years later it amounted to 7,450,000 tons, and at the present time it is now more than three times the latter amount. The iron manufacture of Scotland, at least on a scale of any consequence, dates from the starting of the Carron Works in 1760. By the end of the century these works comprised five blast furnaces, as well as other furnaces, forges, &c., and had a high reputation for goods of various kinds turned out by them, including the cannon known as *carronades*, which derived their name from the Carron. Before 1796 other furnaces had been started in the country, and this increase continued apace, yet in 1829 the total make of pig-iron in Scotland only amounted to 29,000 tons. A most valuable improvement in iron smelting now took place, in the introduction of the hot-blast by Mr. James Beaumont Neilson of Glasgow, the new process consisting in blowing highly heated air into the smelting furnace instead of cold air. By the introduction of the hot-blast a saving was effected of thirty-two shillings and sixpence per ton of iron made, while each furnace was enabled to turn out twice the quantity it formerly did. The waste inflammable gases that used to escape into the open air are now utilized in connection with the heating of the blast, and thus a further saving is effected, the saving being added to by the collection of ammonia and other products that in former times were neglected. In 1830 the most famous perhaps of all the Scottish ironworks began operations, starting with a single furnace. These were the Gartsherrie Ironworks, near Coatbridge, the originator of which was Mr. Alexander Baird, a farmer in the parish of New Monkland. He associated with himself three of his sons, the late Mr. James Baird being the most notable, and the firm became by far the largest makers of pig-iron in Scotland, turning out in some years 300,000 tons, and giving employment to

9000 work-people. In 1845 the pig-iron produced in Scotland had reached a total of 476,000 tons, while latterly it has usually been about 1,000,000 more or less, a small portion of this being from imported ore. The manufacture of malleable iron has progressed side by side with that of pig, the works connected with this industry comprising puddling furnaces, forges, and rolling mills. In connection with these works we must not omit to mention the steam-hammer, by which the making of heavy forgings—such as propeller shafts and the like—is so greatly facilitated. “When indeed it was required to produce the large forgings for the *Great Eastern*, there was only one forge in the whole world ready and prepared to execute the work. That forge was Lancefield (Glasgow). The propeller-shaft of the *Great Eastern* was 47 feet long, and weighed 35 tons, the crank-shaft 31 tons, and the stern-frame 25 tons.”¹ The steam-hammer was the invention of James Nasmyth, son of the well-known Scottish landscape painter, Alexander Nasmyth of Edinburgh, where he was born in 1808. He patented his hammer in 1842, when he was carrying on an engineering business at Manchester. Mr. Nasmyth was also the author of several other useful mechanical inventions. Other types of steam-hammer have been produced in Scotland, some of them proving highly popular. Without the use of this simple tool there could have been no immense ocean steam-ships, no great ironclads, no 100-ton guns, no Forth Bridge—in fact none of the colossal structures of iron and steel that are so characteristic of the latter half of the century. Steel of various kinds is made in Scotland to a considerable extent, the processes introduced by Bessemer, Siemens, and others having naturally attracted attention here as elsewhere.

The objects or articles wholly or chiefly made from iron and steel, and the employments thus arising, are numerous, varied, and important; but we can only mention some of them. Foremost among these are steam-engines of all kinds, including marine engines and locomotives, the making of which and of steam-boilers gives employment to great numbers of skilled workmen. In regard to locomotive engines Glasgow holds a foremost place in Britain. We may also particularize textile machinery, sewing-machines, colliery machinery, pumping machinery, wood-working machinery, sugar machinery, agricultural machinery and implements; machine tools; cast and malleable iron pipes and tubes; iron-

¹ *The Iron and Steel Industries of Scotland*, by St. John V. Day, in *Notices of Some of the Principal Manufactures of the West of Scotland* (Glasgow, 1876), a volume which has furnished much of the information here given.

foundings in all its branches; rivets, bolts, and nuts; iron girders for bridges, roofs, &c.; railway plant, &c. The industries here referred to are scattered over a pretty wide area, but the activity is naturally greatest on the Clyde, and throughout the coal and iron districts.

As already indicated, the Clyde, which was the birthplace of steam navigation in Europe, has had a closer connection than any other locality with the growth and development of steam shipbuilding and marine engineering, and is yet the pre-eminent centre of production for the steamships of the world. In some years about half the total tonnage built in the United Kingdom has been launched from the Clyde yards. The whole of the Clyde shipbuilding is now of iron and steel, the latter being looked on with such favour that it has almost displaced iron. Vessels of all sorts and sizes are built, many of them ranging from 3000 tons up to 5000 tons and more. In particular we may mention mail and passenger steamers for the great Transatlantic and other lines, river steamboats famous for swiftness and elegance of appointments, merchant sailing vessels of the largest size afloat, dredgers, and hopper barges. Latterly the greatest triumphs of the shipbuilder's art have been achieved in the attempt to gain the foremost place in the race across the Atlantic, upon which the great shipping companies have entered; and it seems unlikely that such large and splendid vessels as the *Campania* and *Lucania* of the Cunard Line can for some time be eclipsed. The fame of the Clyde in shipbuilding and marine engineering, however, is not limited to the supplying of vessels for the requirements of commerce, it has also been extended by the construction of war-vessels, both for our own government and also for those of foreign states. The shipbuilding industry has naturally fluctuated very considerably, but has undergone an immense expansion since the middle of the century. In the seven years 1846-52 the aggregate burden of the steamships built in the Glasgow district amounted to 147,614 tons, or an average of about 21,000 tons a year. In 1864 the Clyde yards turned out 184,000 tons of shipping, mostly steam vessels; while in 1883, the year when the greatest output took place, the aggregate was 404,383 tons. Next to the Clyde the more important shipbuilding places in Scotland are Dundee, Aberdeen, Leith, and Kirkcaldy.

About the middle of the nineteenth century a new industry was introduced into Scotland by Mr. James Young, F.R.S., who secured a patent for the manufacture of paraffin and paraffin oil by distillation from bituminous shale. He established works at Bathgate in

1851, and in the early years of the industry the material exclusively distilled was the now worked-out Boghead and Torbanehill mineral. This mineral was exhausted in 1873, and the bituminous shales which are found in the Scottish carboniferous formation from Renfrew and Lanarkshire, through Midlothian, and Linlithgow to Fife have since supplied the raw material. Several millions of pounds sterling have been invested in the industry, which gives employment to from 1500 to 1600 shale miners and a large body of other workmen. The products obtained by the destructive distillation of the shale are a light shale spirit or naphtha, which is exceedingly inflammable, and when mixed with air explodes readily; burning or paraffin oil, which does not give off inflammable vapour below the boiling point of water, and is largely used for household purposes where gas is not available or is high-priced; and a heavy oil containing solid paraffin in solution. Ammonia is also obtained. The solid paraffin is used chiefly for conversion into candles, the heavy oil for lubricating machinery. The Scottish paraffin industry was the means of directing attention to the immense stores of natural mineral oil existing in North America, Russia, and elsewhere; and the competition of the oil from these countries has greatly depressed the Scottish oil trade.

There are numerous industries connected with chemistry throughout Scotland which have absorbed an enormous capital, and which give employment to a great number of people. Besides manufactories for the preparation of bichromate and prussiate of potash, of alkali, and of alum, there may be mentioned those for the smelting of zinc, the desilverization of lead, the extraction of copper, and the manufacture of white lead. In 1786 Mr. Chas. Macintosh, of waterproof-coat fame, introduced into Glasgow the manufacture of sugar of lead, and in 1797 he started the first alum work in Scotland. He was an able chemist, and introduced various new processes in practical chemistry, being also associated with Neilson in bringing the hot-blast into use. The waterproof garments known by his name were first made at Manchester. In 1800 chemical manufactures received a great impulse by the creation by the Messrs. Tennant of a chemical work at St. Rolox, Glasgow, for the manufacture of sulphuric acid, chloride of lime, soda, soap, &c. The extension of these works has been rapid, and they now form perhaps the most extensive chemical works in the world, employing about 1200 men, and annually transforming 80,000 tons of raw material into soda, bleaching-powder, sulphuric acid, &c.

The distillation of whisky, which has long

been a sort of national industry in Scotland, the product being also a national beverage, has latterly assumed great dimensions, much of the spirit made being now sent to England, Ireland, and the colonies. The use of whisky in Scotland is of old date, and the spirit has long been subjected to excise regulations for revenue purposes. At the Union the English mode of levying the duty on Scotch spirits was adopted, namely, by an estimated yield of spirit from the wort, and this system continued in operation for nearly eighty years. The duty was less than in England, however, and accordingly Scotland was able to do a large trade in whisky with her southern neighbour. In 1785 the Scottish distillers in the Lowlands made great complaints against the Board of Excise, accusing it of oppression in the mode of levying the duties, a course to which it had been instigated by the English distillers from their jealousy of the success attained in Scotland. A new act was now passed, according to which licenses for distilling were issued, the rate being at first 30s. per annum for each gallon of the still's capacity. From this method of levying the duty it became the distiller's interest to run the still as frequently as possible, and as a result much bad or inferior whisky was produced by the large distillers. Partly owing to this, smuggled whisky, made slowly in small stills, came largely into favour. At one time an immense amount of illicit distillation was carried on, and smuggling indeed became a regular trade, especially in the Highlands, where Glenlivet was the chief centre. It was not till the reign of George IV. that the present system of levying the duty was introduced, by which a certain sum must be paid per gallon at proof strength. The duty, which had been as high as 8s. in 1811, was in 1823 reduced from 6s. 2d. to 2s. 4½d. per imperial gallon, and smuggling was gradually given up or put down. In 1822 the quantity on which duty was paid was 3,337,850 gallons, in 1825 it was 8,224,807 gallons. The duty was from time to time increased, in 1855 being raised to 8s. per gallon, and subsequently for a time it was 12s. The quantity made latterly has amounted to more than 20,000,000 gallons annually, the chief centres of production being Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Campbeltown, though distilleries exist all over the country. Brewing is also a flourishing industry in Scotland, especially in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Alloa, and some other places.

The first pottery in Scotland was established in Glasgow in 1748, and that city is still the great seat of the manufacture in Scotland of pottery ware, though there are works of some size also at Greenock, Kirkcaldy, Portobello, &c.

For a long period the quality of the goods made was decidedly inferior to those of English make, but during the last fifty years a most satisfactory improvement has taken place. Scottish pottery has now attained a beauty of design and a delicacy of finish which enable it to compete successfully, and in both the home and foreign markets, with the well-known Staffordshire ware. The making of glass and bottles should also here be mentioned as having attained no small dimensions in recent times.

Among miscellaneous Scottish industries we may refer to that of sugar-refining, which was started at Greenock in 1765, and still has its head-quarters in that town. Floor-cloth and linoleum are made in great quantities at Kirkcaldy, which now has a world-wide reputation for these products. India-rubber and vulcanite goods may also here be mentioned, as well as preserved provisions, biscuits, confectionery, and fruit preserves, these industries being all of recent growth.

The manufacture of paper in Scotland dates from the end of the 17th century, and a mill in Penicuik, built in 1709 by Mr. Anderson, printer to Queen Anne, forms the nucleus of one of the largest paper manufactories of to-day. The industry is carried on on a large scale in the counties of Midlothian, Aberdeen, Fife, Perth, Stirling, Lanark, and Berwick. In 1842 the number of paper-mills was 48; it is now between 60 and 70. Trades connected with printing and publishing have their head-quarters in Edinburgh, with important secondary centres in all the principal towns. The first printing-press in Scotland was put up at the foot of Blackfriars Wynd, Edinburgh (about thirty years after Caxton set up his press in Westminster Abbey), by Walter Chapman and Andro Myllar, the date of this innovation being about 1507. The progress of the art was comparatively slow till about the middle of last century. The great increase of literary vitality in Scotland about the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the present century gave a vast impetus to printing, publishing, and the kindred industries, and to-day a large amount of work for London publishers is done in Scotland. The printing establishments are now numerous and complete, and several large publishing firms carry on the combined trades of printing, lithographing, and bookbinding in one huge establishment, employing hundreds of people in the production of books.

A few particulars regarding the commercial and financial position of Scotland may conclude our brief sketch of the progress of the country in regard to trade and industry. In 1656 Scotland had only 137 vessels, none of which were

more than 300 tons burden, the aggregate burden being only 5736 tons. In 1707 the number of vessels was 215, the tonnage 14,485; in 1800 the tonnage was 171,728, and in 1840, 429,204. The progress made since the middle of the present century is still more striking. In 1850 the registered shipping of Scotland had an aggregate burden of 522,222 tons, in 1870 of 927,084 tons, in 1880 of 1,448,040 tons, while the total tonnage now exceeds 2,000,000 tons. The enormous commerce which these latter figures represent has nearly all been developed since the beginning of the present century. In 1755 the exports amounted in value to £535,576, and the imports to £465,411; in 1801 the figures were, exports £2,844,502, imports £2,579,914; 1851, exports £5,016,116, imports £8,921,108; 1874, exports £17,912,932, imports £31,012,750; 1892, exports £21,564,543, imports £35,944,574. Among the chief exports are machinery and all kinds of articles in iron and steel, as well as iron and steel not thus converted; cotton, woollen, linen, and jute goods, including yarn and thread; fish; spirits, beer, and ale; coals; chemicals, manures, and a vast variety of miscellaneous goods, such as clothing and haberdashery, paper, glass and earthenware, &c., &c. Among the imports are grain and flour, bacon, hams, and all kinds of provisions; timber, flax, hemp, and jute; raw sugar, fruit, iron ore, petroleum, &c. Glasgow, in respect of its commerce, is far ahead of the other ports, Leith coming next. Glasgow has a large trade with the United States and Canada, both in conveying goods and passengers, and is also actively engaged in trading with the Mediterranean countries, the East and West Indies, Australia, and, indeed, most parts of the world. Some large shipping companies have their headquarters here, and the famous Cunard Company, though trading from Liverpool to America, had its origin in Glasgow, and so long as it remained a private company its shares were mainly held in that city. By the energy and enterprise of the citizens of Glasgow the Clyde has been converted, from a shallow stream that one might wade across, into a great highway of commerce, deep enough almost to carry the largest vessels at high water into the heart of the city, and provided with miles of quays and most commodious docks. The harbour revenue has increased during the present century from £3000 to more than £300,000 per annum. Leith is most largely interested in the trade with the countries on the North Sea and Baltic.

The banking companies in Scotland have greatly decreased in number since the beginning of the century, though the banking business done has increased correspondingly to the trade,

commerce, and wealth of the country. About the beginning of the century there were some thirty banks in Scotland issuing notes for various amounts payable to the bearer on demand, but the Scottish banking companies (omitting one or two insignificant concerns) are now only ten in number, though they have more than nine hundred branches scattered throughout all parts of the country, including even some comparatively remote islands. Scotland, indeed, is probably better supplied with banking facilities than any other country in the world, and its advantages in this respect have had much to do with the development of its various resources. Private banking firms are hardly known, all the chief banking companies being joint-stock concerns. The aggregate amount of their paid-up capital is over nine million pounds, the amount of money deposited with them is over ninety millions. Savings-banks are also well supported by the thrifty, and in the banks of this class managed by trustees about ten millions of money are deposited, exclusive of nearly two millions intrusted to the post-office savings-banks. As compared with England and even Ireland Scotland has taken advantage of these latter banks only to a limited extent. Of the former class of institutions the Glasgow savings-bank is the chief representative in Scotland, the balance due to its 171,000 depositors, on the 20th November, 1893, being close upon six million pounds. In the course of the preceding year it received from depositors over £1,600,000 and repaid over £1,450,000, the number of transactions being more than 650,000. In the year 1870 the total funds of this institution amounted to only £1,650,000, so that the increase in the twenty-three intervening years has been something enormous, and may well give satisfaction to all those who are interested in the welfare of the city of Glasgow. Some very large and successful insurance companies have their head-quarters in Scotland, and thence have extended their business over a very wide field. The amount of property and income on which the property and income-tax is levied has more than doubled since 1857, but it is still not a tenth of that of England.

Having given some account of what Scotsmen have accomplished, by their individual and collective efforts, in industry, commerce, and material improvement generally during the nineteenth century, we must now turn to their achievements in other fields; and in the first place we shall give a short survey of what they have done in literature.

The first thirty years of the century may be said to coincide with the literary career of Sir

Walter Scott, the dazzling brilliancy of whose genius marked him out as a sun among the lesser lights around him, bright as some of these were. Scott is the greatest writer of whom Scotland can boast, and few in English literature can be placed on a level with him. In many respects he resembles Shakespeare—in creative genius, for instance, in wideness of sympathy, in the variety and truth to nature of the portraits he paints, in graphic and humorous delineation of character; while no one has equalled him in calling up by the vivifying power of the imagination, the life of olden times in all its attractive picturesqueness. A poet as well as a prose writer, he inaugurated a new era in literature, giving rise to a new genus of narrative poetry, and to a new epoch in prose fiction. If his longer poems are open to criticism in some respects, they yet have much of the true Homeric fire, and many of his lyrics are gems of the purest water, while his novels and romances everywhere betray the poetic spirit. His personal qualities, too—his manliness, his large-heartedness, his sympathy with all sorts and conditions of men, his true nobility of soul—were on a par with the greatness of his genius, and endear him to those who only know him through the imperfect written record as they did to those who knew him in life. A genuine Scotsman and lover of his country, he made Scotland a household word throughout the civilized world, and the glamour of his genius still attracts many a pilgrim to the “land of the mountain and the flood”.

Sir Walter Scott was only twelve years younger than Burns, having been born at Edinburgh in 1771. One might have expected, therefore, that their literary careers would overlap; but Burns's sun set early, and it so happened that his death took place in the same year (1796) in which Scott came before the Edinburgh public as author in a small way, having then published poetical translations of two of Bürger's German ballads. Scott's father was a writer to the signet, and the son also adopted the profession of the law, having passed as an advocate in 1792. As a boy he was an omnivorous reader, but he was especially attracted to romance and history, and the ballads, tales, and legends current among the country people of the south of Scotland were his delight. He was sent to the High School of Edinburgh, and afterwards attended classes at the university, continuing all the while his own favourite studies. By these he acquired a sufficient knowledge of French, Italian, and Spanish to enable him to read romances and epics written in those tongues. He was no

mere porer over books, however, but, lame as he was, took part in boyish sports, shared in the pursuits of the young men of his years, and rambled about the country making himself familiar with all phases of rural life, and all the while laying up stores of material in his retentive memory, to be afterwards turned to good account. In 1797 he married, his wife being a lady of French parentage. In 1799 he was appointed sheriff of Selkirkshire, and in 1806 clerk of session, appointments that he held almost to the close of his life. In 1802 appeared the first portion of his admirable collection of ballads, *The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, but the first important work of his own composition was *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*, a poetic romance of Scottish chivalry, which came out in 1805, and at once raised him to fame. More poems in the same vein followed. *Marmion*, which appeared in 1808, was even more popular than the *Lay*; and *The Lady of the Lake* (in 1810) was a still greater success than either. *Rokeby* followed in 1813, but by this time Byron had become the popular favourite, and the poem had comparatively little success. Fortunately, it now occurred to Scott to take in hand a romance begun by him years before, and in 1814 *Waverley* appeared. This was the first of the long series of novels that gave Scott such fame and favour as no writer had ever yet attained, and added a new lustre to fiction, while they also brought with them a never ceasing stream of gold. But Scott became involved in disastrous business entanglements, and, while he believed that his acquisitions of land and other expenditure at his Tweedside residence of Abbotsford were not beyond his means, his prosperity was based on unsound foundations. The crash came in 1825. The printing and publishing concerns in which he was a partner failed, and Scott was left personally responsible for £130,000. He bore this reverse of fortune with apparent stoicism, and set himself resolutely to clear off the immense burden of debt by his own efforts, determined that the creditors should suffer no loss if he could help it. Ceaselessly he kept his pen going, work after work was produced, so that the gigantic task began to approach completion; but the toil was too much for even his powers, and practically killed him. His death took place at Abbotsford in 1832, and he rests in Dryburgh Abbey. He had been made a baronet in 1822 on the occasion of George IV.'s famous visit to Edinburgh.

Many of the Scottish writers of this period were on terms of friendship with Scott, and not a few of them received substantial benefits at his hands. Among these was James Hogg, the

"Etrick Shepherd", who was born the year before Sir Walter Scott—namely, in 1770, and outlived him by several years, having died in 1835. Hogg was by birth a shepherd, and great part of his life was spent as a shepherd or sheep farmer, though he was by no means successful in his farming speculations. He also resided for a time in Edinburgh, and became the friend of Professor John Wilson ("Christopher North") and other literary men of the time. He was almost entirely self-educated, and began to make songs even before he could write them down. In 1801 he published a collection of his poetical pieces at Edinburgh, whither he had gone with a flock of sheep, and he himself helped to dispose of the issue by getting friends in his own district to take copies. Having made the acquaintance of Scott, he was able, through his good offices with Constable the publisher, to bring out another volume, a collection of imitations of the old Border ballads, under the title of *The Mountain Bard*. This brought him fame as well as money, and his reputation was still further enhanced by the publication of *The Queen's Wake* (in 1813). In this work a number of Scottish bards are supposed to compete before Queen Mary at Holyrood, and the plan thus gives scope for great variety of treatment, and furnishes a setting for a number of ballads and poetic tales, including the beautiful and ethereal fairy tale of "Kilmeny". *The Queen's Wake* is probably the most popular of Hogg's poems, but the most ambitious is the epic of *Queen Hynde*. *The Pilgrims of the Sun* and *Mador of the Moor* should also be mentioned as poems of fancy and description. Hogg was a prolific writer, and his works include a number of prose tales, among which perhaps the *Brownie of Bodsbeck* has been the most popular. Some of his songs are well-known, particularly *When the Kye Comes Hame*. The latter years of his life were chiefly spent on a small farm (which he held rent-free) at Altrive on the Yarrow, but his visits to Edinburgh were very frequent, and he also went to London and figured for a short time as a "lion". The poet was "a vain but simple and original child of nature, whom the fashions of the world could neither polish nor pervert, and whom men were compelled to esteem and love even when their laugh at him was at the loudest". Professor Wilson was a sincere friend and admirer of Hogg, and Wordsworth has also recorded his admiration for him.¹ As

everyone knows, he figures in an idealized form as "the shepherd" of Wilson's *Noctes Ambrosianæ*. Hogg's poetry is rather picturesque, musical, tender, and flowing than strong or stimulating, and wants the fire and virile force that characterize the verse of Burns.

Hogg had assisted Sir Walter Scott in the collection of ballads for his *Border Minstrelsy*, and another Scotsman of great poetic and general intellectual power was also an enthusiastic helper in the same task. This was John Leyden (1775-1811), the son of parents in humble life, and born at Denholm in Roxburghshire. After studying at Edinburgh University, and acquiring a great store of learning, he went to India as a surgeon's assistant, became a judge in Calcutta, and devoted himself to Oriental studies, but died all too early. He contributed several original pieces to the *Minstrelsy*, but his longest poem is *Scenes of Infancy*, descriptive of the scenery about his native place.

Equally distinguished with Hogg as a poet, and more widely known out of Scotland, is Thomas Campbell, another friend of Sir Walter Scott. He was born in Glasgow in 1777, was educated at the university there, gained warm applause by his poem the *Pleasures of Hope*, published in 1799, settled in London in 1803, and spent most of his life there, dying at Boulogne in 1844. He wrote much prose—history, biography, criticism, &c., but it is as a poet that he has his reputation, holding indeed quite the established position of a classic. His *Pleasures of Hope* and his *Gertrude of Wyoming* are his two longest works, but most readers make their first acquaintance with Campbell through his shorter pieces, such as *Ye Mariners of England*, *Hohenlinden*, *The Battle of the Baltic*, or *Lochiel's Warning*. The *Pleasures of Hope* is perhaps the finest didactic poem in the English language, and the lyrics just mentioned hold a similar position. The following quotation from Sir Walter Scott's diary (written in 1826) is interesting both for its bearing on Camp-

"When first descending from the moorlands,
I saw the stream of Yarrow glide
Along a bare and open valley,
The Etrick Shepherd was my guide.

"When last along its banks I wandered,
Through groves that had begun to shed
Their golden leaves upon the pathways,
My steps the Border Minstrel led.

"The mighty Minstrel breathes no longer,
'Mid mouldering ruins low he lies;
And death, upon the braes of Yarrow,
Has closed the Shepherd-poet's eyes.

"Like clouds that rake the mountain summits,
Or waves that own no curbing hand.
How fast has brother followed brother,
From sunshine to the sunless land!"

¹ We cannot refrain from giving here the fine lines which Wordsworth wrote on hearing of the death of the Etrick Shepherd, and in which the recent death of Scott is also so touchingly introduced—

bell and on Leyden:—"I wonder often how Tom Campbell, with so much real genius, has not maintained a greater figure in the public eye than he has done of late. . . . The author, not only of *The Pleasures of Hope*, but of *Hohenlinden*, *Lochiel*, &c., should have been at the very top of the tree. Somehow he wants audacity, fears the public, and what is worse, fears the shadow of his own reputation. He is a great corrector too, which succeeds as ill in composition as in education. Many a clever boy is flogged into a dunce, and many an original composition corrected into mediocrity. Tom ought to have done a great deal more. His youthful promise was great. John Leyden introduced me to him. They afterwards quarrelled. When I repeated *Hohenlinden* to Leyden he said, 'Dash it, man; tell the fellow that I hate him, but, dash him, he has written the finest verses that have been published these fifty years.' I did mine errand as faithfully as one of Homer's messengers, and had for answer, 'Tell Leyden that I detest him, but I know the value of his critical approbation.'" Constitutional indolence is alleged as one reason why Campbell did nothing in later years to add to his early won reputation.

Several Scottish poets of this period wrote to a large extent in a religious strain, and met with much approbation from readers to whom this class of poetry especially appeals. The first of these in order of time was James Grahame (1765-1811), born at Glasgow, first a lawyer and then an Episcopalian clergyman. He was the author of *The Sabbath* (1804), followed by *Sabbath Walks*, *The Birds of Scotland*, *Poems on the Abolition of the Slave Trade*, and other writings. His poems contain fine descriptions of Scottish scenery and the rural features of Scotland, while marked by deep religious earnestness. Robert Pollok (1799-1827) is known as the author of the very popular *Course of Time*, comprising ten books in blank verse, and recounting the history of the human race as supposed to be narrated by a celestial bard to a wanderer from one of the worlds in space. While displaying eloquence, earnestness, and fervour, many of the lengthy and reflective passages strongly suggest a previous existence in the shape of sermons. Some of his admirers, however, were inclined to place the poet on a level with if not higher than Milton. He died of consumption before he was able to enjoy the homage which his work called forth. A poet of greater and more varied powers was James Montgomery (1771-1854), a native of Irvine, who lived most of his life in England, and was for thirty years editor of the *Sheffield Iris*. His chief works are *The Wan-*

derer in Switzerland (1806), *The West Indies* (1810), *The World before the Flood* (1812), *Greenland* (1819), *Songs of Zion* (1822), and *The Pelican Island* (1827). "Strictly speaking, Montgomery was more of a rhetorician than a poet, but his imagination was bold, ardent, and fertile, and more than one of his greater contemporaries owed occasional debts to his vigorous invention, and even to his casual felicities of diction, while some passages from his poems keep a place in the literature that is universally read and quoted." Among his best known minor poems are *The Common Lot*, *The Little Cloud*, *Night*, *Robert Burns*, *The Daisy in India*, *Friends*, *A Voyage Round the World*, and a number of hymns. Mr. Montgomery twice suffered imprisonment for what were construed into political or semi-political offences.

Another poet may here be mentioned, whose originality and ability have failed to secure for him the reputation he deserved. We refer to William Tennant, the author of *Anster Fair* (1784-1848). He belonged to the Fifeshire town of Anstruther, whose fair his best-known work celebrates, attended classes at the university of St. Andrews, and finally was appointed professor of oriental languages there, having acquired his knowledge of these while acting as a schoolmaster or a clerk. *Anster Fair* was published at Anstruther in 1811, and was favourably noticed by Jeffrey in the *Edinburgh Review*. The chief personages in the story are of some renown in Scotland, being none other than Maggie Lauder and Rob the Ranter, but these and their humble surroundings are sublimed and illuminated by an atmosphere of wit, humour, and poetic description, and are connected with a machinery borrowed from fairyland, so that the whole forms a singular yet pleasing admixture of seemingly incongruous elements. *Anster Fair* was the prototype both in metrical form and handling of such poems as Lord Byron's *Beppo*. Tennant's other works—*The Dingin' Down o' the Cathedral* (of St. Andrews), *The Thane of Fife*, *Cardinal Beaton*, *John Baidol*, &c.—met with no popularity.

Scotland has long been famous for the excellency of its songs—especially those written in the vernacular Doric—and some of the most popular Scottish lyrics were the work of singers belonging to the earlier portion of the nineteenth century. Of these Robert Tannahill, the Paisley poet (1774-1810), was one of the sweetest and truest as well as the most unfortunate. Having become a prey to melancholy, he ended his own life by drowning. Some of his songs—*The Braes o' Gleniffer*, *Jessie the Flower o' Dumblane*, *Gloomy Winter's Noo Awa'*, *Loudon's Bonnie Woods and Braes*—are as

popular as any of Burns's, though the poet was deficient in the strength, fervour, and variety that Burns shows in his lyrics. John Mayne, author of *Logan Braes*, *Helen of Kirkconnel*, and the graphic narrative describing the contest at Dumfries for the *Siller Gun*; Baroness Nairne, authoress of *The Land o' the Leal*, *The Laird o' Cockpen*, and *Callie Herrin'*; Sir Alexander Boswell (son of the biographer of Johnson), who gave us *Jenny Dang the Weaver*, *Jenny's Barbee*, and other humorous songs; William Motherwell, who wrote the tender *Jeanie Morrison*, the pathetic *My Heil is like to Rend, Willie*, and the valuable work *Minstrelsy, Ancient and Modern*—all deserve to have their names here recorded. Allan Cunningham (1784–1842) is another well-known name in Scotland, remembered, among other productions, for some excellent songs—*A Wet Sheet and a Flowing Sea* being one of them. He was a native of Dumfriesshire, where as a boy he came in contact with Burns. He went to London in 1810, and was for many years superintendent of works and secretary to the sculptor Chantrey, working hard at literature all the time. Sir Walter Scott befriended Cunningham, obtaining for two of his sons cadetships in the East Indian army. Both of these, as well as two other sons, made some name for themselves in literature. Many meritorious writers of songs and lyrics have since appeared in Scotland, the impulse which Burns gave to this form of composition having proved deep and lasting. Among these it is difficult to single out such as call for special mention among their fellows, and we shall not here attempt the task, leaving it rather to time and the public taste to decide as to their respective claims to remembrance.

Two Scottish authoresses belonging to the great period in which Scott is the central figure, and both of them personal friends of Sir Walter himself, distinguished themselves in fields in which they have had comparatively few rivals in Scotland among members of their own sex. The one was Joanna Baillie (1762–1851), who, besides many other poems and plays, wrote a series of remarkable *Plays on the Passions*, comprising both tragedies and comedies, and each having as its motive some passion such as hatred, ambition, hope, fear, and the like. Some of her dramas were put upon the stage with a certain measure of success, but as a whole they are suited for reading rather than acting. They possess high poetic and constructive merits, however, are written in dignified and sonorous blank verse, and have often been characterized as probably the best ever written by a woman. She also wrote some excellent Scottish songs. Joanna Baillie

was born in the manse of Bothwell, where her father, afterwards professor of divinity at Glasgow, was then minister. Her mother was a sister of the two great anatomists John and William Hunter, and her brother, Dr. Matthew Baillie, also distinguished himself as an anatomist and physician. The other lady writer just referred to was Miss Susan Edmonstone Ferrier (1782–1854), daughter of James Ferrier, writer to the signet, and a colleague of Sir Walter Scott as clerk of session. She wrote three novels—*Marriage* (1818), *The Inheritance* (1824), and *Destiny* (1831). The last was dedicated to Sir Walter, by whose influence with Cadell the publisher Miss Ferrier received £1700 for it. Her most distinguished merit is that of accurate and humorous portraiture, and her novels contain a series of admirably drawn characters, both male and female, many of them more racy and original than could be met with in the Scotland of later times.

Miss Ferrier was not the only Scottish novelist whose fictions found plenty of readers, even at the time when Scott was turning out novel after novel to surprise and delight the world. Another popular novelist of this period, to whom we owe some admirable delineations of Scottish life and character, was John Galt, a native of Irvine, born in 1779. His first successful work, *The Ayrshire Legatees*, came out in *Blackwood's Magazine* in 1820–21, and was followed next year by the still more successful *Annals of the Parish*, published separately, and written years before. This delightful picture of rural life in the West of Scotland—as drawn by a simple, pious, narrow-minded, unconsciously humorous parish minister—at once became popular, and still continues so. *Sir Andrew Wylie*, *The Entail*, and *The Provost* followed—all works of similar Scottish strain and of great merit. *The Entail*, as Galt tells us in his *Literary Life and Miscellanies*, was read thrice over by Sir Walter Scott, and as often by Lord Byron; while another story of his, published about the same period—*Ringan Gilhaize*, a tale of Reformation times, was recommended from the pulpit by one of the Aberdeen ministers. In 1826–29 Galt was in America as occupant of an important position under a Canada land company, and was then the founder of the now prosperous town of Guelph.¹ Returning home, he published an excellent novel, based on his American experiences, named *Laurie Todd, or The Settler in the Woods*. Galt died in 1839. The works mentioned comprise only a fraction of what he wrote, but the greater part of his writ-

¹Galt's son, Sir Alexander Galt, raised himself to the position of one of the foremost citizens of the Canadian dominion.

ings were produced in a hurry, and had no permanent value. Among other things he was the author of more than a score of dramas, certain of which were characterized by Sir Walter Scott as "the worst tragedies ever seen". Another contemporary novelist is known only by two works, one of them among the most popular novels of the century. We refer to Michael Scott and his admirable sea story, *Tom Cringle's Log*. He was born in Glasgow in 1789, and died there in 1835, having spent a number of years in the West Indies, and being latterly engaged in mercantile pursuits in his native city.

In the early part of the nineteenth century Edinburgh had far more the character of a literary centre than it has latterly had, and in this respect might even be regarded as a rival of London. Literary productions, indeed, made their appearance here of which London itself might well have been proud, and in some matters London was even fain to follow the lead of the northern capital. One event that created an immense stir in the whole literary world of Britain was the publication of the first number of the *Edinburgh Review*, in 1802. A quarterly periodical partly critical in its objects and partly political, it was started in the interest of the Whigs, while it was also intended to supply criticism of a kind superior to that furnished by existing literary organs and more independent of the influence of booksellers and publishers. Though originating in Edinburgh some of those who were its founders were Englishmen, for the time resident in the Scottish capital, among these being Sydney Smith and Francis Horner. Another of its founders was Brougham, afterwards so famous in the political world, who was at least half a Scotsman and was born in Edinburgh. Francis Jeffrey, also a native of Edinburgh, and by profession an advocate, was appointed editor, and acted as such till 1829, conducting the *Review* with great ability and being himself a frequent contributor. His pen was chiefly engaged in reviewing works of poetry and light literature, and, though not consciously unfair, he was fonder of picking out faults than pointing to beauties. Some of his criticisms, as those on Coleridge and Wordsworth, have become historical as examples of unsound judgment in literature. Jeffrey resigned the editorship on becoming dean of the faculty of Advocates. He was soon after appointed Lord-advocate, sat for some time in parliament, and in 1834 was made one of the judges of the Court of Session. He died in 1850.

Owing to the ability of the contributors and the freshness and fearlessness, not to say audacity, of their articles the *Edinburgh Review* at once

attained an extraordinary success, and led to the starting of the *Quarterly Review* in 1809. This was a venture of Murray, the London publisher, who was promised assistance by some of the ablest writers of the day. The *Quarterly* took up the opposite side in politics from the *Edinburgh*, and indeed was intended by its originators to counteract what was regarded as the objectionable teaching of the earlier periodical. Sir Walter Scott, who had written articles for the *Edinburgh Review*, was one of the originators of the *Quarterly* and a frequent contributor to it, its politics being the same as his own.

In 1817 the first number of another famous Edinburgh periodical was published, namely *Blackwood's Magazine*, being so named from its publisher and proprietor. It, however, was a monthly, and not a quarterly magazine. Though taking the Tory side in politics and being fervid enough in expressing its political sympathies, it was less of a critical and political organ than a miscellany of light and entertaining literature, and as such it has continued to the present day. It had a number of followers and imitators, most of them long since extinct, though *Blackwood's* still keeps up the high character it had from the first. One of the most famous of the many famous names associated with this periodical is that of Professor John Wilson—"Christopher North"—who for years was practically if not formally its editor. Professor Wilson was born in 1785, and was the son of a wealthy Paisley manufacturer. He was educated at Oxford, where he distinguished himself alike by his athletic feats and his scholarship. His early life was marked by wild escapades and romantic incidents, but his career took on a somewhat soberer hue after his marriage in 1811. In 1815 he settled in Edinburgh, having previously lived at his property of Elleray, on Windermere, which continued to be a place of temporary sojourn. In 1820 he was appointed professor of moral philosophy in Edinburgh University. Ill-equipped as he was for such a post he acquitted himself very satisfactorily of the duties attaching to it, and his teaching had a stimulating and beneficial effect on many successive generations of students. He first came before the world as a poet by his *Isle of Palms*, published in 1812, which was followed by another poetical work, *The City of the Plague*, in 1816. These gained him some reputation, but have long been well-nigh forgotten, or at least are little read; and his prose tales—*Lights and Shadows of Scottish Life*, *The Trials of Margaret Lyndsay*, and *The Foresters*—have met with a like fate. Tenderness, pathos, and sentimentality mark all these

productions, giving them an entirely different flavour from the breezy boisterousness so characteristic of much of Wilson's writing. It is in his critical, descriptive, and miscellaneous essays that Prof. Wilson appears at his best, and in these he displays an extraordinary amount of eloquence and width of sympathy, often marred, however, by rashness of judgment, want of refinement, and forced humour. The ideal table-talk of the *Noctes Ambrosianæ* (so named from the convivial meetings or symposia supposed to be held in Ambrose's tavern in Edinburgh), contain some of Wilson's most spontaneous utterances on literature, life, natural scenery, and other subjects. Professor Wilson died in 1854, and left a great blank in the literary world of Scotland, being recognized by his countrymen generally as their representative man of letters since the death of the "Great Magician".

Among other contributors to *Blackwood's* were some of the writers already mentioned, more particularly Hogg and Galt. Next to Wilson, however, the writer whose support was most valuable to "Maga" in its earliest years was John Gibson Lockhart, the son-in-law and biographer of Sir Walter Scott. Born in 1794, he was educated at the Universities of Glasgow and Oxford, and became an advocate in Edinburgh, but devoted himself to literature. In 1818 he made the acquaintance of the great novelist, whose eldest daughter, Sophia, he married in 1820. In 1825 he had to withdraw from the literary society of the Scottish capital on accepting the editorship of the *Quarterly Review*, a post which he held till 1853. Lockhart's works include several novels—*Valerius, a Roman Story, Adam Blair, Matthew Wald, Reginald Dalton—Ancient Spanish Ballads*, with admirable translations; an excellent *Life of Burns*; and a *History of Napoleon Buonaparte*; but his *magnum opus* is his *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott*, in 7 vols., the last of which came out in 1838. This is recognized as one of the best works of the kind in the English language, falling not far short of Boswell's masterpiece. Lockhart died in 1854, having outlived his wife, his two sons, and all the family of Sir Walter Scott. He was survived by a daughter, who became the wife of Mr. Hope, afterwards Hope-Scott, and a grand-daughter still resides at Abbotsford.

To the Blackwood circle belonged also several other writers, who may conveniently be referred to here. One of these was the amiable David Macbeth Moir (1798–1851), fully as well known by his pen-name "Delta". He spent his manhood as a medical practitioner in his native town of Musselburgh, and was a frequent con-

tributor to "Maga", both in poetry and prose. In 1824 he published the *Legend of St. Genevieve, with Other Tales and Poems*, and in 1843 another volume of poems entitled *Domestic Verses*, containing his touching poem of *Casa Wappy*, on the death of his son—a boy of four and a half years. The work by which he probably became most widely known to the public was in prose, being the *Autobiography of Mansie Waugh*, one of the most mirth-stirring productions ever written, and equal to Galt's most popular pictures of Scottish life. His poems were published in a collected form in 1852, with a memoir by his friend Thomas Aird, also a contributor to *Blackwood*. Mr. Aird spent most of his life at Dumfries, as editor of the *Dumfries and Galloway Herald*, and was a poet as well as a writer of prose. The *Devil's Dream on Mount Acksbeck* is his best-known poem, and in it there is a weird phantasy characteristic of much of his work. Of his writings in prose, his tales may be referred to. The chief of these are contained in the volume entitled, *The Old Bachelor in the Old Scottish Village*—the bachelor being really himself.

Another contributor to *Blackwood's Magazine*, of somewhat later date, was Professor William Edmonstoune Aytoun. He belonged to Edinburgh, where his father was a writer to the signet. He wrote poetry when quite a lad, and continued his literary pursuits after he had been called to the Scottish bar. As a serious poet he is best known by his *Lays of the Cavaliers*, while his merits as a writer of humorous verse are attested by the popularity of the *Bon Gaultier Ballads*, written by him and Sir Theodore Martin in conjunction. Of humorous tales contributed by him to *Blackwood*, none is superior to *How we got up the Glenmutchkin Railway*. In 1845 he was appointed professor of rhetoric and belles lettres in Edinburgh University, and this post he held till his death in 1865, being from 1852 also sheriff of Orkney. His *Firmilian, a Spasmodic Tragedy* (1854) was written to ridicule dramatic poems by Alexander Smith and others, but it had so many poetic merits of its own that it was generally taken as a serious composition. Another poetic piece of his is *Bothwell*, a monologue put into the mouth of the man who had such a baneful influence on the life of Mary Queen of Scots.

In 1832 the famous *Chambers's Journal* began to appear at Edinburgh, being the pioneer of weekly periodicals of light and entertaining literature. It was brought out by the enterprise of the brothers William and Robert Chambers, the founders of the publishing house still under their name. Both brothers wrote as well as published, but Robert was by far the

more notable as an author, producing historical, biographical, and other works of very great merit.

Alexander Smith (1830-67), mentioned above, was a writer who had he lived longer would probably have greatly increased his reputation. He came before the public soon after his twentieth year with a dramatic poem in a series of scenes, entitled *A Life Drama*. It was received at first with acclamation as a work of the highest order, and a rival to Tennyson was by many supposed to have arisen; but criticism soon made itself felt, obvious defects were quickly pointed out, and the poem became unduly depreciated, for it undoubtedly possesses many beauties, and shows great wealth of poetic thought and expression. The success of the *Life Drama* led to its author's appointment to the secretaryship of Edinburgh University. Previously he had been a pattern-designer at Glasgow. After publishing *City Poems* (1857), and *Edwin of Deira* (1861), his longest and best poetic work, he devoted himself chiefly to prose, and was a contributor to *Blackwood's Magazine* and other periodicals. Among his later works may be named *A Summer in Skye*, and *David Haggart's Household*, an excellent story.

A much briefer span of life was allotted to David Gray (1838-61), who is chiefly known by a descriptive poem on the Luggie, a small stream near Kirkintilloch. His verse gave promise of much future excellence, but he was cut off before he could really show what range of poetic power belonged to him.

Among writers distinguished in the lighter walks of literature, there still remain several whom we must here mention, but happily these are still with us, and in regard to them a very few words must suffice. As a writer of fiction Mrs. Oliphant deserves first notice, being a novelist of great power and variety, and also distinguished as a writer of biography. Another popular and fertile novelist is William Black, whose works very commonly have the Highlands as their scene. George Mac Donald is a novelist and poet, with something of the preacher added; his novels are coloured with poetry and inspired with deep and earnest feeling, being held in more esteem by the thoughtful than by those who read for mere amusement. Robert Buchanan, again, is a poet first and a novelist and playwright afterwards, being also a miscellaneous writer of very versatile powers. As a poet he stands easily first among his Scottish contemporaries. Robert Louis Stevenson has become widely known by stories of remarkable excellence, not to mention poems and other things. Andrew Lang has shown himself as a writer of extraordinary versatility,

giving us now an airy trifle in verse, now a grave study in comparative mythology, now a fairy tale, and anon an admirable translation of some Greek or old French author: as Johnson wrote of Goldsmith—*Nullum fere scribendi genus non tetigit, nullum quod tetigit non ornavit*. J. M. Barrie has a reputation based chiefly on his quaintly humorous and pathetic sketches of domestic life in the small Scottish town of "Thrums."

During the Victorian era, however, in which we may include the whole period subsequent to that of Scott, no Scottish writer has attained a reputation equal to that of Thomas Carlyle, who in some respects is a unique figure in literature, rugged as a rock in his style, equally rugged and unbending in his resolute and aggressive individuality. In Scotland itself, no doubt, Professor Wilson, while he lived, bulked as largely in the public eye, but Carlyle's reputation is world-wide, and will doubtless be far more lasting than Wilson's. In the latter part of his life, indeed, no writer of English—if we except Tennyson—held such a commanding position as "the Sage of Chelsea". Thomas Carlyle was born at Ecclefechan, a village in Dumfriesshire, in 1795, his father being a mason and farmer. After attending the Annan burgh school he was sent to Edinburgh University, where he studied under such well-known professors as Leslie, Playfair, and Dr. Thomas Brown, and attained great proficiency in mathematics. His curriculum completed, he acted as a teacher, first at Annan and then at Kirkcaldy, but disgusted with "schoolmastering" he removed to Edinburgh, and there devoted himself to literary work and study, giving much of his time to German and German literature. Among his earliest writings were short biographies and other articles for the *Edinburgh Encyclopædia*, an extensive work edited by Brewster. His career as an author properly began, however, with the publication of his *Life of Schiller*, which appeared in the *London Magazine* in 1823-24, and as a separate work in 1825. In 1824 his translation of Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship* was published, and this was followed in 1827 by *German Romance*, a work giving specimens of several eminent German writers. By this time he had married (in 1826), and after living for a time in Edinburgh he retired to Craigenputtock, in Dumfriesshire, a small property belonging to his wife. Here he wrote for various periodicals, and here was produced *Sartor Resartus*, the most original of his works, the one which first brought him fame, and which has had perhaps a greater influence on the minds of readers than any single work of the century. It was given to the world in

1833-34 through the medium of *Fraser's Magazine*. Its whimsical title (literally "the tailor repatched") is a translation of that of an old Scottish song ("The Tailor Done Over"), and the book professes to be an exposition for English readers of a new philosophy, the philosophy of clothes, first thought out and expounded by Diogenes Teufelsdröckh, professor of things in general in the German university town of Weissenichtwo (Know-not-where). This work in form and style owes much to Carlyle's German studies, but what is most valuable in it is Carlyle's own. It is inspired by a distinctly didactic purpose, and through its wonderful intermixture of the humorous, the grotesque, the sublime, the pathetic, the solemn, and the profound, it preaches the doctrines of truthfulness, obedience, duty, work, and above all the hatred of sham. The publication of *Sartor* soon made Carlyle famous, and after his removal to London, early in 1834, he became a prominent figure among the literary men of London. He fixed his abode at Cheyne Row, Chelsea, and here the rest of his life was mainly spent. His next work of importance was the *French Revolution*, which appeared in 1837. Of it the *Westminster Review* declared that "no work of greater genius, either historical or poetical, has been produced in this country for many years". Passing over things of minor importance, two great works subsequently came from his pen. The first of these was *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, with Elucidations* (1845), a work of much research, and brilliantly successful in vindicating the character of the Protector. The second was *The History of Friedrich II. of Prussia, called Frederick the Great* (1858-1865). The labour and research shown in this work, the descriptive and narrative power displayed in it, the vividness of its portraiture, and, lastly, the richness of its humour, it would be difficult to exaggerate. In 1866 Carlyle suffered a great blow in the loss of his wife, a woman of exceptionally brilliant intellect, and most devoted to her husband—though their married life was not so serene as it might have been. After this he wrote little of importance. His own death took place at Chelsea in 1881, and he was buried at Ecclefechan.

With all his irritability, intolerance, prejudice, and contemptuous judgments of good and able men, Carlyle had many warm friends, and at heart he was just, fair-minded, and humane, as well as utterly sincere. Many of his harsher utterances were due to his lifelong dyspepsia rather than to his real convictions, or are partly to be accounted for by his native tendency to strength of language and dislike of the commonplace and conventional.

As a writer he regarded it as his duty to aim at the moral improvement of mankind, and this is decidedly the tendency of his teaching, though he sometimes seems to exalt strength above justice. He left behind him highly interesting *Reminiscences*, but these deal only with the earlier portion of his life. The character of his style subjected him to severe criticism; but in his case more than that of almost any other the style was the man, and in his hands it became an instrument of surpassing power and graphic force. Formally Carlyle may be classed as an historian, biographer, and essayist, and from him we may now pass to other Scottish writers of history, though certainly these show but little of the imaginative and poetic power with which persons and events are so vividly set before us by Carlyle.

Among Scottish historians of the nineteenth century, none can be said to have attained the position of a classic like Hume in the previous century, though many works of great value have been produced. Malcolm Laing, George Chalmers, and John Pinkerton are writers who early in this century rendered useful services to Scottish history. In 1817-18 was published an able *History of British India* by James Mill, father of the more celebrated John Stuart Mill, and a distinguished writer on mental science, political economy, and kindred subjects. In 1828 the first volume of Patrick Fraser-Tyler's *History of Scotland* appeared, and the work when completed was recognized as one of very great merit. It is far from being a complete history of the country, however, since beginning with the accession of Alexander III. it comes down only to 1603. A voluminous historical work is that by Sir Archibald Alison (1792-1867), the *History of Europe from the Commencement of the French Revolution to the Restoration of the Bourbons*, first published in ten volumes in 1839-42. Though, according to the well-known sarcasm, it was written to prove "that Providence was on the side of the Tories", it is a valuable work, and has been very popular. Sir Archibald was the son of the Rev. Archibald Alison, who published an *Essay on Taste* that had much vogue in its day. He was long sheriff of Lanarkshire. Colonel William Mure of Caldwell wrote a learned and able *History of the Language and Literature of Ancient Greece*, which unfortunately he did not live to complete. Another writer on Greek history was George Finlay, member of a well-known Glasgow family, who early in the century went like Byron to aid the cause of Greek independence and settled in the country. His *History of Greece from its Conquest by the Romans* is one

of the ablest historical works of the century. The *History of Scotland*, by John Hill Burton (1809–81), is another most able work, beginning with the earliest times and bringing the narrative down to the era of the '45. The same writer produced other valuable and interesting works, two of the best known of these being entitled the *The Book-Hunter* and *The Scot Abroad*. He was the son of an officer in the army, was born at Aberdeen, and was long secretary to the prison board of Scotland. In 1876–80 appeared *Celtic Scotland, a History of Ancient Alban* (three vols.), by William Forbes Skene, a writer to the signet, and son of an intimate friend of Sir Walter Scott. This is a monument of learning, industry, and historical insight, and for the period of Scottish history with which it deals is never likely to be superseded. In this connection we may also mention the *Life of John Knox*, by Dr. Thomas McCrie, a work which, while placing the character of the Reformer in its true light, was also a valuable contribution to the history of his times. Among living writers in the historic field, Prof. Masson, Edinburgh, should be mentioned, for his monumental life of Milton, a work which enters thoroughly into the whole history of the period. Prof. Masson has also been a fertile writer on various subjects connected with English literature.

Scotsmen have long shown a marked fondness for philosophical and speculative subjects, and it has already been shown that in the previous century a distinctive Scottish school of philosophy came into existence, its leader being Dr. Thomas Reid, who again was followed by Prof. Dugald Stewart. At the beginning of the nineteenth century Dugald Stewart was still professor of moral philosophy at Edinburgh, and probably no teacher of the subject ever delivered more eloquent and attractive lectures. He wrote a number of works on his favourite subject, including *Philosophy of the Human Mind*, *View of the Active and Moral Powers of Man*, *Philosophical Essays*, &c. He retired from the duties of the professorial chair in 1810, and died in 1828. He was the son of Dr. Matthew Stuart, professor of mathematics in the university of Edinburgh, and was born there in 1753. The highest testimony to the eloquence of his lectures has been given by various eminent persons. James Mill, already mentioned as the historian of British India, declared that he had heard Pitt and Fox deliver some of their most admired speeches, but had never heard anything nearly so eloquent as some of the lectures of Stewart. Lord Cockburn styles him "one of the greatest didactic orators", and gives it

as his opinion that "had he lived in ancient times his memory would have descended to us as that of one of the finest of the old eloquent sages. No intelligent pupil of his ever ceased to respect philosophy, or was ever false to his principles, without feeling the crime aggravated by the recollection of the morality that Stewart had taught him." He added little or nothing of his own to the philosophy of Reid, but his teaching did much to make it widely known.

Dugald Stewart's successor was Dr. Thomas Brown, who occupied the chair for ten years, and was succeeded, as we have already mentioned, by Prof. John Wilson. Brown was also noted for his rhetorical powers, and his writings rather err on the side of floweriness. His *Lectures on the Philosophy of the Human Mind* became exceedingly popular, and passed through numerous editions, though latterly the work has fallen into comparative neglect. He was an acute thinker, and in some points departed from the recognized doctrines of the Scottish school, especially in regard to psychology, the subject in which he displays most originality. He was perhaps the first to insist on the existence of the muscular sense, as distinguished from the ordinary sensation of touch.

Sir William Hamilton had been an applicant for the moral philosophy chair at Edinburgh when Wilson got the appointment. His qualifications for the post were far superior to those of his rival, but he belonged to the wrong side in politics. He was born at Glasgow in 1788, his father being professor of anatomy in the university there. From Glasgow he went to Balliol College, Oxford, with a Snell exhibition, and here he took a distinguished position. Returning to Scotland he passed as an advocate in 1813, and henceforth lived in Edinburgh. He soon after laid successful claim to a baronetcy that belonged to his family. He never had much practice as an advocate, but he became noted as "a monster of erudition", and in particular made himself familiar with the views of the recent German philosophers. Articles in the *Edinburgh Review* brought his name into prominence, and in 1836 he was appointed to the chair of logic and metaphysics in Edinburgh University. This appointment he held till his death, which took place in 1856. Latterly he received assistance in the duties of the professoriate from James Frederick Ferrier and Thomas Spencer Baynes, both men of distinction in metaphysical science. Sir William was an adherent of the Scotch or common-sense school of philosophy, and elaborated its doctrines with a wider knowledge and greater power than his predecessors, but he did not publish a connected and systematic

exposition of the subject, his views being chiefly expounded in notes and discussions appended to Reid's works. Sir William exercised great influence on the philosophical studies and speculation of his time, and his lectures attracted large numbers of young men from the Continent, as well as from different parts of Britain. One doctrine upon which he insisted was on the relativity of our knowledge, declaring the absolute and the infinite to be unknowable. His contributions to logic, as well as to psychology are valuable, but it was only with formal or deductive logic that he dealt. His lectures on logic and metaphysics were published after his death, having been taken down in shorthand, and were edited by Professors Mansel and Veitch, two pupils and followers. Prof. Veitch wrote a memoir of Sir William, and has expounded his philosophical views in more than one work. He has also made a name for himself as one of the modern Scottish poets.

Professor Ferrier, just mentioned, possessed a keen metaphysical intellect, and his *Institutes of Metaphysics* (1854), while admirable in style, show much power and independence of thought. Ferrier was an opponent of the common-sense school of philosophy, and was more in harmony with the views of Berkeley. He was a nephew of Miss Ferrier the novelist, and also of Prof. John Wilson. He was born in 1808 and died in 1864, being professor of moral philosophy and political economy at St. Andrews from 1845 onwards.

Among present day writers on mental science may be mentioned J. Hutchison Stirling and Prof. Alexander Bain. The former has distinguished himself more especially by his work, *The Secret of Hegel*, in which he gives a masterly exposition of the doctrines of that philosopher; another valuable work of his being a *Text-book to Kant*. In one of his works he has subjected Hamilton's doctrine of perception to severe criticism. Professor Bain is best known by his works, *The Senses and the Intellect* and *The Emotions and the Will*, in which he gives an exposition of the human mind on the basis of physiology.

From the subject of mental science we may turn to that of theology and divinity, and in this field the first name that meets us is that of Dr. Thomas Chalmers, so intimately associated with the origin of the Free Church. The son of a merchant at Anstruther, he was born in 1780, educated at the university of St. Andrews, and licensed as a preacher at the early age of nineteen. His first charge was the parish of Kilmany (Fife), and from thence in 1815 he removed to the Tron Church of Glasgow, his fame as a preacher having already

extended itself throughout Scotland. In Glasgow he at once set himself to the task of re-organizing the parochial system, so as to provide machinery by which the destitute and outcast might be visited and reclaimed, and the young instructed not only in Sunday-schools, but also in day-schools. Great efforts were also made by him to get new churches erected in Glasgow, in which, owing to the rapid increase of population, there was church-accommodation for scarcely a third of the inhabitants. In this he was highly successful, and in 1819 he was transferred to a new church (St. John's) erected and endowed expressly for himself. Here he laboured so unintermittingly as to injure his health, and on being offered the moral philosophy chair at St. Andrews he deemed it right to accept it, and accordingly proceeded thither in 1823. In 1827 he was elected to the divinity chair in Edinburgh University, and entered upon his professorial duties the following year. The subject of church extension continued to engage his interest and active co-operation, and so successful were the results that in 1838 he was able to announce to the General Assembly that within the last four years about £200,000 had been collected, and 200 new churches built. Amid the various public movements with which Dr. Chalmers' name stands connected there is none in which it holds greater prominence than in connection with the events resulting in the Disruption of 1843, and the establishment of the Free Church of Scotland. Dr. Chalmers, indeed, may be justly regarded as the founder of the Free Church, as he was also of the Sustentation Fund out of which the ministers of that body are principally supported; but the part he took in the great ecclesiastical movement which rent the Scottish Church in twain has been dealt with in another chapter. The Disruption having caused him to vacate his chair in the Edinburgh University, he was appointed, on the establishment of a theological college for the Free Church, to the offices of principal and primarius professor of divinity in that institution. Among the last of his disinterested labours was the establishment of a church and schools in the notorious West Port district of Edinburgh. Soon after this had been successfully accomplished he passed away tranquilly in his sleep, without having suffered from the least pain or illness, in May, 1847.

Dr. Chalmers was a man of great and varied intellectual powers, and his fame was so widely spread out of Scotland that in 1834 he was elected—unique honour for a presbyterian divine—a corresponding member of the Institute of France, and the following year received the degree of Doctor of Civil Law from the

University of Oxford. Long before this, in 1816, the unanimous vote of the senate of Glasgow University had conferred upon him the degree of D.D. He was at the head of all the pulpit orators of the day, and the enthusiasm which on great occasions his eloquence excited is described as something wonderful. Nor was this less among the cultured audiences of London than in Scotland, though in the former case the peculiarities of the northern accent had to be taken into account as well as the somewhat rugged and unattractive appearance of the orator. Some of his greatest oratorical triumphs were in 1817 when he was invited to preach the anniversary sermon for the London Missionary Society, and when "all the world was wild about Dr. Chalmers" as Wilberforce records in his diary, Canning being affected even to tears. It was not alone in his spoken discourses that this eloquence was displayed, for some of his printed sermons or discourses enjoyed an enormous popularity, this being especially the case with his well known *Astronomical Discourses*. He was a rather voluminous writer, and besides works more or less bearing on his calling as minister and professor he wrote also on political and social economy. Of his writings we may here specially mention his *Natural Theology*, *Evidences of Christianity*, *Moral and Mental Philosophy*, and *Institutes of Theology*. With plenty of shrewdness he was a gentle, guileless, lovable man, and like other great men, not without a leaven of genial humour.

Another great pulpit orator and philanthropist, also one of the founders of the Free Church, was Dr. Thomas Guthrie (1803-73) a native of Brechin. He was educated in art and divinity at Edinburgh University, also attended classes at the Sorbonne, in Paris, and was for some time in his father's bank. His first ecclesiastical charge was Arbirlot, whence he went, in 1837, to be one of the ministers of Old Greyfriars Church, Edinburgh. His eloquence was of great service to the non-intrusion party during the great ecclesiastical conflict, and when the Disruption took place his labours in raising a fund to provide manse for the displaced ministers were equally valuable. After 1843 he became minister of Free St. John's, Edinburgh, most of his old congregation following him, and here he performed the duties of his office till his retirement in 1864. Soon after this he became editor of the *Sunday Magazine*, which under his management attained a brilliant success. One of the movements in connection with which his name is best known was that in favour of ragged schools, by which so many of the city arabs of Edinburgh and other towns

were reclaimed. He was also an eager advocate for compulsory national education, and lived long enough to see the act passed by which this system was introduced in Scotland. The cause of temperance was also one that he constantly advocated, and he himself became a total abstainer long before that course was so commonly taken by ministers as is now the case. After the death of Dr. Chalmers he was certainly the most popular preacher in Scotland, if not even in Britain, and few men were more widely known to persons of all ranks and creeds. He wrote much, and some of his works have been exceedingly popular in the United States as well as in Britain. Among them we may particularize *Pleas for Ragged Schools*, *The Gospel in Ezekiel*, *The City, its Sins and Sorrows*. Another leader of the Free Church and the Disruption movement was Dr. Robert Smith Candlish (1806-73) long minister of Free St. George's, Edinburgh. One of the objects which he had strongly at heart was the union of all the different presbyterian bodies into one. His works include an *Exposition of the Book of Genesis*, *The Fatherhood of God*, and other writings.

In the Established Church of Scotland no name is better known than that of the Rev. Dr. Norman Macleod (1812-72) who is more noticeable, however, as a preacher and miscellaneous writer than for contributions to theology or biblical literature. Born of a family of clergymen he first saw the light at Campbeltown where his father was then parish minister. His father was subsequently minister of Campsie, and latterly of St. Columba's, Glasgow (a highland congregation); and young Norman studied at Glasgow University as well as at that of Edinburgh, where he had Dr. Chalmers as a teacher. Being licensed as a preacher he was appointed to the parish of Loudoun, in Ayrshire, in 1838, and soon after the Disruption, to Dalkeith. From this place he passed to the Barony Church, Glasgow, being thus placed in a sphere in which he had abundant scope for the exercise of his energies in every department of pastoral work. This charge he held to the last, and the amount of good he was able to effect was incalculable, while he also endeared himself to all with whom he came in contact. As a preacher he acquired a great reputation, especially after the publication of a sermon which he had preached before the queen in 1852. He was appointed one of the royal chaplains, and her majesty held him in high esteem. In 1858 the University of Glasgow conferred on him the degree of D.D. His name became much more widely known when, in 1860, he accepted the editorship of the new

and highly successful periodical *Good Words*. Missionary enterprise, whether at home or abroad, always engaged much of his attention, and in 1867 he was appointed to visit the Indian missions. In India he was everywhere received with unbounded enthusiasm; but the climate or the fatigues he encountered permanently affected his health. Of him it has been truly said that "He attracted to himself, by the magic of his humanity, the love of the destitute in Glasgow, the affection of thousands in all quarters of the globe who knew him only by the words he wrote, the admiration and friendship of many cultured men, and the sincere confidence of his queen." He was one of the leaders in the movement for the abolition of patronage in the Established Church. As a writer he is perhaps best known by his stories, *The Old Lieutenant and his Son*, and *The Starling*; the tales contained in his *Character Sketches*; his *Reminiscences of a Highland Parish* (his grandfather's parish of Morven); or his *Peeps at the Far East*, a record of his Indian tour. An excellent memoir of Norman Macleod has been written by his brother, the Rev. Dr. Donald Macleod, Glasgow, who succeeded him as editor of *Good Words*.

A more learned and equally liberal-minded divine belonging to the establishment was Dr. John Tulloch (1823-86), long principal of St. Andrews University, and one of the foremost figures in the Church. He was author of various able works more or less connected with his calling, and including *Theism*; *The Christ of the Gospels and of Modern Criticism*, written as an answer to Renan; *Rational Theology and Christian Philosophy in the Seventeenth Century*; *Modern Theories in Philosophy and Religion*; and *Movements of Religious Thought in Britain during the Nineteenth Century*. Among other learned theologians may be mentioned Dr. Patrick Fairbairn, Principal of the Free Church College, Glasgow, author of *The Typology of Scripture*, and other works, and editor of the *Imperial Bible-Dictionary*; and Dr. John Eadie, long a minister and professor of the United Presbyterian Church, author of various highly valuable works on biblical subjects, and one of the original members of that band of scholars who produced the revised version of the New Testament. Among theological writers of the most recent date none has had such a wide-spread reputation as William Robertson Smith (1846-1894), who, after studying at home and on the Continent, was appointed professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis in the Free Church College, Aberdeen, but was removed, by the General Assembly, from that chair in 1881, owing to the character of certain articles contributed by him to the new edition of the

Encyclopædia Britannica. He then became joint-editor, and latterly editor-in-chief, of this work, and died as professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge. He has done much to diffuse a knowledge of the views of continental critics of the Scriptures, and was one of the most learned Arabic scholars of his time. His works include *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, *The Prophets of Israel*, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, and *The Religion of the Semites*. With Professor Robertson Smith a new era of biblical study and exegesis may be said to have begun in Scotland, and some of the views recently put forward by the more advanced Scottish theologians and scholars have given no little anxiety to many who incline to abide by the ancient ways.

When we turn to the wide field of science in which so many advances have been made in various directions and so many new developments have taken place during the present century, we find that the names of Scotsmen occupy as honourable a position as in other departments of intellectual effort and accomplishment. In physical and mathematical science the first names to meet us are those of John Playfair and Sir John Leslie, the latter of whom succeeded the former, first in the mathematical chair (in 1805) and then in that of natural philosophy (1819) in Edinburgh University. Playfair's most valuable services were perhaps those given to the rising science of geology, through his *Illustrations of the Huttonian Theory of the Earth*, a work amplifying and enforcing the views of his deceased friend Hutton, the geologist. Sir John Leslie on the other hand did much by his researches and discoveries to advance our knowledge of heat and its phenomena. A far better known name than either of those, however, is that of Sir David Brewster. He was born at Jedburgh in 1781, studied for the church, and was licensed, but gave up the clerical profession and devoted himself to physical science. He soon made his name known, received the degree of LL.D. from the university of St. Andrews and that of M.A. from Cambridge, and in 1808 was appointed editor of the *Edinburgh Encyclopædia*, a voluminous work which engaged him for twenty-two years, and to which he contributed many valuable articles. Only a part of his time and attention was thus taken up, however, and he continued to make investigations and discoveries, and to give them to the world in valuable papers as if no such editorial burden rested on him. Optics and optical instruments were what more particularly attracted his attention at this period, one result being the invention of the kaleidoscope (in 1816), another

being his valuable *Treatise on Optics for Lardner's Cabinet Encyclopædia* (published in 1831). Meanwhile he had taken all the different medals that the Royal Society had in its gift, had been elected a corresponding member of the French Institute, and had been awarded many other honours. In 1832 he was knighted. In 1838 he was appointed principal of the United Colleges of St. Salvador and St. Leonard, St. Andrews; in 1849 the French Institute elected him one of its eight foreign associates; and in 1859 he was elected to the principalship of Edinburgh University. He died near Melrose in 1868. His most important discoveries were in connection with optics and the phenomena of light, the polarization of light receiving his special attention. Besides inventing the kaleidoscope and improving the stereoscope he was mainly instrumental in getting the dioptric or refracting system introduced into British lighthouses, instead of the less effective reflecting system. Among the numerous writings of Sir David we may here select for mention *Letters on Natural Magic*, *Life of Sir Isaac Newton*, *The Martyrs of Science*, being lives of Galileo, Tycho Brahe, and Kepler, and *More Worlds than One*.

Another eminent physicist was James David Forbes, whose most important contributions to scientific knowledge were in connection with heat, underground temperature, geology, and above all the nature of glaciers and glacier motion. He succeeded Sir John Leslie at Edinburgh in 1833—Sir David Brewster being then also a candidate for the chair—and this post he occupied till 1859, when he got the principalship that Sir David vacated at St. Andrews. Nearly thirty years younger than Sir David he died in the same year. His *Travels through the Alps of Savoy*, &c., and *Norway and its Glaciers* are classical works on the subjects to which they relate.

Since Brewster and Forbes, the most distinguished Scotsman in physical science is James Clerk Maxwell (1831–79), who indeed may rank among the foremost physicists of modern times. His great work on *Electricity and Magnetism* has been called the *Principia* of the nineteenth century. Another physicist of the foremost rank is Lord Kelvin (Sir William Thomson), who was born in Belfast, indeed, but has been almost all his life associated with Glasgow, and is probably by most persons looked upon as a Scotsman.

In geology Scotland can boast of a line of remarkably able men, from the days of Hutton and Playfair down to the present day, as witness the names of Lyell, Murchison, Hugh Miller, Ramsay, and Geikie. Sir Charles Lyell (1797–

1875), having the good fortune to be born a Forfarshire country gentleman, did not require to take up any profession for a livelihood, but devoted himself to the study of geology instead; and his two chief works—*The Principles of Geology* and *The Elements of Geology*—did more to fix the science on a firm and sound basis than the writings of any other geologist. When he began his geological investigations the science had not yet been mapped out and the landmarks laid down, so that students were ignorant as to what studies came properly within their province, and in what relations its facts stood to one another. Wild notions were then prevalent as to the phenomena presented by the earth's crust, and wilder theories as to the causes that had produced them. Fire and water were believed to have been at war together in the early ages of the world's history, and to have produced tremendous upheavals and cataclysms, which had no parallel in historic times. In the course of Sir Charles Lyell's life, however, and mainly as the result of his teaching, all this was changed, and it came to be generally recognized that the ordinary forces of nature, continuously acting as we see them acting now, were sufficient to produce the results that previously were supposed to be brought about in the way of tremendous catastrophes and cataclysms.

Sir Roderick Impey Murchison was another geologist who greatly increased our knowledge of the earth's crust and of the relationship of strata over wide areas. In particular he demonstrated the existence of a great series of fossiliferous formations below the Old Red Sandstone, and embraced them all under the general title of the *Silurian System*. He carried his investigations over large portions of the continent, an important series of these being published in his great work on *Russia and the Ural Mountains*. Murchison died in 1872 as director-general of the geological survey, and was succeeded in this post by Andrew Crombie Ramsay (1814–91), a native of Glasgow, who first made himself known by an excellent little work on the geology of Arran. On his retirement in 1881 he was knighted, his successor being Sir Archibald Geikie.

Hugh Miller not only rendered valuable services to geology, but was in other respects a man of note. As an individual he is certainly the most interesting personality among the geologists of Scotland. Born at Cromarty in 1802 he began life as a working mason, and plied this craft till 1834, when he got an appointment in a bank at Cromarty. By this time he had brought himself into some prominence by poems and other literary productions, and some

controversial pamphlets subsequently written caused him to be offered, in 1840, the editorship of the *Witness*, a bi-weekly newspaper, started in Edinburgh as the organ of the non-intrusion party. This paper he conducted with great ability, being latterly chief proprietor of it, but his editorial labours, in conjunction with the other tasks he laid upon himself, were too great for his strength, his reason gave way, and he died by his own hand in 1856. While working as a mason his attention was directed to geology, and his attainments in this field brought him the acquaintance of Murchison, Agassiz, and other men of science. His most important contribution to geology is his *Old Red Sandstone, or New Walks in an Old Field* (1841), which, as Buckland said, "astonished and delighted" geologists, and attracted much more attention to those strata than they had formerly received. Other geological works of his are *Footprints of the Creator*, in which he argues against the development theory, and *The Testimony of the Rocks*, on which he was engaged at his death, and which attempts to reconcile geology with the Book of Genesis. Outside of geology he wrote *Scenes and Legends of the North of Scotland*, *First Impressions of England and its People*, and above all, *My Schools and Schoolmasters, or the Story of my Education*, one of the most delightful pieces of autobiography in the language. Hugh Miller and other geologists received valuable additions to their knowledge from a self-taught geologist and botanist, who never rose above the somewhat humble calling of a baker. This was Robert Dick of Thurso, an enthusiastic lover of nature and a singularly modest and unselfish man, whose life has been admirably written by Samuel Smiles.

In zoology the nineteenth century presents us with such names as Alexander Wilson, the American ornithologist, Prof. William Macgillivray, Sir William Jardine, Francis Maitland Balfour, Sir C. Wyville Thomson, and others, but on the whole Scotland does not compare very favourably with England in regard to zoological or biological science. Wilson is a figure of some interest. Born in Paisley, in 1766, he was bred to the trade of a handloom weaver, and supported himself as such for a great part of his life. He early devoted himself to the writing of poetry, and occupies an honourable place among the minor poets of Scotland. Towards the end of the eighteenth century he emigrated to the United States, and after working as a weaver and travelling as a pedlar he got a situation as a schoolmaster. An acquaintance with Bartram, the American naturalist, led him to turn his attention to natural history, and having gained some pro-

ficiency in drawing and colouring he conceived the idea of a great illustrated work on the birds of North America. This project henceforth occupied all the time and attention he was able to devote to it, and, indeed, partly brought about his early death, in 1813, from the privations and fatigues it led to, and finally from a cold caught in swimming across a river after a rare bird. Though not such a magnificent work as that of Audubon, Wilson's *American Ornithology* is of very high value, and contains much admirable descriptive writing. Professor Macgillivray, who taught natural history in Marischal College, Aberdeen, was the author of a most valuable *History of British Birds*, thoroughly scientific, and showing an intimate acquaintance with the birds as studied by a keen observer. Mr. Balfour (brother of the Right Hon. A. J. Balfour, so well known in the political world) held a foremost place in the comparatively new study of embryology, but lost his life by an accident while still quite young. Sir C. Wyville Thomson's name is best known from his connection with the fruitful *Challenger* voyage of research.

In botany also but few names deserve notice. One that cannot be passed over, however, is that of Robert Brown (1773-1858), a native of Montrose, of whom the majority of readers have probably never heard, though he was in the very foremost rank among men of science in the nineteenth century, and was honoured by many of his writings being translated into German. John Claudius Loudon is well known from extensive encyclopædic works treating of plants, trees, gardening, and agriculture.

In chemistry we must mention Thomas Graham (1805-69), a native of Glasgow, for some time master of the mint, a chemist of marked eminence. Dr. Andrew Ure (1778-1857) was distinguished as a practical chemist, and for the services rendered by him to the arts and manufactures. His *Dictionary of Chemistry* was a standard work in its day, and his *Dictionary of Arts, Manufactures, and Mines* is still a useful work of reference. Dr. James Young we have elsewhere mentioned in connection with the paraffin industry, which owes its existence to him.

In medical science and the various subjects embraced in it, Scotland has produced a number of men of the highest reputation, and the first to be here mentioned is Sir Charles Bell (1774-1842). He was the son of an episcopal clergyman, and was a younger brother of John Bell, a distinguished surgeon and anatomist, and of George Joseph Bell, one of the most eminent writers on Scots law. He was educated at Edinburgh, and had made some repu-

tation for himself when he settled in London at the age of thirty. He had early begun to give special attention to the nervous system, and by 1811 had arrived at the conclusion that there were two classes of nerves, namely, nerves of sense and nerves of motion, and that these two functions were not indifferently performed by any nerve. His investigations were not fully completed till 1829, and were published the following year in his work entitled *The Nervous System of the Human Body*, in which the true relations of the different portions of the nervous system are fully expounded. Bell's discoveries are regarded as the most important since Harvey's discovery of the circulation of the blood, and will always make his name one of the landmarks in medical science. After occupying a distinguished position in London for many years he returned to Edinburgh in 1836 to fill the chair of surgery there, and this position he held till his death. He was the author of various works besides the one above mentioned, among them being *The Anatomy of Expression*, *Animal Mechanics*, the well-known Bridgewater treatise on *The Hand*, *Institutes of Surgery*, &c. He was knighted at the accession of William IV.

Two great surgeons fall to be named here who carried operative surgery to a higher pitch of perfection than had hitherto been attained, their daring use of the knife being based on a profound knowledge of anatomy. These were Robert Liston and James Syme, colleagues in early life, then rivals and enemies. Liston spent the latter part of a comparatively short life (he died, in 1847, at the age of fifty-three) in London; Syme taught and practised nearly all his life in Edinburgh, and both as operator and as teacher he was unrivalled. He himself invented new methods in surgery which were everywhere adopted, others he was the means of introducing into British practice. He exhibited the most remarkable fertility in resources, sometimes shown in the sudden change he would make in his procedure during the progress of an operation.

Up to near the middle of the century anaesthetics were unknown in surgical practice, and the unfortunate patients had to endure the pain of all operations, however serious, with what fortitude or stoicism they could summon up. In 1847, however, all this was changed by the introduction of chloroform, the discovery of the benign effects of which is due to Sir James Young Simpson. Born in 1810, the son of a baker, Sir James studied arts and medicine at Edinburgh, took the degree of M.D. in 1832, and made such a reputation for himself that in 1840 he was appointed to the chair of midwifery

in the university. In this position he taught with increasing fame till his death in 1870, carrying on at the same time a most extensive practice, and managing also to devote some spare moments of leisure to the advocacy of various benevolent objects, as well as to archaeological and other pursuits. The discovery of the potent effects of chloroform was not without risk, Sir James and his two assistants being all three rendered unconscious before they knew the power of the liquid they were dealing with. After the discovery honours were heaped upon him by scientific bodies all over the world. In 1856 he received the Monthyon prize of 2000 francs from the French Academy of Sciences, awarded for "most important services rendered to humanity". In 1866 a baronetcy was conferred upon him. He was a man of extreme tenderness of heart, and was widely beloved; it was this tenderness indeed that led him to turn his attention to the alleviation of the pain caused by surgical operations.

Among other men of note, Scotland has also produced some travellers who have greatly increased our knowledge of foreign lands, and whose names are household words. James Bruce and Mungo Park have already been mentioned as explorers of Africa. The latter, having begun his African wanderings in the eighteenth century, continued them early in the nineteenth, starting on a second voyage to the regions of the Niger in 1806. As is well-known he was unfortunate on this occasion, and lost his life in the Niger. Several other Scottish explorers also found graves in this region of Africa, among whom may be mentioned Clapperton, Laing, and Baikie. In connection with the exploration of the Arctic regions, the names of Sir John Ross, Sir John Richardson, Dr. John Rae deserve mention. In the opening up of Australia Scotsmen have also had their share, among Australian explorers being Sir Thomas Mitchell and John M'Donnell Stuart, the latter of whom was the first traveller to cross the Australian continent from sea to sea, namely from Adelaide to the north coast and back again.

The greatest among Scottish travellers, and one of the greatest of any time or country, was David Livingstone, who may be said to have laid down his life in the task of opening up "the Dark Continent" to enlightenment and Christianity. Born in 1813 at Blantyre Works on the Clyde, he entered a large cotton factory there as "piecer" at the age of ten. Being fond of books he read diligently and attended an evening school, so that he gradually acquired a respectable education. On approaching manhood he began to look forward to missionary

work, and the better to qualify himself for this he joined medical and other classes at Glasgow University, paying his way by the wages he earned as a cotton spinner. After a short theological training in England, in connection with the London Missionary Society, he proceeded to Cape Town, in 1840, as one of the agents of this body. From 1840 to 1856 he remained in Africa, engaged in the work of a medical missionary, and in the first series of travels which brought him so much fame. His first station was at Kuruman, in the Bechuana country, 700 miles from the Cape. Here he had the honoured Scottish missionary Dr. Robert Moffat as his chief, whose daughter he married. His first important journey was to Laka Ngami on the north of the Kalahari desert, previously unknown to Europeans, a discovery which roused much interest. After other journeys, in one of which he reached the Zambesi, he carried out, with the sanction and support of the London Missionary Society, that great journey or series of journeys which took him from Cape Town to St. Paul de Loanda on the west coast, and from that right across Africa to Quillimane at the mouth of the Zambesi on the east coast, and made his name famous throughout the civilized world. This great exploring feat occupied from June, 1852, till March, 1856, and he then returned home and published his *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*, a work of extraordinary interest, and which has had an extraordinary sale. In England he was received with great enthusiasm; the Royal Geographical Society gave him the highest medal in their gift; while Oxford University honoured him with the degree of D.C.L., and Glasgow with that of LL.D. He returned to Africa in 1858, furnished by the government with means to carry on fresh explorations, among the results being that Lakes Nyassa and Shirwa were for the first time visited, and that great additions were made to our knowledge of this part of Africa. Again returning to England, he did not long remain at home, but once more went back to Africa to continue his explorations, one of his principal desires being, if possible, to set at rest the question of the ultimate source or sources of the Nile. His travels on this occasion took him over a vast extent of hitherto unknown ground, in the regions of which Lakes Nyassa, Tanganyika, Bangweolo, and the Upper Congo form the more remarkable features. For a long time he was lost to the outer world, and was reported to be dead. To arrive at the truth search expeditions were sent out, the most successful being that under Mr. H. M. Stanley, who was able to demonstrate the falseness of the report, he having

found the great explorer at Ujiji on Lake Tanganyika. This was in November, 1871, after which, with health recruited and with a fresh supply of stores, Dr. Livingstone once more started on his wanderings. He was not now the man he had been, however. He was sixty years of age, had experienced all the vicissitudes of African climate, and undergone all kinds of privations, and latterly suffered much from illness. He was able to reach the neighbourhood of Lake Bangweolo, but here his difficulties were the most trying he had ever experienced, incessant rains turning the country into a swamp, while famine was constantly threatening. For months he plodded on, but at length his iron constitution was worn out by toil and sickness. Latterly he had to be carried in a litter, and then his faithful followers built a hut for him, in which he breathed his last on the 1st May, 1873. Rudely embalmed his body was carried to Zanzibar by his devoted men, and, being brought home to England, was interred in Westminster Abbey. Fortunately all his journals and papers were also brought home, and it was found that, amid all the fatigue and illness that had borne him down during his last journey, his diary was carefully kept till within a few days of his death. The highest eulogies have been bestowed on him, both as an explorer and as a man, and his labours are still bearing fruit, though the results of these are absolutely incalculable. Briefly it may be said, however, that he travelled 29,000 miles and opened up a million square miles of territory, and this he accomplished, not like some travellers at the head of hundreds of armed men, but patiently working his way onward, and when stopped in one direction turning aside to take another.

As an example of a living Scottish traveller we must mention Mr. Joseph Thomson, who has done excellent work in various parts of Africa, more especially in the equatorial lake region.

We will now give a few particulars regarding the achievements of Scotsmen in the artistic field. So far back as the year 1760 the Board of Trustees for Manufactures in Scotland had commenced a school of art, but it attracted few students, and its teaching was mainly elementary and industrial. It was not till the appointment in 1798 of John Graham as master that it really became an art academy. Graham was a good artist and an able teacher. He held the appointment till 1817, and among pupils of his who became eminent were David Wilkie, William Allan, and John Burnet. Graham was succeeded in the mastership by Andrew Wilson, and the institution has had a series of able

teachers who have trained artists some of whom have become well known. Art had yet to receive recognition by the public in Scotland, however. In 1827 a body of professional artists associated themselves together under the title of the Scottish Academy, taking for their model the Royal Academy of London, and instituted in Edinburgh yearly exhibitions of contemporary works of art. In 1838 this body was incorporated by Royal Charter, and at the same time became the Royal Scottish Academy of Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture, briefly designated by the letters R.S.A. The annual exhibitions from small beginnings became important, and have had much influence both in extending a knowledge of art and in encouraging artists. At a later date similar exhibitions were instituted in Glasgow, with a like result.

Among Scottish painters we have elsewhere mentioned Sir Henry Raeburn, who attained to eminence in portraiture before the close of the eighteenth century, and whose reputation continued to increase till his death in 1823. His works are more highly valued at the present day than they were even in his own. They are rich in colour, broad in treatment, and brilliant in effect. Sir John Watson Gordon (1788–1864) succeeded Raeburn as the representative portrait painter of Scotland. He executed portraits of most of the eminent Scotsmen of his time, including Sir Walter Scott, Prof. Wilson, Dr. Chalmers, and Sir David Brewster, and many also came from England to sit to him. He was elected President of the Royal Scottish Academy in 1850, on which occasion he was knighted, and the following year he was elected a member of the Royal Academy of London. Another Scottish portrait painter was Sir Francis Grant (1803–78), whose artistic career belongs mainly to the southern metropolis. He was elected a Royal Academician in 1851, and in 1866 became president of the Royal Academy in succession to Sir Charles Eastlake, being knighted the following year. His works are very numerous, and include equestrian portraits of Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort, and many of the aristocracy of the time. In female portraiture he was particularly successful. He was a son of Francis Grant of Kilgraston, and a brother of the distinguished soldier, General Sir James Hope Grant. As a young man he was intimate with Sir Walter Scott, whose portrait he also painted. Sir Daniel Macnee, P.R.S.A. (1806–1882), John Graham Gilbert, R.S.A. (1794–1866), George Paul Chalmers, R.S.A. (1836–1878), should also be mentioned as distinguished portrait painters.

Sir David Wilkie, one of the greatest painters of the nineteenth century, is more especially great in depicting scenes of everyday life, though he also painted scenes selected from history, and enjoyed considerable reputation as a portrait painter. He was son of the parish minister of Cults in Fifeshire, and was born there in 1785. He was an artist by nature, and could draw and paint before he could read and spell. As already stated he received his early artistic training at Edinburgh under Graham, and at the age of nineteen produced an important picture, known as *Pitlessie Fair*, containing about 140 figures, many of them portraits of his Fifeshire neighbours. In 1805 he went to London to study and paint, and soon made his mark, becoming an Associate of the Royal Academy in 1809, and a full Academician in 1811. In 1817, when on a visit to Scotland, he painted a well-known group of Sir Walter Scott and his family. His greatest pictures are generally admitted to be those belonging to the early period of his life, or that which ends with 1825, and among them are such well-known works as *The Blind Fiddler*, *The Rent Day*, *The Village Festival*, *Blind Man's Buff*, *The Penny Wedding*, *Distraining for Rent*, *The Rabbit on the Wall*, *Reading the Will*, and *Chelsea Pensioners Reading the Gazette of the Battle of Waterloo*—all showing admirable grasp of character, excellence in composition, and carefulness of detail. In 1825 the state of his health led him to go abroad, and he did not return till 1828. During this time he had made a study of the Italian and Spanish masters, and the result was a great change in his style and his choice of subjects, the latter being now mainly of a historical cast, while as regards the former he “exchanged the detailed handling, the delicate finish, and the reticent hues of his earlier works for a style distinguished by breadth of touch, largeness of effect, richness of tone, and full force of melting and powerful colour.”¹ To this latter period belong *The Maid of Saragossa*, the *Spanish Posada*, the *Two Spanish Monks*, *John Knox Preaching before the Lords of the Congregation*, *Columbus in the Convent of La Rabida*, and *Queen Victoria at her First Council*. He also painted many portraits possessing high excellence, though showing also certain defects. In 1830 he was appointed painter to the king, and in 1836 received the honour of knighthood. In 1840 he went on a tour to the Holy Land, where he made some fine studies, and he died at sea off Gibraltar on his return homewards, 1st June, 1841.

¹ *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

Contemporary with Wilkie was Sir William Allan (1782–1850), a native of Edinburgh, who received his art education in the Trustees' Academy under Graham, Wilkie being a fellow-pupil. In early life he went to Russia, residing for a time in the capital, where he mostly painted portraits. After travelling among the Circassians, Tartars, and Turks, making studies and sketches, he returned home, having been absent nearly nine years. At a later period he made a journey in Italy, Greece, and Turkey, in which countries he resided some time. He also travelled in Spain and Barbary. Elected an Associate of the Royal Academy in 1826, and subsequently an Academician, he was farther elected in 1838 the first president of of the Royal Scottish Academy after it had received the Royal charter; and on the death of Wilkie was appointed her majesty's limner for Scotland, being at same time knighted. Allan devoted himself principally to historical painting, in which he had marked success. Among his principal works are *The Murder of David Rizzio* in presence of Queen Mary; *Polish Exiles on their Way to Siberia*; *Whittington and his Cat* (in the presence of the merchant and all his family Whittington commits his cat to the ship's captain as his venture for the voyage); *The Slave Market at Constantinople*; and the *Battle of Prestonpans*. But his most notable work is his large picture of the *Battle of Waterloo*, exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1843, and purchased by the hero of the fight.¹ For this picture he made drawings of the battle-field, and, having selected a particular hour during the action, proceeded to represent on the various positions the episodes taking place at that time. This mode of treatment resulted in a battle picture as nearly truthful as can be expected in any representation of such a scene.

Another president of the same academy, Sir George Harvey (1806–76), is known both as a painter of figure subjects, sometimes historical in character, sometimes taken from the everyday life of the Scottish people, and also as an excellent landscape-painter. A number of his pictures have become well known by engravings, such as *The Curlers*, which is full of character and expression, and illustrative of a distinctively Scottish game; the series of pictures drawn from the history of the Covenanters; *Reading the Chained Bible in the Crypt of Old St. Paul's*, his finest work; and *Quitting the Manse*, a scene from the disruption of the Church of Scotland in 1843.

Among historical painters we must also mention William Dyce, R.A. (1806–64) a native of

Aberdeen, whose works are full of delicacy and refinement. He was employed by government in the organization of Schools of Design, painted on the wall of the House of Lords *The Baptism of King Ethelbert*, and five frescoes on the wall of the Queen's Robing Room. Besides these he painted works in fresco for the queen, and exhibited at the Royal Academy works in oil, as *Jacob and Rachel*, *King Lear and the Fool*, *The Man of Sorrows*. To the department of historical painting belongs also David Scott, R.S.A. (1806–49), an eminently original artist, possessed of a weird imagination. His works are generally on a large scale, and more remarkable for invention than for colour and light and shade. Among these are *Paracelsus Lecturing on the Elixir Vite*; *The Duke of Gloucester entering the Water-gate at Calais*; and his greatest work, *Vasco da Gama doubling the Cape of Good Hope*. In this last "the deck of the ship is represented crowded with figures, in every variety of expressive action, of terror, defiance and wonder, at the great spirit of the deep rising through the sea mist and foam."² In Robert Scott Lauder, R.S.A. (1803–69), we have another historical painter, and an artist whose works are always pleasing and frequently of a powerful character. Among these are *The Glee Maiden*, *Christ Walking on the Sea*, and *The Trial of Effie Deans*, the last being the most notable of them all. Thomas Duncan, A.R.A., R.S.A. (1807–45), was cut off at a comparatively early age in the midst of a brilliant career. He is one of the ablest painters of the Scottish school, and his works are notable for colour, expression, and composition. We may specially mention *Anne Page and Slender*; *Prince Charles and the Highlanders Entering Edinburgh* after the battle of Prestonpans, a work containing a multitude of figures; and *Prince Charles Asleep in the Cave*.

John Philip, R.A. (1817–67), a native of Aberdeen, is famous as a painter of figure compositions, and as one of the ablest colourists that Britain has produced. His earlier works are chiefly domestic scenes from Scottish life. After a residence for some time in Spain, to which he had gone in impaired health, he greatly improved in colouring, and his style became vigorous and masterly. From that time he devoted himself for the most part to the delineation of scenes from Spanish life, and his greatest works are Spanish in subject. Among these may be named, *Life among the Gipsies of Seville*, full of varied character and humour; *The Prayer of Faith shall save the Sick*, a scene in a Spanish Church; *The Spanish Contraban-*

distu; La Gloria at Seville, illustrating a Spanish custom on the death of an infant; *The Early Career of Murillo*, which shows the boy artist offering his pictures for sale at a fair; and *The Chat round the Braserero*.

Scotland has also produced some distinguished landscape-painters, the earliest being Alexander Nasmyth (1758-1840), who has been called "the father of Scottish landscape art". He also painted portraits, among these being the well-known portrait of Burns. His son Patrick (1787-1831) excelled his father as a painter, and was especially successful in depicting the features of English landscape. His pictures are usually of very moderate size, and fetch high prices. James Nasmyth, the inventor of the steam-hammer, was a younger brother of Patrick Nasmyth. The Rev. John Thomson, Duddingston (1778-1840), one of the earlier Scottish landscapists, painted in a broad and powerful manner, and exercised considerable influence on his contemporaries. The pictures of Italian scenery produced by Andrew Wilson (1780-1848) during his long residence in Italy are held in much esteem. David Roberts, R.A. (1796-1864), had remarkable power in rendering architecture pictorially, and many of his works are grand and impressive; for example, *The Interior of the Cathedral of Seville* during Corpus Christi day, a magnificent work having many figures introduced with great skill. In painting gorgeous interiors he has had few equals. Horatio McCulloch, R.S.A. (1805-1867), is noted for the truth and beauty with which he depicted the scenery of the Highlands. Among his works may be mentioned *Loch Maree*, *A Dream of the Highlands*, and *Loch Achray*. D. O. Hill, R.S.A. (1802-1870) painted a series of sixty views of scenes associated with Burns, and in these displayed much taste and poetic feeling. A notable work of his also is *The First General Assembly of the Free Church*, a composition consisting of some 400 figures, most of which are portraits. Other painters requiring mention, and most of them still alive, are Sir J. Noel Paton, R.S.A., distinguished for his fairy subjects and religious allegories; Thomas Faed, R.A., John Pettie, R.A., W. Q. Orchardson, R.A., and John Faed, R.S.A., who are in the foremost rank among *genre* painters; Peter Graham, R.A., John McWhirter, R.A., and Colin Hunter, A.R.A., able landscapists; Sir George Reid, president of the Royal Scottish Academy, portrait and landscape painter. As painters of landscape in water colour, W. L. Leitch (1804-83) and Sam Bough, R.S.A. (1822-1878), produced works of the highest excellence. In miniature painting Robert Thorburn, A.R.A., is noted for works on ivory of unusually large

size, and at same time of a merit that has rarely been approached. Kenneth Macleay, R.S.A. (1802-78) was both a distinguished miniature painter and also an admirable portrait painter in water colours.

Sculptors are always far fewer in number than painters, and neither England nor Scotland can point to many very noteworthy names in this branch of art. We may here mention, however, Sir John Steell, W. Calder Marshall, Patric Park, W. Brodie, and John Mossman, as Scottish sculptors who have gained a considerable reputation. Among architects we need only mention William Playfair, David Hamilton, and William Hamilton, "Greek" Thomson of Glasgow, and the self-taught architectural genius, George Meikle Kemp, designer and constructor of the celebrated monument to Sir Walter Scott in Edinburgh, one of the finest monumental structures in existence.

The art of engraving on copper in the line manner was practised with excellent results at an earlier time, and the eminence attained by Sir Robert Strange as an engraver has been referred to in a previous chapter. Engraving on steel first came into use about the year 1828, and the art of line engraving may be said to have reached maturity and perfection in the period from 1820 to 1860. Since then it has gradually fallen into disuse, and the distinguished engravers of that time have had no successors. During the period just indicated, Scotland produced a number of eminent engravers. John Burnet (1784-1868), a native of Edinburgh, engraved the original large plates of a number of Wilkie's most famous works, among them *The Chelsea Pensioners* and *Reading the Will*; and still more distinguished himself by his masterly engraving of *Greenwich Pensioners Celebrating the Battle of Trafalgar*, from the picture which he painted as a companion to Wilkie's *Chelsea Pensioners*. Burnet is also the author of some excellent writings on art subjects. William Howison (1798-1851) engraved *The Curlers*, and the *Covenanters' Communion*, after Sir George Harvey; *Polish Exiles*, after Sir W. Allan; and *The First Letter from the Emigrants*, after Thomas Faed, all of large size and very fine in quality. John Horsburgh (1790-1869) was alike distinguished as an engraver of figure subjects and of landscapes. He produced plates after Sir W. Allan, Turner, Stanfield, and D. O. Hill, all of great excellence. William Miller (1796-1882) will long be remembered as a landscape engraver of the greatest eminence, and as one with whose renderings Turner was most highly satisfied. Besides many notable works, large and small, after Turner, he also produced plates after Stan-

field, Birket Foster, D. O. Hill, and W. L. Leitch, all of the utmost excellence. His engraving of *The Bass Rock During a Storm*, after Turner, is a work superlatively fine; its qualities, indeed, have rarely been approached and never excelled by any engraver. William Forrest produced large plates executed in a fresh and vigorous style, after Horatio M'Culloch, and smaller after D. O. Hill and Sam Bough. William Richardson engraved large plates of great merit after C. R. Cockerell and D. O. Hill, and smaller plates after Stanfield, W. L. Leitch, and Sam Bough. His work has great sweetness and delicacy of expression. His plate of Barskimming, after D. O. Hill, is a masterpiece. With exception of Burnet, who spent the greater part of his working life in London, all the engravers who have been named were resident in Edinburgh.

In this chapter we have only been able to refer somewhat briefly and inadequately to the progress made by Scotland in the present century, and to the share that Scotsmen have taken in the great advances in all directions that the century has witnessed; but perhaps enough has been brought forward—if taken in conjunction with what has been said in other chapters—to suggest that the Scotland of to-day is in no ways unworthy of its past history, and that the country may well be proud of the position it occupies in the partnership of the three united kingdoms. If we could here give an outline of what Scotsmen have done in the building up of "Greater Britain" beyond the sea, this would show still stronger reasons for cherishing pride and honourable complacency. The general outcome of the nineteenth century has been that Scotland has much more in common with England than it formerly had, and that the two countries are now much more nearly alike in their various social, industrial, and other features. But Scotland still holds its historic position of a country separate from England—the northern kingdom still has laws and institutions distinct from those of the southern, and still retains its own individuality.

In regard to law and legal matters—we need not here speak of ecclesiastical—Scotland differs much from England, though in the most important parts of mercantile and maritime law the difference is more in form than in substance. In the criminal laws of the two countries, however, and in those relating to real property or heritable rights, there are some very essential differences. As to crimes the penalties have naturally been nearly assimilated; but the forms of procedure exhibit striking contrasts. For instance, while unanimity is still required of English juries, those of Scotland may decide

a case by a mere majority of the fifteen jurors; and Scots law, moreover, allows the jury to return a verdict of *not proven* as alternative to one of *guilty* or *not guilty*. In regard to heritable rights, the old feudal law, with its numerous perplexing formalities, still retains a greater ascendancy in Scotland than in England, though considerably modified by recent changes. In its marriage laws, also, Scotland presents some remarkable differences from England. In Scotland marriage is regarded as purely a civil contract, and the services of a clergyman are not required, though a marriage without a clergyman is called an irregular marriage. Nothing more is really necessary than that the parties consent to marry each other, and if they live together as man and wife, and are reputed such, the law will regard them as persons married by their own consent. In Scotland, also, if the father and mother of children born out of wedlock subsequently marry each other this legitimizes their children; while divorce may be obtained on the ground of adultery or wilful desertion on either side. In England, on the other hand, cruelty or some other misconduct must be proved against the husband as well as adultery, and mere desertion is not a ground for divorce.

In all matters of this kind, each country is apt to consider its own arrangements best, but no doubt either might borrow something from the other with advantage. One feature of the Scottish criminal law has in recent times often been recommended for adoption in England, the system, namely, of having a public prosecutor in all criminal cases instead of throwing the burden of prosecution upon the shoulders of private persons. In Scotland the procurator-fiscal is the official who takes in hand the prosecution of ordinary offenders against the laws, and private persons are thus relieved of the trouble and expense to which in England they are liable. Something has recently been done in England to introduce a similar arrangement, but as yet the practical results have not amounted to much. Another matter in which England has been following the lead of Scotland is the registration of deeds respecting property, a satisfactory system of which does not yet exist in England, though Scotland has long been in possession of such. In the latter country, accordingly, all burdens affecting land can be readily ascertained, so that any person buying it or lending money on it has no difficulty in knowing how the property stands. On the other hand, the holding of coroner's inquests, at present unknown in Scotland, might perhaps be introduced, in some form at least, with advantage to the community, though the procurator-

fiscal has at present to perform duties analogous to those of the English coroner.

The courts and legal functionaries of Scotland also differ in various respects from those of England. The supreme civil court is called the Court of Session, but it wants one of the essential features of a supreme court properly so called, inasmuch as its decisions may be carried by appeal before the House of Lords. The judges of this court, thirteen in number, have the title of "lord", the barristers or pleaders before it are called "advocates". The Court of Justiciary is the supreme criminal court, and though composed of judges of the Court of Session, it is supreme in the highest sense, since its decisions in criminal cases cannot be appealed to any other tribunal. The principal subordinate courts are the sheriff-courts, established in each county. These are held by sheriff-substitutes who are salaried judges appointed by the crown, and resident in the districts allotted to them. Their decisions may be appealed to the principal sheriff of the county (usually non-resident), and may finally be carried to the Court of Session, except in certain classes of cases, as those that have to do with debts under £12. The sheriff-courts have a limited criminal as well as civil jurisdiction, and in this respect, as well as various others, differ from the English county courts.

In educational matters Scotland and England differ much less than formerly. This is especially the result of the passing of the elementary education acts of 1870 for England, and of 1872 for Scotland, and of the supplementary legislation on the same subject. Elementary education being now compulsory in England as well as Scotland, the rising generation in both countries are probably much alike as regards the amount and quality of instruction received. Previously, however, education was undoubtedly much more generally diffused in Scotland than in England, though the old parish schools of Scotland had latterly become unable to cope with all the necessities of the day, more especially in the towns and populous localities.

In regard to university education Scotland is still very different from England, at least if we leave out of account the modern universities

and university colleges of the southern kingdom, and look only to the old and historic universities of Oxford and Cambridge. These are corporate bodies, each embracing a number of other corporate and more or less distinct bodies—namely, the colleges—which again have each their own buildings, their own students, and their own teaching staff. The students (the bulk of them at least) live together in the colleges to which they respectively belong, and their most direct connection with the university as distinct from their own college, is in presenting themselves at the examinations necessary for degrees, while they need not attend the lectures of the professors unless they please. Nothing like this exists in Scotland, whose universities are all on the continental model. Here the college is simply the building or buildings furnishing the necessary accommodation for the work of the university; the professors and lecturers form the teaching staff, and each student has to attend as many of their lectures as pertain to his curriculum; while as regards residence the student may live where it best suits his convenience and his pocket. The universities of Oxford and Cambridge, moreover, are practically universities for the wealthier classes, whereas in Scotland a university education is within the reach of any young man of some energy and ability. Accordingly attendance at a university is far more common in Scotland than in England, though the establishment of the modern universities and colleges in the latter country has done something to modify this state of matters.¹

¹ As we have not elsewhere referred to the fact, we may state here that under an act passed in 1858 the Scottish universities were re-organized between that year and 1862, and the separate institutions assimilated so far as possible. It was under this act that Aberdeen ceased to hold the unique position among towns in the United Kingdom of possessing two universities, each equipped with a staff of professors and each having the power of granting degrees. These universities—Marischal College and University and King's College and University—were united in 1860, and from that time onward have formed but one institution, the University of Aberdeen. Further extensive alterations in the constitution of the Scottish universities, and the courses of study to be pursued at them, have been introduced under the Universities (Scotland) Act, 1889, an enactment which appointed an Executive Commission with extensive powers for putting these institutions on a more satisfactory footing, so as to enable them the better to meet the altered requirements of the times.

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A HISTORY
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SCOTTISH PEOPLE

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES.

BY THE

REV. THOMAS THOMSON,
EDITOR OF "THE COMPREHENSIVE HISTORY OF ENGLAND", ETC.

WITH

A CONTINUATION TO THE JUBILEE YEAR OF HER MAJESTY
QUEEN VICTORIA (1887), AND AN

INTRODUCTION

GIVING AN ACCOUNT OF THE COUNTRY AND ITS INHABITANTS IN THE
PERIOD PRECEDING THE INVASION OF THE ROMANS.

BY

CHARLES ANNANDALE, M.A., LL.D.
EDITOR OF "THE IMPERIAL ENGLISH DICTIONARY", "THE MODERN CYCLOPEDIA", ETC.

VOLUME I.

EARLIEST TIMES TILL DEATH OF JAMES V., 1542.



LONDON:
BLACKIE & SON, LIMITED, 50 OLD BAILEY, E.C.
GLASGOW, EDINBURGH, AND DUBLIN.

1896.

PREFACE.

The present work has been written with the intention of supplying a complete and detailed history of Scotland and its people from the earliest times to the close of the nineteenth century. In accordance with its plan and title—while due prominence is given in it to wars and battles, political and ecclesiastical affairs—the domestic and social life of Scotland in bygone times has been treated with special care and fulness, the desire being that the reader should be able to picture to himself how the Scottish people actually lived at the various periods of the past, how they were clothed, how they were housed, how and what they ate and drank, how they employed themselves, and what were their manners and customs generally.

To record what Scotsmen have done in literature, art, and science, and in various other fields of activity falls equally within the scope of this work; and accordingly particulars will be found in it regarding the chief Scottish poets and prose writers, philosophers, men of science, inventors, artists, travellers, &c., while such subjects as the introduction and extension of manufacturing and other industries, the growth and development of trade and commerce, and the improvements in agriculture and farm economy, are also treated with some detail.

Special attention has been given to prehistoric Scotland, and to the various interesting questions regarding its inhabitants. This subject is dealt with in the introductory chapter, which, treating of the country as it was long before its written history began, throws light upon a period that up till very recent times was enveloped in profound darkness, a darkness which has only been to some extent dispelled by the investigations of modern archæologists, geologists, and other scientific inquirers.

By far the greater portion of these volumes was written by the Rev. THOMAS THOMSON, but death having prevented his labours from being brought to their full conclusion, the necessary additions to the last volume have been made by Dr. ANNANDALE, the Introductory Chapter being also from his pen. It may be more particularly mentioned that the general history of the country was not carried by Mr. Thomson beyond the episode of the '45, though he had nearly completed the history of society during the eighteenth century, and

had brought down the ecclesiastical history to the close of the Disruption epoch.

In order to enhance the interest and usefulness of the work several maps and a series of forty pictorial illustrations have been prepared to accompany it, the latter being from original drawings by the artists whose names they bear.

NOVEMBER, 1894.

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